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CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY OF TURKEY

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Cultural Diversity in the Music Industry of Turkey

Türkiye'nin Müzik Endüstrisinde Kültürel Çeşitlilik

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- 1) Cultural diversity
- 2) Music industry
- 3) Mainstream music media
- 4) Pop music
- 5) Alternative music market

PREFACE

The decision to make an academic research and to write a dissertation on the cultural diversity in the music industry of Turkey is based on my personal experiences as a music producer and performer in this industry. I had established my own independent record label, produced and released albums which were essentially pop but included musical elements from other genres such as folk music and R&B. My intention in doing so was to diverge my style from the standard pop which is the only music heard on the mainstream music media of today. My anticipation was that the traditional pop music media (pop radio stations and music TV channels) would be interested in my music because of the diversity (although slight) I was offering. However, my songs were refused to be aired on these traditional media outlets because of being "alternative" and thus not being "radio-friendly". The content of my music was not the only reason for my facing so many rejections for sure. Not having a deal with a major record company and not having huge budgets for advertisement were also influential on the end result.

Eventually, what I realized after five years of experience in the industry was that the filtering mechanisms of the mainstream music media - which I thought were very effective in shaping the preferences of the most of the music listeners - allowed only a very standardized form of pop music (which is released by major record labels most of the time) to be heard on these outlets. These mechanisms are presumably shaping the creations of the artists as well.

After all these observations, I decided to conduct a research with the intention of developing a more profound understanding regarding the functioning of the music industry (with a special focus on pop music) in relation to cultural diversity. My aim is to try to explore and determine the level of diversity within the Turkish pop music industry and then to suggest ways through which this level can be improved based on the findings of my research.

I would like to express my special thanks to the people whose support and assistance through this study were invaluable. In particular:

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ABBREVIATIONS

A&R: Artist and Repertoire

ANAP: The Motherland Party

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BMG: Bertelsmann Music Group

CD: Compact Disc

CHR: Contemporary Hit Radio

CoE: Council of Europe

CSO: Civil Society Organization

DCMS: Department for Culture, Media and Sport

DJ: Disc Jokey

DMC: Doğan Music Company

DSM: Dokuz Sekiz Music

DVD: Digital Versatile Disk

EP: Extended Play

EUROSTAT: Statistical Office of the European Communities

IFPI: International Federation of the Phonographic Industry

İKSV: İstanbul Culture and Art Foundation

LCA: Latent Class Analysis

LP: Long Play

MC: Music Cassette

MCA: Multiple Correspondence Analysis

MÜ-YAP: Turkish Phonographic Industry Society

NEA: National Endowment for the Arts

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

P2P: Peer to Peer

PSB: Public Service Broadcasting

PTT: Postal Telegraph and Telephone Service

PwC: PricewaterhouseCoopers

RCP: Reshaping Cultural Policies Report

RIAA: Recording Industry Association for America

RQ: Research Question
RTÜK: Radio and Television Supreme Council
R&B: Rhythm and Blues
THM: Turkish Folk Music
TİP: Turkish Labor Party
TRT: Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
TSM: Turkish Classical Music
TURKSTAT: Turkish Statistical Institution
UIS: UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UK: United Kingdom
UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UMG: Universal Music Group
URYAD: National Radio Broadcasters Association
US: United States
WCCD: World Commission on Culture and Development
WMG: Warner Music Group

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ABSTRACT

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY OF TURKEY

Funda LENA

The principal aim of this dissertation is to investigate whether there exists a significant gap between the level of cultural diversity produced in Turkish music industry and the level of diversity consumed by the majority of the music listeners in Turkey, and to identify the determinants of this gap if it exists. The impact of mainstream music media on the musical preferences of the Turkish society, and hence on the consumed diversity, was specifically analyzed.

Before the research questions were set forth and the answers to these questions looked at, the theoretical and political significance of the cultural diversity issue was discussed. After doing so, consumed and produced levels of diversity in Turkey and in the world, and the impact of the ‘digital revolution’ on these levels were evaluated in light of relevant studies found in the literature. Then the historical progress of diversity in the music industry of Turkey was overviewed based on the popularity of different genres in different eras starting from 1923.

The cultural diversity in the music industry of Turkey of today – with a specific focus on pop music - was thoroughly analyzed using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research techniques in Chapter 5. There were three research focuses: music consumption, mainstream music media and alternative music market. First of all, music consumption in Turkey was discussed based on the following question: “What are the musical preferences of people living in Turkey and what factors determine these preferences?” In order to look for an answer to this question and to test the related hypotheses, LCA and multivariate regression analyses were used. Basic findings were the following: the majority of the population likes and listens to the music promoted on the mainstream music media, only a small number of listeners are aware of the alternative artists but at the same time the majority of the listeners have a tendency to like the alternatives, and the factors that determine the musical preferences are: age, gender, education, personality traits such as openness to novelties in music, level of exposure to

mainstream music media, taking part in amateur music activities and the familiarity gained through repeated exposure.

As the mainstream music media were found to be significantly influential on the musical preferences, its dynamics were analyzed specifically. This second part of the research was based on in-depth interviews with music media and music industry representatives. It was found that only the songs within certain musical standards that were released by major record labels and/or performed by popular artists were broadcasted on mainstream music media.

The third focus of the dissertation was the alternative music scene in Turkey, which can be accepted as the source of diversity. As for the methodology, in-depth interviews with alternative artists were used. The findings can be summarized as follows: alternative artists face several problems in each phase of music production and distribution, and even though the live music venues and the internet are important channels of promotion for alternative artists, these platforms are insufficient in helping them reach the majority of the population.

This dissertation, which regards the cultural diversity issue from the perspective of and to the benefit of the society, concluded that the way to improve the level of consumed diversity (among the majority of the population) is to diversify the mainstream music media and/or to generate an alternative mainstream. Policy recommendations were made accordingly at the end of the dissertation.

Key words: Cultural diversity, music industry, mainstream music media, pop music, alternative music market.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE’NİN MÜZİK ENDÜSTRİSİNDE KÜLTÜREL ÇEŞİTLİLİK

Funda LENA

Bu tezin temel amacı Türkiye’de müzik endüstrisinde halihazırda üretilen çeşitlilik ile toplumun çoğunluğu tarafından tüketilen çeşitlilik arasında kayda değer bir fark olup olmadığını, ve eğer varsa, bu farka sebep olan etkenleri anlamaya çalışmaktır. Ana akım müzik medyasının toplumun müzikal tercihlerini, ve dolayısıyla tüketim çeşitliliğinin sınırlarını belirlemedeki rolü özel olarak araştırılmıştır.

Tezin birinci el araştırma kurgusu yapılmadan ve araştırma sorularına uygun metodlarla cevap aranmaya başlanmadan önce, kültürel çeşitlilik kavramının teorik ve politik önemi tartışılmıştır. Daha sonra, dünyada ve Türkiye’de müzik endüstrisinde çeşitliliğin üretim ve tüketiminin ne düzeyde olduğu, müzik alanındaki ‘dijital devrim’in bu düzeye nasıl etki ettiği literatürde öne çıkan çalışmalar ışığında irdelenmiş, Türkiye’nin müzik endüstrisinde çeşitliliğin geçmişten bugüne gösterdiği değişim, 1923’ten bugüne popüler olan ve popülerliğini yitiren müzikal türler bağlamında analiz edilmiştir.

Tezin ana araştırma kurgusu ve sonuçlarının yer aldığı 5. Bölüm’de, Türkiye’de, günümüz müzik endüstrisinde – özellikle pop müzik alanında - kültürel çeşitlilik detaylı olarak incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın üç temel odağı vardır: Müzik tüketimi, ana akım müzik medyası ve alternatif müzik piyasası. İlk olarak Türkiye’de müzik tüketimi, “Türkiye’de yaşayan insanların müzikal tercihleri ve bu tercihleri etkileyen faktörler nelerdir?” sorusundan hareketle ele alınmıştır. Bu soruya cevap aramak ve ilişkili hipotezleri test etmek üzere LCA ve çok değişkenli regresyon analizleri kullanılmıştır. Temel olarak, toplumun çoğunluğunun ana akım müzik medyasında yer bulan müzik türlerini sevdiği ve dinlediği, az sayıda dinleyicinin alternatif sanatçılardan haberdar olduğu ve fakat, çoğunluğun haberdar olduğu alternatif sanatçıların müziğini beğenme eğiliminde olduğu, beğenilerin üzerinde yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim düzeyi, kişil özellikleri, ana akım medyaya maruz kalma düzeyi, amatör müzik aktivitelerine katılmış olmak, tekrar dinleme sonucu edinilen aşinalık gibi faktörlerin etkisi olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Ana akım mzik medyasının dinamikleri, genel beęeni zerinde etkili olmaları dolayısıyla ayrı bir blmde arařtırılmıřtır. Arařtırmanın bu blm mzik ve medya endstrileri temsilcileriyle yapılan derinlemesine grřmelere dayanmaktadır. Temel olarak, ana akım mzik medyasında yalnızca mzikal olarak belli standartlar ierisinde kalan ve popler bir sanatı ve/veya majr bir yapım řirketi tarafından piyasaya ıkarılmıř řarkılara yer verildięi tespit edilmiřtir.

Arařtırmanın son ayaęında, Trkiye’de mzikal eřitlilięin kaynaęı olarak kabul edilebilecek olan alternatif mzik piyasası derinlemesine irdelenmiřtir. Yntem olarak bu alanda retimi olan sanatılarla yapılan derinlemesine grřmelere bař vurulmuřtur. Alternatif sanatıların, mzik retimi ve daęıtımının her ařamasında eřitli sorunlarla karřılařtıkları, dijital platformlar ve canlı mzik mekanlarının alternatif sanatıların kendilerini tanıtmaq iin nemli ortamlar olmakla birlikte, geniř toplum kesimlerine ulařmalarının yolunu amakta yetersiz kaldıkları sonucuna varılmıřtır.

Kltrel eřitlilik meselesini toplum aısından deęerlendiren bu tez, eřitlilięin toplumun yararına yaygınlařabilmesi, bařka bir deyiřle oęunluk tarafından ulařılabilen ve tketilen eřitlilik dzeyinin artabilmesinin ancak ve ancak ana akımın alternatif retimlerin katılımıyla eřitlenmesi ve/veya alternatif bir ana akımın yaratılmasıyla mmkn olabileceęi sonucuna varmakta ve bu doęrultuda neriler sunmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kltrel eřitlilik, mzik endstrisi, ana akım mzik medyası, pop mzik, alternatif mzik piyasası.

INTRODUCTION

The basic intention of this dissertation is to understand whether a significant amount of the cultural diversity¹ produced² in the music industry of Turkey today (with a specific focus on Turkish pop³ music) is recognized by the majority of Turkish music listeners and turns into consumption⁴ as a result. In other words, this dissertation aims to examine whether the level of consumed diversity⁵ is (almost) equivalent to or lower than the level of produced diversity in Turkish music. And, if there is a significant gap between the produced and consumed levels of diversity, this dissertation further aims to investigate the determinants of this gap and the ways to eliminate them.

¹ Within the scope of this dissertation, cultural diversity is defined as the technical and contextual variations in the expressions of different cultural content such as musical genres and pieces, cinematographic productions, dance performances, literary texts etc. What is meant by “the cultural diversity in the music industry” is the musical diversity which is a subset of cultural diversity and indicates the variations in terms of the musical characteristics between songs and genres. This type of diversity corresponds to the disparity dimension of diversity definition of Stirling (1998) which refers to the dissimilarities between genres. The musical diversity is one of the two types of diversities considered within the framework of this dissertation. The other is count-based diversity which indicates the sheer number of performers as was used by Peterson & Berger (1975). The count-based diversity is more interested in variety and balance dimensions of Stirling’s (1998) diversity definition. In the context of this dissertation, variety corresponds to the number of different sub-genres of pop music, whereas balance corresponds to how much each sub-genre is represented (i.e. how many representatives of each sub-genre exist in the industry). Throughout the dissertation, with the word “diversity”, the musical diversity is intended if it is not explicitly indicated that the count-based diversity is of concern.

² In this study, produced diversity is defined as the level of diversity among all musical pieces produced and officially released in the specified region and within the specified genre(s).

³ Within the course of this dissertation, the term “pop” is a musical genre and its scope is identified based on musical characteristics such as rhythmic structure, melodic structure, harmonic structure, orchestration, form and vocal technique. Note that no technical analyses are made during this study in order to identify which songs are pop songs and which artists perform pop, but the discrimination between musical genres are taken as given based on the views of music industry professionals (including artists, musicians, producers, music writers, radio programmers) interviewed.

⁴ Consumption of music means listening to it via any of the music media (CD, mp3, radio, TV, streaming on the internet etc.). It should be noted that the term “consumption” does not necessarily refer to a monetary transaction, consumption of a musical piece may well happen without paying a cent.

⁵ In this study, consumed diversity is defined as the level of diversity consumed by the group of people under consideration: If a country is the subject of analysis, then the consumed diversity is the level of diversity within the music sample consumed by the majority (more than 50%) of the population of that country; if a subgroup in a society is the subject of analysis, then what is meant by consumed diversity is the level of diversity consumed by that subgroup.

The following initial observations – which will be tried to be grounded on a scientific investigation throughout this study- constituted the starting point of my research. I have observed (as a musician and a listener) for a couple of years that the level of cultural diversity produced in the Turkish music industry was much higher than the level of diversity of music broadcasted on the traditional mainstream⁶ media outlets such as radio and music TV. That is to say, as far as I could see, a certain amount of recent musical productions were not being conveyed to the listeners through mainstream media. Most of the mainstream music media have been broadcasting only the examples of pop music within certain musical standards⁷, and a number of others broadcasting arabesque music predominantly. I have also realized that not only the genres other than pop but also some examples of pop music were being excluded from the mainstream music media, and the latter constituted a niche market in the music industry of Turkey.

The aforementioned niche market is identified by the industry representatives and the artists themselves as the alternative music scene of Turkish music industry. Thus, the members of this market will be referred to as “the alternatives” throughout this study. The productions of the alternatives are musically differentiated from the standard examples of pop music broadcasted in the mainstream music media and hence are accepted in this dissertation as the source of musical diversity in today’s pop music industry. The extent to which alternatives are musically different from the standardized pop music of the mainstream media will not be technically analyzed during this study. But the existence of a significant level of musical diversity offered by the alternatives will be tried to be validated based on the views of musicians, music media and music industry representatives. Note that the level of diversity that is offered by the

⁶ The concept of mainstream is related to the level of popularity. ‘Mainstream music’ does not refer to any specific musical genre. That is to say, in one period of time some certain genres might be popular among the public and might become the mainstream genres while in another time period other genres might become mainstream. ‘Mainstream media’ refers to the media outlets with high ratings, that is to say the media channels that are mostly known and consumed by the public.

⁷ The repertoires of mainstream pop radios and TVs constitute only a subset of pop music in terms of musical characteristics such as rhythmic structure, melodic structure, orchestration etc.

alternative music scene might differ from one period to another. i.e. the alternatives of today might be offering more (or less) musical diversity compared to the alternatives of the past and the future. This dissertation does not intend to discuss whether the level of diversity offered by today's alternative music scene is satisfactory or not, i.e. whether the music of an artist who is accepted to be a member of the alternative scene is really "alternative" or not will not be discussed. The alternatives will rather be taken as given based on the entry barriers set by the mainstream music media and the recognition they have gotten in today's music industry in general.

If these alternatives are accepted to be the source of musical diversity, then the listeners' access to them is crucial for cultural diversity to emanate on the consumption side. In this sense, the mainstream media's excluding these alternatives from their playlists should be taken as a problem. On the other hand, the digital platforms provide a huge opportunity for both the producers and consumers of music today. Any artist can upload his/her songs to these platforms and all listeners have access to each and every example of all genres of music. Thus, it might well be claimed that the level of consumed diversity is no more dependent on the level of diversity conveyed by the mainstream media outlets. However, I argue that the musical preferences of the majority of the Turkish listeners are still shaped by what is being broadcasted on the mainstream music media despite the seemingly democratic environment provided by the digital revolution in the area of music. The principal intention of this dissertation is – as mentioned in the very beginning - to investigate the validity of this argument by questioning the level of consumed diversity given the level of produced diversity in today's music industry of Turkey, and whether the consumed diversity is dependent on the repertoires of the mainstream music media or the digital revolution has freed the listeners from traditional media's sphere of influence. After testing this principal hypothesis, the mainstream music media and the alternative music scene will also be investigated in separate sections of this dissertation.

Before starting to formulate my study and to detail my research, I will examine the theoretical and political significance of the cultural diversity issue, first

in relation to culture industries in general and then to the music industry specifically. Theoretical discussions regarding the cultural diversity can be traced back to 1940s when the term ‘culture industry’ was used for the first time by Adorno and Horkheimer from the Frankfurt School in their book “Dialectic of Enlightenment,” which was first published in 1944. Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) criticized the industrialization of the cultural sphere because of its standardizing effect on the output and on the tastes of the masses. Adorno (2002) additionally emphasized the impact of mass media – in relation with the producers of music - on the standardization of musical content and on shaping the tastes. The influences of industrialization and mass media on the diversity of cultural production and consumption continued to be discussed within a theoretical framework from then on by a number of researchers (see Chapter 1 for a detailed overview).

Politically, there is an ongoing debate on cultural diversity in the international arena starting from 1980s, the basic principles of which manifested in two universally recognized documents, UNESCO 2001 Declaration on Cultural Diversity and UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. This dissertation finds its political base in the following statements of these two texts, in which the importance of cultural diversity is expressed:

Article 1 – Cultural diversity: the common heritage of humanity.

[...] As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations (UNESCO, 2001: 1).

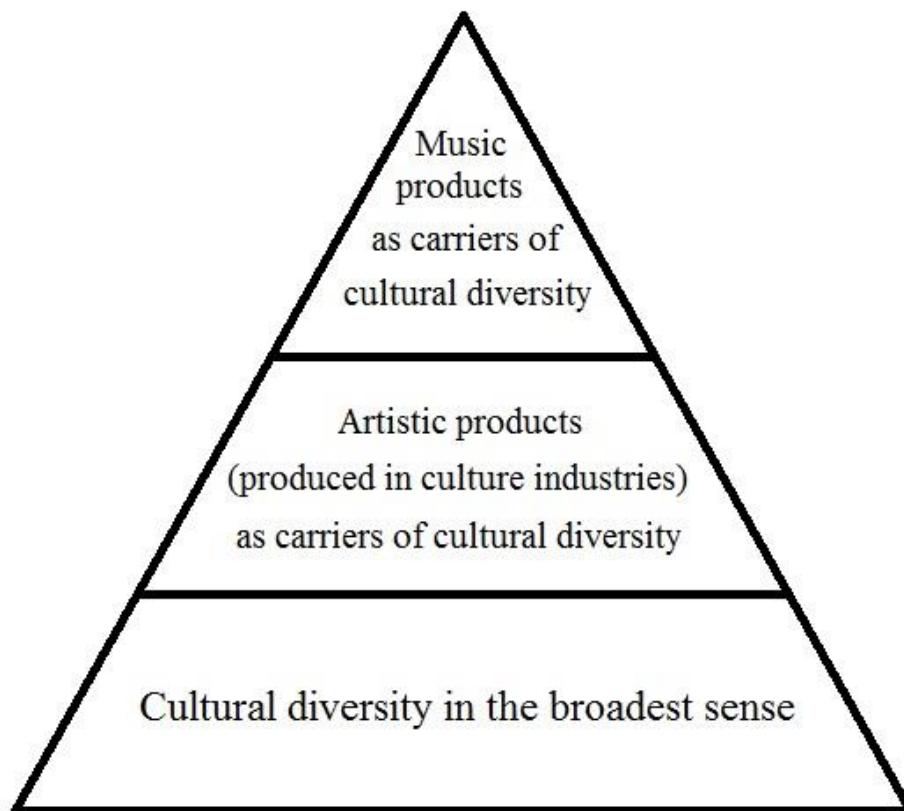
[...] cultural diversity is a defining characteristic of humanity.

[...] cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be cherished and preserved for the benefit of all.

[...] cultural diversity creates a rich and varied world, which increases the range of choices and nurtures human capacities and values, and therefore is a mainspring for sustainable development for communities, peoples and nations (UNESCO, 2005a: 1).

In both of these documents, cultural diversity is taken in its broadest sense at first. UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions defines the concept as follows: “cultural diversity refers to manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expressions” (UNESCO, 2005a: 4). In addition, UNESCO specifically underlines the fact that the ways through which the cultural diversity is made manifest include modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination and distribution whatever the means and technologies used (UNESCO, 2005a).

A significant portion of the above-mentioned artistic creation, production, distribution and dissemination is actualized industrially. This puts the culture industries in a critical position as carriers (or hinderers) of cultural diversity. At this point, the political and theoretical dimensions of the issue converge with each other and this point of convergence constitutes the essential matter of research and debate for this dissertation.



For the scope of this dissertation, music industry is chosen as a case among all culture industries to investigate its organization and functioning with regard to cultural diversity. The reason for choosing the music industry (besides my personal interest) is the belief that music is an activity that consumes so much time and resources of the individuals in their daily lives, and hence it is a key component of so many social situations (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). Moreover, as Bourdieu argues, “nothing clearly affirms one’s ‘class’, nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music” (Bourdieu, 1984:18).

Cultural diversity as a whole and the diversity of the musical expressions in particular are part of the common heritage of humankind as mentioned above. Hence, from the production side, all the individuals and groups have the right to create the musical expressions of their own, and from the consumption side, all the individuals have the right to have access and consume all pieces of music.

As mentioned in the very beginning, the major concern of this dissertation is to investigate the level of consumed diversity given the level of produced diversity in the music industry, and to understand why these levels are different from each other (if they are actually different as argued by Moreau & Peltier [2004]), and finally to discuss the ways through which a maximum level of consumed diversity can be attained with the existing level of produced diversity in hand. That is to say, the study is more focused on the consumption rights on diversity rather than the right to produce. In other words, the cultural diversity issue will be examined essentially from the perspective of the consumers, and hence the findings will be evaluated with the intention of contributing to the improvement of consumers’ benefits. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the rights of the creators of cultural diversity, namely the artists, will totally be ignored. Artists’ rights will also be referred to briefly as the secondary concern of this dissertation. After all, increasing the level of consumed diversity will certainly find its repercussions in the production side and will lead to a more dynamic and diversified sector in which artists’ rights to create and perform in a more diversified manner will be maintained in the longer run.

Moreover, the thesis has a focus on the pop music genre and the diversity within this genre even though it does not completely exclude assessments regarding other genres which are presumed to be commonly known and liked in Turkey - such as Turkish Classical Music (TSM), Turkish Folk Music (THM) and arabesque.

When the consumption rights of music are of concern, one might justifiably argue that each and every piece of pop music (with all of its diversity) is available and accessible for the consumption of everybody especially in the digital age⁸ and hence, the right to consume finds a correspondence in actual consumption. It is true that in the era we are living in today, the digital technologies transformed the ways music is produced and consumed significantly and they continue to do so. However, I argue that the availability and accessibility do not mean (at least for now) that all of the music listeners will be aware of all the musical pieces - some of which might have been liked and consumed by some of the unaware listeners in case they were aware of them (UNESCO, 2015). Thus, the above statement about the right of individuals to consume all pieces of music should be strengthened as follows: All individuals have the right to be informed about (i.e. they have the right to be aware of) and consume all pieces of music. Knowing about music, rather than being directly related to the availability of the musical pieces, is related to the ways in which these pieces are available via intermediaries and how these intermediaries are used by consumers. That is to say, the intermediaries (radio, music TV, internet etc.) are important actors of the music industry in their facilitating or hindering consumers' awareness about the diversity of musical expressions produced (i.e. that are available) in the industry.

The route to identify the level and determinants of consumed cultural diversity in the music industry of Turkey, and to find out possible ways to develop relevant cultural policies that would result in an increased level of consumed diversity given the existing level of produced diversity is to try to ask the relevant questions. For the sake of completeness, three main stages of the value chain

⁸ It is obvious that some of the citizens living in Turkey do not have access to any medium through which music can be listened to but this issue is out of the scope of this dissertation. It is assumed for the practical purposes throughout this study that any style of music and all pieces of each style are accessible in our era.

(namely the production, distribution/promotion and consumption) – which are related to each other in terms of diversity - will be analyzed separately and then a comprehensive evaluation will be made. That is to say, this dissertation has three main research focuses and related research questions (RQs).

The following is a common response by the music industry representatives (producers and radio/TV programmers) whenever they are asked the reason for the same performers and the same kind of music being heard on radio and TV: “this is what the public (audience) wants.” Because of the public’s being held responsible for what is being delivered to them and what is being produced, a backward approach is adopted in the designation of this research and the first focus is put on the last stage of the value chain, namely the consumption. Emanating from the primitive question “what does the public really want and why?”, the following (more formal) RQ is formulated:

RQ 1: What type(s) of music do the people living in Turkey prefer and what are the factors that determine their preferences?

Hypotheses related to RQ1:

H1.1: There exists a (large) group of people living in Turkey who like and listen (only) to the music promoted on the mainstream music media.

H1.2: Familiarity caused by repeated exposure is a significant determinant of the liking of a certain type of music.

H1.3: Majority of the mainstream music likers are not aware of the alternatives of pop music (which are especially available on the digital media).

H1.4: The listeners who are not aware of the alternatives are potential likers of the alternatives (i.e. they have a tendency to like the alternatives).

H1.5: There exists a group of listeners who are dissatisfied with the music broadcasted on the mainstream media and who actively look for alternatives of pop music and develop preferences for the existing alternatives.

The above listed hypotheses are tested in the course of this study and the detailed results are given in Section 5.2.3. As for the methodology, a survey on the music preferences is conducted over 1,715 individuals from different demographics and Latent Class Analysis (LCA) is used to categorize the people according to their

preferences. Then, multivariate regression analyses are carried out to identify the determinants of these preferences. With the anticipation that familiarity has a significant impact on music liking and that it is created deliberately by the mainstream music media, a profound discussion on familiarity concept is made (see Section 5.2.2.1) based on Adorno's (2002) 'plugging' argument which says that "provided the [musical] material fulfills certain minimum requirements, any given song can be plugged and made a success" (Adorno, 2002: 447).

If the first group of hypotheses fail to be rejected (which is the case for this study as will be shown in Section 5.2.3), then it can be argued that the musical preferences of the majority of the listeners are shaped by the mainstream music media (the functioning of which is highly integrated with the major record companies as will be discussed throughout this dissertation). In other words, the mainstream music media has a gatekeeping position in the music industry with regard to the consumers' "right to know." Therefore, the second RQ is intended to understand the mainstream music media in Turkey:

RQ2: What are the working dynamics of the mainstream music media in Turkey?

The second research question can be detailed in the following sub-questions:

- How do the mainstream music media authorities decide which songs to broadcast and what are the consequences of this selection mechanism in terms of the diversity of the music broadcasted and produced?

The methodology used to look for the answer(s) to the above question(s) is in-depth interviews with the sector representatives (radio programmers and directors, music producers and artists) in addition to desk research. As this part of the research is qualitative, a less structured questioning process has been adopted and no hypotheses were set in the beginning. The principal findings of this part (which will be discussed in details in Section 5.3) are the following: The filtering mechanisms of the mainstream music media are such that only the songs of certain musical standards that are performed by certain performers and/or released by certain (major) record labels are delivered to the audience. This finding validates my initial observations. And these mechanisms are basically caused by the

oligopolistic competition among the media institutions over ratings and advertisement revenues, and reinforced by the increased ability to measure the short term success of newly released songs as a consequence of technological improvements. Eventually, the diversity already existing at the production side is prevented from meeting the majority of the consumers because of the gatekeeping role of these intermediaries.

The third focus of the dissertation is on the alternative pop music market which is accepted to be the source of diversity and is proven to be excluded from the mainstream music scene throughout this dissertation. Understanding the dynamics of the alternative music market and developing cultural policies directly related to the protection and efficiency of this specific/niche market and its enlargement are crucial not only because of the consumption rights of the group of listeners who are already aware of the alternative musical works and like them – thanks to the digital technologies which have a significant role in transforming the ways music is distributed and consumed, and live music venues and festivals that support these alternative works - but also because of the right to know of the listeners who are unaware of the alternatives because of their exclusion from the mainstream media.

Thus the third RQ is:

RQ3: What are the working dynamics of the alternative music market?

This question can be detailed with the following two sub-questions:

- What do the internet and the alternative radio and music TV channels offer to the alternative performers and their music?
- What are the problems faced and strategies adopted by the independent performers and small/medium scale record companies who work with alternative performers in order to survive in the music industry?

The basic findings of this part are as follows: The alternatives are disadvantaged compared to the major artists in each and every phase of music production, distribution and promotion. Internet, live music venues and alternative media are the principal platforms through which the alternatives can reach their

potential audience; however the impact of these platforms are limited. On the other hand, a number of record labels (some of which are major companies) have recently started to show interest in the works of the alternatives which may be taken as a promise for the enlargement of this niche market in the future.

To summarize, the overall analyses made throughout this dissertation show that a higher level of diversity is available in the music industry of Turkey compared to the level of diversity of the preferences of the majority of the public. Moreover, the mainstream music media are responsible for a large part of this gap between produced and consumed diversity. Therefore, it is crucial to adopt cultural policies which will result in a more diversified musical repertoire of the mainstream media in the short run. On the other hand, there exists a certain amount of demand for the music of the alternative performers, which has already been realized and started to be grasped as an opportunity by not only small and medium scale production companies but also by some of the major record labels. Thus, the industry seems to be in the middle of a transformation. However, it is unpredictable right now as to whether the end result of this transformation will be only a little enlargement of the alternative pop music market by the efforts of some major producers in order to seize the apparent profit potential, or finding ways to systematically bypass the traditional gatekeepers to introduce the alternative performers to larger audiences and the alternative music market going beyond being a niche market. For the latter to be the case, longer term cultural policies that will facilitate the efficient use of alternative music distribution channels (digital and live in particular) by the artists and producers might be needed.

There doesn't exist any academic research on the music industry in Turkey focusing on the diversity issue. The only related study is that of Rankin, Ergin and Gökşen (2014) which is on cultural consumption in general and makes a social stratification of Turkish society based on cultural preferences in many areas including, music, cinema, daily activities like going out etc. However, as it has a broad perspective including the consumption behaviors in many artistic fields, analysis related to the musical preferences constitute only a small part of the research and there is no reference to the diversity within pop music. The cultural

diversity in the production and dissemination stages of the (pop) music industry, public awareness regarding the existing alternatives of pop music and the influence of traditional and digital platforms on this awareness have never been studied for the case of Turkey (to my knowledge). In this sense, this dissertation stands as a candidate to fill a gap in the Turkish academic literature on the music industry.

There is important literature in the world about the cultural consumption, production and dissemination, some of which more or less focus on the music industry and/or the diversity issue. Among these, Bourdieu's work "Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste" can be considered the foundation of cultural consumption studies and together with his successors constitute a theoretical base for this dissertation. As for the production side, the works of Peterson & Berger (1975) and Alexander (1996), which specifically focus on the relationship between the diversity of music production and the level of concentration in the mainstream music industry, are the most relevant references for this dissertation. However, each of the studies in the world focus on the diversity in only one stage of the value chain. There are no researches (to my knowledge) which combine the production, distribution and consumption stages. Moreover, the studies on the consumption of music do not go into the details of pop music. This dissertation, by trying to draw a holistic picture of the music industry and by going into more details in analyzing the pop music consumption and production, is an endeavor to contribute to the world music industry literature as well.

The dissertation is organized as follows:

In Chapter 1, theoretical and political background of the cultural diversity issue are overviewed and discussed in detail. Theoretical justification is tried to be made based on the discussions on the standardization impact of industrialization in the area of culture, initiated by the Frankfurt School representatives and further developed by other authors such as Becker, Gans, Williams, Hesmondhalgh etc. Counterarguments, including those of Hall, Hebdige, Fiske etc., are also taken into consideration while forming the theoretical ground of this study. In order to underline the political significance of the issue, cultural diversity-related agenda of

international institutions such as UNESCO and Council of Europe (CoE) are overviewed starting from the 1980s.

In Chapter 2, the actors and functioning of the world music industry before and after the digital revolution are evaluated, technological progress which had a significant impact on production, distribution and consumption of music is overviewed, the economic volume of the world music industry is analyzed historically and the concentration and diversity in the industry are discussed in relation to each other. Firstly, the pre-digital era value chain of the music industry is put forth, all the actors are introduced and the traditional processes of music production, distribution and promotion are explained in detail. Later on, the technological progress in the area of music is overviewed and the end result of this progress in terms of the organization and the overall profitability of the industry are discussed in depth. In another subsection, the relationship between the diversity in the music industry and the level of market concentration is assessed based on relevant literature. The impact of the changing production and consumption patterns in the digital era on the produced and consumed diversity in the world music industry is also evaluated.

In Chapter 3, the history of the music industry in Turkey is overviewed in relation to diversity. The musical genres that have been popular among the public in different periods since the establishment of the Turkish Republic are evaluated in relation to the social and political conditions of each era. The impact of institutions such as the mainstream media, live music venues and song contests on the changing levels of diversity are also discussed.

In Chapter 4, the organization and volume of the music industry in Turkey are analyzed. The diversity of the music repertoires of today's radio and TV, and that of the songs most frequently downloaded and/or streamed on digital platforms are analyzed based on empirical data.

In Chapter 5, the research results for the three focuses mentioned above are given and discussed after reviewing related studies in the world and in Turkey. Firstly, the music consumers in Turkey are classified into seven groups according to their musical preferences using LCA. Then the determinants of being a member

of each group are tried to be identified using multivariate regression analyses. Secondly, the mainstream music industry, which is found to be decisive on the musical preferences of the majority of the consumers, is analyzed in detail. And thirdly, the functioning of the music industry for the alternatives is tried to be understood based on in-depth interviews with the independent artists.

In Conclusion, the research findings are synthesized and cultural policy suggestions to improve the level of consumed diversity are made.



CHAPTER 1
ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY:
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND TODAY

In this section, the theoretical and political significance of this study is tried to be justified in more details. First, the conceptual and theoretical background of the culture industries is overviewed in relation to cultural diversity. Then in the second subsection, the political discussions on the issue throughout the history are summarized. The ideas put forth here will be questions for the Turkish music industry throughout this study.

1.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: FRANKFURT SCHOOL AND ITS CRITICS

The theoretical ground of the cultural diversity issue should be looked for in the culture industry discussions which were initiated at the Frankfurt School and carried on afterwards. The emphasis put on the standardization generated as a result of the industrialized cultural production by the representatives of the Frankfurt School, especially Adorno, was indicating that the cultural diversity, which is carried by the cultural products, is under threat in all cultural and artistic areas that are subject to mass production and consumption. Similarly, Walter Benjamin underlined the loss of uniqueness, which had once found existence in the “aura” of each art object, after the technological advancements which gave rise to the possibility of mechanical reproduction in the area of arts (Benjamin, 2008).

The term ‘culture industry’ was first coined by Adorno and Horkheimer in their book “Dialectic of Enlightenment” published in the mid 1940s and the general arguments of this book related to culture industry were reaffirmed in other works of Adorno on music and other cultural areas. According to these critical theorists, arts and culture had started to be controlled by the industry according to the rules of capitalism. The reason why they used the term ‘culture industry’ in its singular form was their intention to go beyond the literal meaning of ‘industry’ and to refer

to the sameness of the rules of each area of production, sameness of the products and sameness of the consumers (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002). They deliberately avoided using the term in the plural form in order to prevent readers from thinking about any form of diversity. Their approach was criticized by a number of authors, for example the French sociologist Bernard Miège, who thought that the cultural industries field was composed of a complex and diverse set of industries rather than being a unified sector (Miège, 1989). In my opinion, it is true that the field is composed of a number of different industries, which Adorno and Horkheimer were surely aware of, however I go along with Adorno and Horkheimer in their deliberate selection with the intention of underlying the standardizing characteristics of each culture industry based on their mass production and consumption nature.

The idea of increased sameness in the production side was also supported by Gans (1999). According to him, culture industry creates a tension between the creators and disseminators of culture (Gans, 1999). As there is no (or little) space left for the cultural products out of the standardized frame set by the (in)visible conventions of the industry (Becker, 1982), artists cannot create independently. Such a system is obviously against the cultural diversity.

Frankfurt School theorists, especially Adorno, think that the audiences are totally passive and are controlled by a unique mechanism (the culture industry) operating from above (Adorno & Bernstein, 2001). However, the representatives of another movement coming after the Frankfurt School, namely the British Cultural Studies, do not believe that the audiences are completely passive (even though they are critical about the functioning of the culture industries in principle). Hall (1980) accepts that there is a system which tries to impose its messages from top to bottom, yet the messages that are encoded in the media texts might not be decoded in the same way by each and every consumer. Moreover, different groups in the society can form their own subcultures whatever the mainstream outlets of culture industries are trying to impose on the audience (Hebdige, 1995).

Fiske (1999) also believes that the audiences are active. According to him, it is the consumer - not the industry - who determines what will become popular. If the industry tries to impose a cultural product that is unattractive for the audience,

then it faces the resistance of the consumers and ultimately becomes a failure. It is not possible to make it a success by permanent exposure - as argued by Adorno (2002) - no matter the consumers' preferences are. However, the critics of Fiske oppose him with the idea that no matter how strong the resistance of the consumers is, they cannot tell the culture industries what to produce and offer. Moreover, the preferences of the consumers that are the base for their resistance might be the ones already shaped by the previous impositions of the industry. Tastes of the audiences might be the pseudo-tastes created by the culture industries themselves as argued by McDonald (cited in Storey, 2000). It is very optimistic - in such a vicious circle created by the culture industries - to assume that the preferences are independently formed and are real. The idea of active vs. passive audience will be discussed throughout this dissertation.

Another important approach to culture industries is the political economy of culture which was developed in the late 1960s. The representatives of the approach were concerned by the increasing concentration (in the form of state control or business ownership) in culture industries, including the media industry (Hesmondhalgh, 2008). The critical political economy writers, such as Garnham, explained the reason for capital accumulation in culture industries by the high risk associated with the investment made in this field. The production costs of the cultural goods are high whereas the reproduction costs are very low. This imbalance between the production and reproduction costs generates the tendency for the capital owners to try to have a small number of big hits. Big hits' being disproportionately profitable is the reason for the 'blockbuster syndrome', which is the greatest enemy of diversity in the culture industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2008).

The arguments of this dissertation have several points of intersection and discussions with the above-mentioned theories. First of all, my starting point was the observation that there is an increasing amount of standardization in the music industry, which can be evaluated as the continuation of the epidemic started in 1940s when Horkheimer & Adorno (2002) said that the culture was infecting everything with sameness. I agree that this standardization is basically caused by the profit motives of capitalism and strengthened by the extremely risky nature of

culture industries. These capitalistic incentives manifest in the emanation of blockbusters in the mainstream industries at the expense of diversity.

The opposition between the views of the active consumer and the passive consumer, and the question of whether the musical tastes are shaped by the industry or formed independently are major concerns of this dissertation. Following Hebdige's (1995) argument on subcultures, the existence of groups in the Turkish society who are interested in music genres which are not available on the mainstream outlets of the music industry - through which mainstream genres are imposed - will be investigated throughout the study⁹. On the other hand, one of the main hypotheses of this dissertation is that the majority of the listeners are 'passive consumers' of the mainstream music. However, it is too difficult to come to a robust conclusion based on empirical analysis regarding the preferences for the mainstream genres as it is impossible to isolate the consumers from the mainstream sphere of culture industries, that is to say it is impossible to test what the tastes of today would be like in the absence of the culture industries, because they are unavoidably present. Thus, the impact of the industry (especially the mainstream media) will be tried to be evaluated indirectly via the analyses on the impact of familiarity. If familiarity is shown to be decisive on the musical preferences, then a conclusion on the positive impact of repeated exposure by the media on the preferences can be made.

In short, this dissertation will provide an applied research associated with some of the basic theoretical arguments listed above. There are other applied studies in the literature, conducted in the light of the culture industry theories, which have similarities with the present one. A group of these studies focus on the consumers' preferences about music (and other cultural content), while others focus on the production processes and on the gatekeepers such as radio and TV. Some of these studies are directly related to the diversity issue while the findings of others can

⁹ Note that these groups may not necessarily be subcultures in Hebdige's sense. In other words, subcultures are the groups which are marginalized in a society, while the diversity – which is the concern of this dissertation - is related to all people and groups outside the mainstream.

indirectly be evaluated with respect to diversity. A comprehensive overview of the aforementioned literature will also be made in Chapter 5.

The undesirable outcomes of the industrialization of culture were intensively realized by the policy makers in 1990s, and culture industry theory and the concept of cultural diversity started to find a place in the cultural policy agenda as a result. The political progress related to the cultural diversity issue, the essence of which is the theoretical framework discussed above, is detailed in the following section.

1.2 CULTURAL DIVERSITY AS A POLICY ISSUE

Cultural diversity is the capacity to maintain the dynamic of change in all of us, whether individuals or groups (UNESCO, 2009).

Cultural diversity has emerged as a key policy concern all over the world and therefore climbed up the agenda of international organizations such as UNESCO – which is one of the leading international organizations in the area of culture together with CoE, European Commission, etc. - as one of the priority issues at the end of the 20th century. In our day, efforts to protect the manifestations of cultural diversity is of particular importance for national governments and the international community as a whole. There are many country-specific programs and projects (some of which are undertaken by non-governmental bodies) to support cultural diversity, together with international initiatives. In this section, the history of cultural diversity as a political concept is reviewed shortly, based primarily on the basic texts and actions of UNESCO and CoE.

Cultural diversity has started to be referred to by UNESCO from the very beginning of its history in 1945 in its Constitution as follows:

[...] Organization will:
Give fresh impulse [...] to the spread of culture;
[...] and preserve the fruitful diversity of cultures (UNESCO, 1945).

Since its establishment in 1945, UNESCO adopted a number of standard-setting instruments in the spheres of artistic creation, moveable and immovable heritage, intangible cultural heritage and cultural diversity – which are all directly or indirectly related to cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2009). Among these instruments, the ones listed below are of primary importance for the cultural diversity issue:

- UNESCO 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (hereafter the 2001 Declaration).
- UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.
- UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (hereafter the 2005 Convention).

A number of international documents should be mentioned as the precursors of the basic texts of UNESCO on cultural diversity. A meaningful reference to cultural diversity is the European Cultural Convention (CoE, 1954). The Convention “had the purpose of promoting cultural understanding between the states’ parties, and protecting, studying and disseminating their own cultural elements” (Fuentes, 2016, p. 379). However, the emphasis of the Convention was on the national cultures of the individual European states only; in this sense it had a limited understanding of cultural diversity which did not give weight to the preservation and enrichment of the different (sub) cultures within the European societies.

At the end of the 20th century, the approach of the CoE changed “from a strategy of the imposition of the majority culture to a greater recognition of the value of cultural expressions” (Fuentes, 2016, p. 381). The Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level, which was brought into force in 1992, was more open toward cultural diversity. The aim of the convention was to protect the cultural identities of the foreigners (CoE, 1992). The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was another crucial document

representative of the new paradigm. The Convention, with the recognition of the social wealth produced by diversity, intended to promote awareness and encourage the development of cultural diversity in Europe, and to seek solutions to the problem of discrimination against minorities (CoE, 1995).

The process that led to the publishing of 2001 Declaration also includes:

- The Recommendation adopted by UNESCO General Conference 1980 concerning the Status of the Artist, which “calls upon Member States to improve the professional, social and economic status of artists through the implementation of policies and measures related to training, social security, employment, income and tax conditions, mobility and freedom of expression” (UNESCO General Conference, 2015).
- Declaration of World Conference on Cultural Policies, which says: “The universal cannot be postulated in the abstract by any single culture: it emerges from the experience of all the world's peoples as each affirms its own identity. Cultural identity and cultural diversity are inseparable” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 2).
- The 1996 report of the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) entitled “Our Creative Diversity” aimed to show:

[...] how culture shapes all our thinking, imagining and behavior. It is the transmission of behavior as well as a dynamic source for change, creativity, freedom and the awakening of innovative opportunities. For groups and societies, culture is energy, inspiration and empowerment, as well as the knowledge and acknowledgment of diversity (WCCD, 1996, p. 11).

- The conclusion of the 1998 Stockholm Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development which affirmed the need for the recognition of cultural differences and intercultural dialogue (UNESCO, 2009).

UNESCO 2001 Declaration identifies culture as “the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group,

[that] encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” and emphasizes that “culture takes diverse forms across time and space”, that “[t]his diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind” and that “cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature” (UNESCO, 2001).

Together with taking culture in its broadest sense as such, the 2001 Declaration also has a specific emphasis on cultural goods and services and the culture industries in which these goods and services are produced. This side of the Declaration, which is of primary relevance for this dissertation, is clearly seen in the following articles:

Article 8 – Cultural goods and services: commodities of a unique kind:

In the face of present-day economic and technological change, opening up vast prospects for creation and innovation, particular attention must be paid to the diversity of the supply of creative work, to the recognition of the rights of authors and artists and to the specificity of cultural goods and services which, as vectors of identity, values and meaning, must not be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods (UNESCO, 2001).

Article 9 – Cultural policies as catalysts of creativity:

While ensuring the free circulation of ideas and works, cultural policies must create conditions conducive to the production and dissemination of diversified cultural goods and services through cultural industries that have the means to assert themselves at the local and global level. It is for each State, with due regard to its international obligations, to define its cultural policy and to implement it through the means it considers fit, whether by operational support or appropriate regulations (UNESCO, 2001).

In Articles 8 and 9, UNESCO mentions the unique nature of cultural activities - caused by the non-commercial value they include besides their commercial value – which distinguishes them from other commercial goods and brings forth the need for a special treatment for these activities and goods; and the conditions necessary for the production, dissemination and consumption of these activities and goods in all their diversified forms (at the local and global level) should be maintained by relevant cultural policies and measures.

In the beginning of the 2000s, CoE had taken a number of steps with regard to cultural diversity. The Declaration of Helsinki (2000) proclaimed the need for the social participation of migrants to guarantee social cohesion (CoE, 2002).

Opatija Declaration specifically underlined the concept of intercultural dialogue (CoE, 2003a) and Athens Declaration identified public participation as a key factor to promote intercultural relations (CoE 2003b).

UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has a primary focus on the processes of transmission of knowledge within the communities that would help the protection of the diversity embedded in the intangible cultural heritage. (UNESCO, 2003).

Finally, the 2005 Convention – which is the most recent instrument of UNESCO in the sphere - focuses more on the cultural activities, goods and services as conveyors of cultural diversity and emphasizes the need for preferential treatment for the protection and promotion of the cultural expressions actualized through cultural production in developing countries. From a comparative perspective, the 2005 Convention is much ‘softer’ than the 2001 Declaration in the sense that it puts more weight on the economic and social aspects of cultural diversity by putting the emphasis on cultural goods and services, intellectual property, artistic creations, etc., rather than the political ‘hard’ aspect predominant in the Declaration. The transition from a more political to a more economic and social understanding of cultural diversity can be explained by the willingness to provide a sort of broad consensus which would lead to a more widespread adoption of the Convention all over the world.¹⁰ The 2005 Convention aims at the preservation of cultures while promoting their development on a global scale through exchange and commercialization (UNESCO, 2009). The new paradigm adopted in the Convention brings in a sense the international cultural diversity policy framework closer to the context of this dissertation.

On the other hand, The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008) by CoE emphasizes the growing importance of cultural diversity as follows:

¹⁰ Excerpted from the speech of Serhan Ada in the 10 Year of the Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions Conference, 20 October 2015, İstanbul.

In recent decades, cultural diversification has gained momentum. Europe has attracted migrants in search of a better life and asylum-seekers from across the world. Globalization has compressed space and time on a scale that is unprecedented. The revolutions in telecommunications and the media – particularly through the emergence of new communications services like the Internet – have rendered national cultural systems increasingly porous. The development of transport and tourism has brought more people than ever into face-to-face contact, engendering more and more opportunities for intercultural dialogue.

In this situation, pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness are more important than ever.

[...] However, pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness may not be sufficient: a pro-active, a structured and widely shared effort in managing cultural diversity is needed. Intercultural dialogue is a major tool to achieve this aim, without which it will be difficult to safeguard the freedom and well-being of everyone living on our continent. (CoE, 2008, p. 13).

For the scope and purpose of this dissertation, the stress made by UNESCO 2001 Declaration and 2005 Convention on the commercial and non-commercial production of culture via culture industries is principally important. This study is built on the firm belief that the cultural activities, goods and services have both an economic and a cultural nature because they are the conveyors of identity, meaning and values (UNESCO, 2001; UNESCO, 2005a) and “must therefore not be treated as solely having commercial value” (UNESCO, 2005a, p. 2) especially when the consumers’ benefits are prioritized as stated in the Introduction. The cultural activities, goods and services are all diversified not only at the community or group level but also at the individual level; each individual has the right to know about and consume each diversified form of these goods, and hence the functioning of the culture industries should be investigated in terms of their ability to preserve and promote the diversity of content of the cultural product and services (and at the same time the rights of the individuals to consume this diversity).

The main concern of this dissertation is parallel to that put forth by Obuljen and Smiers (2006) in the article “Making it work” written on the 2005 Convention:

Cultural production, distribution, exhibition and promotion worldwide are increasingly monopolized; fewer owners than ever before dominate the cultural market. At the same time, the choice available to consumers in many fields of the arts is less diversified. Cultural life is diminished when

the variety of artistic expressions that can reach audiences and buyers of works of art is reduced. From a human rights perspective this is not a sound development. (Obuljen and Smiers 2006 cited in UNESCO, 2015: 18)

A relatively new report by UNESCO, namely the UNESCO World Report Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue has points relevant to this dissertation as well. While on the one hand analyzing cultural diversity in all its aspects (taking into consideration the broadest definition of culture along the lines of the consensus embodied in UNESCO's 1982 Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies¹¹), the mentioned World Report also emphasizes the key areas (language, education, communication and cultural contents, creativity and the market place) which are essential for the safeguarding and promotion of cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2009). Among the key areas set forth by the Report, "communication and cultural content" is to some extent and "creativity and market place" is to a greater extent related to the commercial production of cultural goods and hence the evaluations made under these sub-headings are relevant to this study. In the section "communication and cultural content," the World Report analyzes the impacts of globalization and technological innovation in the ways in which cultural contents shape and are shaped by cultural diversity, and highlights the need to invest in media and culture industries to the benefit of cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2009). The following specific notes of the Report on the digital technologies – cultural diversity-oriented positive effects which are questioned in the course of this dissertation – are worth mentioning:

Yet if the growth of on-demand digital content on the Internet and the widespread availability of readily reproducible and exchangeable media (DVDs, streaming media, audio and video files) hold out new promise, they also pose new challenges for cultural diversity.
[...]

¹¹ In UNESCO's Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, culture is defined as follows: "in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 1982).

Along with the changes it has brought about through the increased availability of media content, the digital era has also had a considerable impact on demand and how the public consumes such content.

[...]

The increased supply of media content is not necessarily reflected in greater diversity of consumption. Confronted by an excess of choice, some consumers prefer to confine themselves to a small number of familiar titles rather than explore unknown or different content (UNESCO, 2009).

The distinction between what is available in terms of cultural diversity and what is actually reached and consumed by the consumers (of the cultural content in general and the musical content specifically) is one of the major concerns of this dissertation. The level and causes of this distinction are questioned and the ways through which it can be minimized are tried to be found out throughout the study.

The key role of media in the promotion of the diversity of cultural content has been highlighted by several regional organizations such as the European Union, the Organization of American States and the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, and on a national level a renewed policy interest in cultural industry development and the promotion of content diversity has emerged in the past decade (UNESCO, 2009). The policy initiatives taken by countries like Australia, UK, Finland and many other OECD countries, as well as Brazil, China, Colombia, India and a number of other developing countries are based on principles such as the importance of a solid industrial base to allow diversity to flourish and "the recognition of the cultural industries as vehicles for the transmission of contemporary creativity and the diversity of expression" (UNESCO, 2009).

Another report titled *Reshaping Cultural Policies (RCP)* was published by UNESCO in 2015, a decade after the 2005 Convention was adopted. It is basically a monitoring report prepared in order to evaluate the implementation of the 2005 Convention by the Parties who ratified it so far. Performances of the Parties in implementing the Convention are analyzed under several titles such as "new trends in policy making," "new voices: encouraging media diversity," "challenges of the digital age," "partnering with civil society," "promoting mobility," "flow of cultural goods and services," "promoting the Convention in International Forums," "culture in sustainable development," "gender equality" and "challenges of artistic

freedom.” Among all the mentioned titles, “culture in sustainable development” deserves special attention because sharing a section for sustainable development in the report is related to United Nation’s acknowledgement of the role of creativity, culture and cultural diversity for sustainable development for the first time at the global level in its most recent Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 (United Nations, 2015). This recognition resonates with the 2005 Convention and the “culture in sustainable development” section in the report can be counted as a blended outcome of sustainable development principles and cultural diversity principles of the United Nations, the former set by the periodically released UN Sustainable Development Agendas and the latter set by the UNESCO 2005 Convention. The key messages of the section are as follows:

Implementation of the sustainability provisions of the [UNESCO 2005] Convention can be interpreted as the formulation of strategies to achieve culturally sustainable development, a concept that brings together the cultural and economic dimensions of development in a framework emphasizing growth, equity and cultural integrity in the development process.

The cultural industries can be a major target for policy leading towards development that is both economically and culturally sustainable; policy initiatives to support the growth of these industries can yield significant long-term economic, social, cultural and environmental benefits (UNESCO, 2015, p. 151).

I should mention at this point that Turkey has very recently ratified¹² to become a party to the UNESCO 2005 Convention. Therefore, time is needed to evaluate the implementation of the Convention in Turkey. Moreover, although cultural diversity is mentioned as a priority and a principle aim of the cultural policy of Turkey in the National Cultural Policy Report of Turkey which was prepared under the CoE National Cultural Policies Review Program (CoE, 2013), the reference to European Union Accession Partnership Document and the special

¹² The Convention was ratified by Grand National Assembly on 1st of March 2017 (published in Official Gazette on 25 March 2017, Law no. 6892).

emphasis on the importance of cultural diversity as a tool to create a favorable national image in the eye of the global public indicate that cultural diversity is still not positioned as an autonomous area as one of the strategic priorities of the cultural policy of the Turkish government¹³. On another aspect, the UNESCO National Commission for Turkey's Diversity of Cultural Expressions Committee, artists associations, representatives of the cultural industries and civil society have carried out their endeavors to increase awareness about cultural diversity and their advocacy for the ratification of the 2005 Convention by the Turkish government so far.

1.2.1 Cultural diversity and music

The emerging local music industries of developing countries are affected by the international market, through two avenues. Firstly, the production sector of the music industry in these countries becomes increasingly a target for the large transnational record companies. Secondly, consumers' demands for the sort of music that circulates internationally grows as such music becomes more readily available, as incomes rise, and as tastes change; thus the proportion of domestically-produced music in a country's total music demand tends to decline as development proceeds (Throsby, 2002).

Music, because of being extremely prevalent in the everyday life of many individuals, is one of the most important carriers of cultural diversity. Even though the music industry is not mentioned explicitly in the 2001 Declaration and 2005 Convention, it is discussed several times in detail in the 2009 World Report and 2015 monitoring report by UNESCO. Moreover, a report titled *The Protection and Promotion of Musical Diversity* was prepared by International Music Council as a result of a study carried out for UNESCO (Letts, 2006).

The report evaluates the relationship between musical diversity and human rights at first. Then it mentions the role of the music industry in sustainable development. In a separate section, the report summarizes the regulations in

¹³ Excerpted from the speech of Serhan Ada in the 10 Year of the Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions Conference, 20 October 2015, İstanbul.

different areas (such as broadcasting, new media, education, subsidies and copyrights) impacting on musical diversity in different countries. Finally, the report details the challenges in protecting and disseminating musical diversity at three different levels: private sector and civil society, government sector and international sphere.

The challenges mentioned throughout the report – some of which are taken into consideration during the course of this dissertation and discussed in the conclusion part – are listed below:

- The challenge of loss of, potential or completed, traditional musics (the challenge to collect, catalogue and made easily accessible the traditional musics that are endangered, and the challenge to find a way to restore traditional musics to the daily life of at least some of the people).
- The challenge of the loss of local musics to the forces of globalization.
- The challenge to building financially successful local music sectors.
- The challenge to reasserting the primary value of culture over commerce.
- The challenge of creating in the private sector the broadest possible access to musical diversity.
- The challenge of government ignorance or indifference.
- The challenge to governments to formulate and enact legislation and policies that protect and promote musical diversity.
- The challenge of formulating, enacting and enforcing the copyright legislation and regulations that will be most beneficial to music and musical diversity in a given country.
- The challenge of the lack of provision of an effective, long-term, sequential, diverse music education.
- The challenge of providing the broadest possible public access to musical diversity, including access to local musics.
- The challenge of evaluation of the effectiveness of measures taken by governments in support of music and musical diversity.

- The challenge of mounting adequate research into the factual situation concerning musical diversity.
- The challenge of sustaining local musics in the face of the incursions of international free trade agreements (Letts, 2006).

Besides the general challenges regarding the cultural diversity listed above, the specific emphasis of the report on the importance of the broadcast sphere in disseminating diversified musical productions is worth mentioning: “It is still through broadcast that musical works get the greatest public exposure [...] For music, radio broadcast is probably the most important” (Letts, 2006: 21).

Together with putting forth a general evaluation of the challenges regarding the protection and promotion of the musical diversity and summarizing the regulations (and their effectiveness) applied by different governments to prevent the standardization realized especially in the private music sector led by blockbusters and oligopolistic major record labels who are motivated by profit and likely to reinforce the most popular¹⁴ music only, it also develops suggestions to further increase the level of musical diversity in the music industries at the national level and in the international music sector.

In the “creativity and market place” section of the World Report, the challenge of protecting and promoting cultural diversity given the tension between the cultural creation and cultural commercialization is emphasized. And the popular music is mentioned to be the field in which the pressures of commercialization are most strongly felt. The underlined impacts of these pressures are the inducement of local artists to exploit their creative talents in an increasingly global market and the acculturation processes related to the asymmetry of global cultural flows (UNESCO, 2009). A great portion of the music industry conglomerates are located

¹⁴ The word “popular” is not used to mention a specific musical genre but to mention its definition in Cambridge Dictionary which is “liked, enjoyed or supported by many people”. That is to say, popular music refers to any genre of music with a widespread familiarity and likeability among a given public. In this sense it is different from the term “pop” which refers to a specific musical genre i.e. pop music might be popular in a specific location at a given time while any other genre (such as classical music, folk music, jazz music) might be popular in another location and/or at another time.

in the US and the UK resulting in an imbalance in the cultural exchange between developed and developing countries in the area of music (UNESCO, 2009). Even though the World Report urges more pressure on the preservation of cultural diversity at the international level, a similar asymmetry is also applicable within nations.

RCP, the monitoring report of UNESCO, mentions music several times in the context of national and international projects and initiatives to support musical diversity and freedom of the artists. The Report evaluates different ways in which musical diversity is being threatened.

Besides the ever-spreading power of a relatively homogeneous western-sponsored pop music which has the potential to displace the local music (Letts, 2006) (this aspect of the issue is related to the economic risks faced by the producers of diversified forms), RCP shares a large space for the cases in which the rights to freedom of artistic expressions (in the area of music and other arts) are violated (this aspect is related to the political threats). There exists a civil society organization (CSO) named Freemuse¹⁵, which is the first international CSO dedicated to documenting, monitoring and defending freedom of musical expression. It has published country and thematic reports and books on the mechanisms and effects of censorship of music. It documents and monitors violations of artistic freedom since 2012. Freemuse engages in court cases and prison visits, provides advice to artists at risk and coordinates the Annual Music Freedom Day. Freemuse has consultative status with the UN and has been consulted by the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights as well as UNESCO (UNESCO, 2015).

Popular music is widely diversified. The range of often overlapping genres – including rock, pop, jazz, folk, Latin, blues, country, reggae and musical comedy in the West (UNESCO, 2009) and rock, pop, jazz, folk, arabesque in Turkey – is virtually limitless. However the extent to which these limitless resources are made use of and reflected into production, and how much of these diversified productions

¹⁵ www.freemuse.org

echo in consumption are questionable. These issues are investigated in this dissertation for the case of Turkey.



CHAPTER 2

WORLD MUSIC INDUSTRY: ORGANIZATION, TECHNOLOGY AND VOLUME

In this chapter, my intention is to provide information regarding the organization, functioning and the economic volume of the music industry in general, and how these are affected as a result of the technological changes in the ways music is produced and consumed. I will put a specific emphasis on the impact of the recent digital technologies because, as emphasized by Throsby (2002), the effects of the prior developments have been “relatively minor in comparison to the potentially far-reaching impacts on the music industry of the [recent digital] revolution in communications technologies” which began in the 1990s (Throsby, 2002: 7).

2.1 GLOBAL MUSIC INDUSTRY AS A SECTOR

2.1.1 Structure of the Music Industry

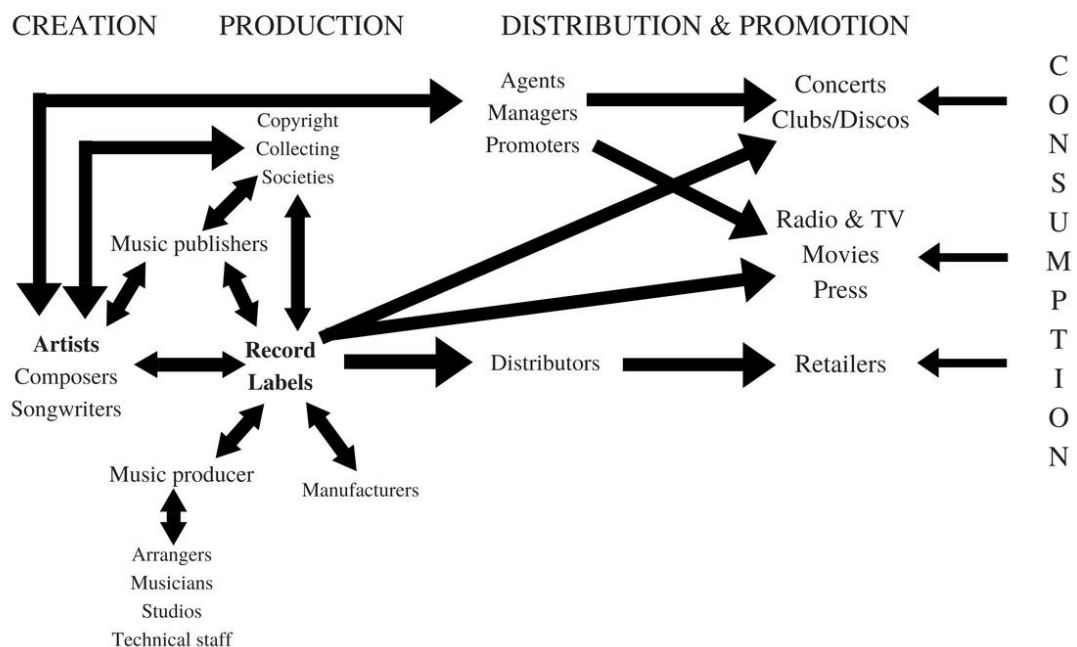
In order to understand the organization and functioning of the music industry, the first step should be to define the scope of the industry in terms of the actors taking part in the whole process of music production and the ways in which these actors interact with each other. Throsby (2002) identifies the extent and coverage of the music industry by listing the groups of stakeholders as follows:

- Creative artists such as composers, songwriters and musical performers;
- Agents, managers, promoters etc. who act on behalf of artists;
- Music publishers who publish original works in various forms;
- Record companies which make and distribute records (LPs, cassettes, CDs, music videos, DVDs);
- Copyright collecting societies which administer the rights of artists, publishers and record companies;
- A variety of other service providers including studio owners, manufacturers, distributors, retailers, broadcasters, venue operators, ticket agents, etc.;

- Users of music such as film-makers, multi-media producers, advertisers, etc.;
- Individual consumers, who purchase a musical good or service or consume it for free (listening to broadcasts, background music, etc.) (Throsby, 2000: 2).

In light of Throsby’s identification, and of other studies in which the structure of the music industry have been analyzed - such as Hirsch (1969), Bergman (2004), Leurdijk & Nieuwenhuis (2011), Yin & Zheng (2015) - the stakeholders and the interactions between them before the digital era (i.e. the traditional value chain of the music industry) are illustrated in Figure 2.1. After discussing the technological changes in the ways music is produced and consumed in Section 2.1.2, the evolution of the value chain as a result of the recent technological progress will be assessed from a comparative perspective and in more details.

Figure 2.1: Value Chain of the Music Industry Before the Digital Era (i.e. the traditional music industry).



The creation and production process of a song or an album before the digital era is described below.

First of all, a decision to make an album (or a song) is made; for an established performer, he/she decides to make a new song or album either with his/her previous Producer or he/she is transferred to another record company¹⁶ with a brand new deal. For a no-name performer, he/she decides to make an album and goes to a Producer with a demo¹⁷ (or goes without a demo just to perform in front of the Producer to demonstrate his/her voice live), or a record company discovers a potential performer and offers to make an album for him/her. If both sides agree to work on an album project together, a kind of partnership is established between the two parties. The details of this partnership (how long it will take, how many albums will be produced during this time, amount of production budget, how the ownership of rights will be split between the Producer and the artists, amount of distribution and promotion budgets, who the artist manager will be, the profit shares of the Producer and the performer, etc.) are determined depending on the mutual (written most of the time) agreement and may vary from case to case. From this point on, the production company is the financier of the project. In other words, the Producer invests the cash while the performer invests his/her labor (talent, performance – and songs in some cases).

After an agreement is made, the company generally designates a music producer¹⁸ for the album¹⁹. The total production budget of the album might be clarified in this phase and hence the music producer might be expected to plan the rest of the production process accordingly, or the Producer and the music producer

¹⁶ Record companies can be essentially categorized into two (for the late 20th century and for the 21st century): Major record labels (which are today dominated by Sony, Universal and Warner internationally and also include national major labels for each country) and small/medium scale labels which are producing and distributing on a smaller scale (Mooney et. al., 2010).

¹⁷ Demo is a preliminary/draft recording of a song in order for a singer to introduce his/her voice and/or songs to the record label.

¹⁸ Music producer (*müzik prodüktörü*) is different than the Producer (*yapımcı*). A Producer (*yapımcı*) is the owner or the manager of a record company, whereas a music producer (*müzik prodüktörü*) is a music professional who is in charge of the management of the musical part of a production project.

¹⁹ It is not mandatory to assign a music producer; it might be the case that the Producers themselves carry out the duties of a music producer.

might work on the budgetary issues together in each phase. The Producer is always the one who has the last say regarding the financial issues.

In the next stage, the repertoire (the songs that will constitute the album) is decided by the performer, the music producer (if any) and the Producer (or the A&R [Artist and Repertoire] department of the production company). If the performer writes his/her own songs, then the songs to be included in the album are chosen from among the performers' own songs. If all or some of the songs will be 'bought' from other songwriters, then the Producer, the music producer and the performer spend some time on searching for the appropriate songs. The songs might be found on the catalogue of a music publisher²⁰ or can be directly bought from songwriters. When the decision is made, the Producer 'purchases' the songs and the songwriter(s) sign(s) a letter of consent via the musical work owners' society to which each song is registered (MESAM or MSG in Turkey and ASCAP, BMI in the US, GEMA in Germany and The Mechanical Copyright Protection Society in the UK) in order to give official permission for the use of the song(s) in the album.

Later on, an arranger (or a number of arrangers) is chosen. An arranger is a music professional who decides on the composition of a song (which instruments will be included in the recording and what melodies each instrument will play) and writes the musical partitions of each instrument included in the composition. In the case of an album, a single arranger might work on the compositions of every song or each song might be composed by different arrangers. If there is a music producer managing the project, then the decision regarding the number of arrangers and who they are going to be is under his/her responsibility, otherwise the Producer (most of the time in collaboration with the performer) decides on the arranger(s). The arranger(s) prepare(s) the compositions of the songs on paper (or in mind). He/she might work in collaboration with the performer, songwriter and the music producer, but the responsibility is on the arranger. After finalizing the compositions, the arranger decides on which recording musicians will play the instruments and in

²⁰ "Music publishing is the owning and exploiting of songs in the form of musical copyrights." (Wixen, 2009). The owners of the original musical works (i.e. the composers and lyricists) authorize the music publishers to sell their songs to performers/Producers to be used in albums and to follow the collection of publishing royalties on behalf of them.

which music studio the recording will take place. The cost of recording depends on the decisions made in this phase (i.e., cost increases with the quality/experience of the musicians and the rates applied by the studio). Thus, most of the time the arranger works in collaboration with the Producer in this phase regarding the budget issues. (Or the Producer/music producer might have allocated a specific amount of budget to the arranger inclusive of the recordings, in the previous phase).

Besides the financial issues, the arranger might also take into consideration the views of the music producer and the performer in this phase as well. Finally, the musicians play their parts in the selected studio and each part is recorded. After all the instrumental parts are recorded, the performer sings his/her parts in the studio to be recorded as separate channels, under the control of the arranger. In some cases, a vocal coach is taken into service by the production company to give instructions to the performer while recording his/her vocal parts.

Editing, mixing and mastering follow the recording process. All recorded parts are edited on a computer program (background noises are deleted, parts that do not fit properly on the rhythmic structure are relocated etc.) and then all the channels are sent to a sound engineer specialized in mixing. In the mixing phase all the channels pass through a technical process (the relative volumes of the channels and the effects to be applied to each channel such as reverb²¹, delay²² etc. are decided and implemented etc.). The arranger and the mix engineer are different persons most of the time but the arranger is responsible for guiding the engineer to capture the sound required by the composition of each song. If there is a music producer, he/she has a say in this phase most of the time, as he/she is responsible for the general management of the musical production. The final phase of the musical production of an album is mastering. It might or might not be done by the same engineer who carried out the mixing phase. It can be thought of as fine tuning the songs in the same album to balance with each other in terms of volume and sound. Again, the arranger is responsible for leading the mastering engineer. At the

²¹ Reverb is the electronically produced echo effect in recorded music (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reverb>)

²² Delay is the repetition of a sound after a short time interval (from 10 milliseconds to 10 seconds) (<http://www.music-dictionary.org/Delay>)

end of the mastering phase the songs are recorded on a CD (which is called the master CD) to be reproduced (one or two copies of the master CD are produced at this stage). During all these technical phases, the artist might take part in decision making based on his/her musical competencies.

Then comes the reproduction phase. The production company enters into an agreement with a CD/LP reproduction company and a printing house. The printing house reproduces the covers (and the promotion material such as leaflets and posters occasionally) and sends them to the reproduction company. The master CD is also delivered to the CD reproduction company to be reproduced and packaged together with the covers. This stage is financed by the record company. During the reproduction phase, the legal procedures that are required to release an album are followed (getting permission from the copyright owners – publishers or the songwriters - via the copyright collection societies²³, submitting documents to the related official institutions etc.).

After the creation and production stages are completed and the master CD is physically reproduced, CDs are distributed to physical outlets by a distribution company. The production company might also be a distribution company in some cases. If so, it carries out the distribution process itself; otherwise it signs a contract with a separate distribution company. Usually the distribution company requests a fixed amount of payment plus a share of the sales revenues. The distribution company delivers the physical albums to the retailers with which it has a deal.

As the copies of CDs find their places on the shelves of the stores, they become available for the potential consumers. However, it is very difficult to turn the availability to sales without promoting the new release sufficiently. Hence, the stage coming after the physical distribution is the promotion stage.

Promotion is presumably the most important stage, which is highly decisive on the success (chart success, sales and live music revenues) of an artist and his/her

²³ Copyright collecting societies operate on behalf of the right owners. The societies are separately organized for songwriters, producers and performers. These societies collect royalties associated with two types of rights (mechanical rights based on the manifestation of the songs on physical artefacts such as CD, MC and LP and performing rights based on the performance of a song on a record, on radio, live etc.) from anyone who uses the registered songs for commercial purposes and distribute these royalties to the right owners (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2004).

songs, and which has been the largest expense in the music industry since the mid-1960s (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2004). The outlets in which new albums were being promoted before the digital era were traditional media (radio, TV, printed press) and music venues (live music venues and discotheques/clubs). A personnel inside the company may have been charged to deal with the promotion issues of the performer or a press agent outside the company may have been taken into service. Or, the performer might have also been the one who took the responsibility of finding and paying for his/her press agent (depending on his/her contract with the production company). Even so, the production company provided full support to the performer throughout the promotion stage because of the huge investment made in the previous phases.

For the organization of live performances of the performer, he/she needs a manager. As in the case of arranging a press agent, finding and coming to an agreement with a manager may have been under the responsibility of the production company or the performer himself/herself. Before the digital era, the manager – whether arranged by the production company or by the performer himself/herself – acted on behalf of the performer and the revenue from the live performances were shared between the manager and the performer (the responsibility of making the payments to the musicians and technical staff who accompanied the performer on stage was on the performer).

Up to this point the complex functioning of the music industry before the 2000s have been explained. What is clear is the fact that the artists who wanted to reach their potential audiences with their songs were almost completely dependent on the record labels in the industry because record labels (especially the majors) were the only actors who could open the gates of the platforms through which the recorded music can reach the listeners. Just after the digital revolution (which will be explained in detail shortly), the dependency of the artists on the powerful actors of the system started to loosen in terms of their existence in the recorded music market. However, it will be tried to be shown in the following section that the new situation - which presumably caused a higher level of produced diversity - has not turned into an increased amount of diversity on the consumption side.

Before starting to evaluate the evolution of the music industry in the digital era, I will explain the technological progress which caused this evolution in the following subsections. Then, the new value chain of the music industry with the additional actors and additional interactions and the change in the economic performance of the global music industry will be discussed.

2.1.2 Technological Changes in Music and Their Impact Supply and Demand: From Phonograph to Streaming²⁴

Even though the focus of this study will be on the digital era, a brief overview of the historical progress experienced prior to the digital revolution²⁵ is given before discussing the most recent technological advancements and their outcomes.

The ways we listen to music have been transformed various times throughout the history by technological innovations in the recording and dissemination of sound. These transformations have had tremendous impacts on the music industry, making it to be born, to boom, to be reset, inverted and reborn several times. The historical progress of recording and reproduction of sound can be traced back to 1877 in which phonograph was invented by Thomas Edison as the first device that could record sound and play it back (Kernfeld, 2007). The invention of the phonograph was the first step to the mechanical reproduction of music as a work of art, which according to Benjamin led to the loss of authenticity a musical piece had during a live performance (Benjamin, 2008). The history starting then on can be divided into four main eras: The acoustic era from 1877 to 1925 (phonograph, graphophone and gramophone), the electrical era from 1925 to 1945 (sensitive microphones started to be used in capturing sound, which resulted

²⁴ “Streaming means listening to music or watching video in real time instead of downloading a file to your computer and watch it later. With internet videos and webcasts of live events, there is no file to download, just a continuous stream of data.” (Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/webwise/guides/about-streaming>)

²⁵ Digital revolution represents the beginning of an era in which music is circulating like water in a world without the need for physical artefacts (such as CDs and cassettes etc.) (Kusek & Leonard, 2005; Molteni & Ordanini, 2003).

in a significant improvement in sound quality), the magnetic/tape era from 1945 to 1975 (introduction of innovations that drastically changed the way music was made: the first time a musical performance could be edited and multi-tracking became possible, formats like vinyl 33rpm²⁶ 12-inch long playing disc; 45rpm 7-inch single and compact cassette, and the Walkman – a portable stereo tape player that fundamentally changed how people listened to music - and other similar devices were introduced) and the digital era from 1980s to present day (Millard, 2005). The progress in the digital era and its repercussions on the music industry figures will be detailed and discussed here.

Digital recordings had started to be made in the 1960s, but it was the beginning of the 1980s when the first commercial compact discs (CD) were introduced. The research and development process for the new format was carried out by Philips and Sony in collaboration, and 4.8-inch CDs were introduced in the beginning of the 1980s.²⁷ In 1981, ABBA's "The Visitors" became the first popular music album pressed to CD and Billy Joel's "52nd Street" the first album released on CD²⁸.

The real improvements in digital technologies were experienced in the 1990s as the capacity of computer hard drives and speeds increased significantly. In the consumer market, tapes were started to be displaced largely by CDs because of the increased quality of sound and reading laser's resistance to interference by dust or other particles. Home type and portable CD players were quickly adopted by the listeners. Eventually, the music industry shifted gradually from the mass production of cassettes to the mass production of CDs.

Parallel to these inventions of new recording media in different eras, technological advances in the area of mass communication had also had important influences on the music listening behaviors of the consumers and hence on the music industry in general. For instance, after the invention of the radio in the 1920s, listeners had turned their attention to this new medium and the record sales

²⁶ Revolutions per minute.

²⁷ Source: <http://www.philips.com/a-w/about/news.html>

²⁸ <http://www.makeuseof.com/tag/the-evolution-of-music-consumption-how-we-got-here/>

declined²⁹. But on the other hand, the rise of mass consumption of music especially via radio brought in a dynamism in the music industry in the long run. Especially after the invention of television in the 1950s, music turned out to be the primary content of radio, and hence radio became a primary promotion platform – and a gatekeeper - for the newly released albums and a great determiner of the record sales (Leurdijk. & Nieuwenhuis, 2011).

The golden age of CD lasted until the public release of the latest edition of mp3 – an audio coding format for digital audio which uses a form of lossy data compression³⁰ - which enabled the music listeners to store high numbers of tracks on their computers and portable devices, and the invention of Napster³¹ software (1999) which acted like a music search engine and enabled the music listeners to find music online and listen to it for free. The invention of mp3 and Napster together constitute one of the biggest turning points in the history of music listening (Currah, 2006; Liebowitz, 2008). The cost advantages (money and time costs) offered by the new format and the internet through which this new format can be acquired, gave the music listeners the incentive to shift their music listening behaviors quickly. This transformation in the music listening behavior dramatically decreased CD sales all over the world (see Section 2.1.3 for detailed figures). The total global music revenues declined from 37 billion USD in 2000 (IFPI, 2001) to 20 billion USD in 2005 (IFPI, 2016).

The first response from the industry was to fight against Napster and other P2P file sharing services (such as Limewire, Kazaa and Madster) all of which were illicit in terms of copyright infringement. Napster and most of the other services were shut down after a number of lawsuits against them under the Digital Media

²⁹ A total of 100 million records were produced in the US in 1921 whereas this number had dropped to 6 million in 1932 as a result of the increased popularity of radio together with the negative impacts of the Great Depression (Baskerville & Baskerville, 2016).

³⁰ “Lossy compression is the class of data encoding methods that uses inexact approximations (or partial data discarding) for representing the content encoded [...] Often lossy compression is able to achieve smaller file sizes than lossless compression.” (Bräunl & McCane & Rivera & Yu, X. (2016).

³¹ Napster was a peer-to-peer (P2P) file sharing internet service used to share music coded in mp3 format. (P2P file sharing technology allows users to access media files using a P2P software program that searches for other connected computers on a P2P network [Mooney et. al., 2010]).

Copyright Act. P2P music sharing still exists today, with BitTorrent being the most popular software because of its decentralized format (meaning that no central trackers, or even BitTorrent search engines are needed to download music) which makes it difficult to shut down³².

The first version of the portable device Apple iPod containing a 5-GB hard drive that held up to 1000 songs was released in 2001. Even though other portable devices to listen to music in mp3 format and the first mobile phone with mp3 capabilities (Samsung SPH-M100³³) were released prior to iPod, neither they nor the ones that came to the market after iPod became as popular as iPod. Since its first invention, the Apple iPod has gone through several transformations and several versions have been released.

Alongside the iPod, iTunes was launched by Apple in 2001 as “the world’s best and easiest to use ‘jukebox’ software”³⁴. In 2003, iTunes 4, which included the iTunes Music Store, through which you can pay for and download songs, was released. Today, there exist several other music stores (some of them operating worldwide and some others having geographical restrictions) through which digital music can be purchased (such as Amazon, Google Play, Microsoft Music Store, Beatport, Acoustic Sounds) but iTunes is still dominating the market of digital downloads. In 2012, iTunes had 63% of the market of paid digital downloads of recorded music in the US and 60% of the total worldwide music revenues (NPD, 2013).

The latest trend in music listening which caused the downturn of digital downloads is streaming. The global total download revenues - that reached its peak level of 3.9 billion USD in 2012 - and iTunes download revenues - that reached its peak (estimated) level of 3 billion USD in 2012³⁵ - started to fall as of 2013 mostly

³² Source: <https://torrentfreak.com/truly-decentralized-bittorrent-downloading-has-finally-arrived-101208/>

³³ The first cell phone to have mp3 music capabilities. It was launched by Samsung in 2000.

³⁴ <http://www.apple.com/pr/library/2001/01/09Apple-Introduces-iTunes-Worlds-Best-and-Easiest-To-Use-Jukebox-Software.html>

³⁵ The peak level of global revenue from CD sales was 14 billion USD and it was reached in 1998. (Source: Credit Suisse, http://thats-show-biz.blogspot.com.tr/2014/11/what-is-behind-taylor-swifts-war-on_14.html)

because of consumers starting to shift from paying for downloads to paying for paid subscription to music streaming services. Streaming is an alternative to file downloading. When you listen to a song through streaming you do not download the song to your computer, mobile device etc. but you listen to the song on the website or mobile application of the streaming service provider, i.e. with streaming, you rent the song rather than buying and owning it. Pandora is the first popular streaming service – which was launched in 2005 - which deserves to be entitled as the pioneer of the ‘streaming revolution’.

Other prominent actors of the music streaming are Spotify, Apple Music, Tidal, Rhapsody, Deezer etc. (IFPI reports that there are 400+ digital music services –including music stores, paid and un-paid streaming services - worldwide as of 2009).

Spotify, which was launched in 2008 is now the dominant streaming service in the world. The service, which has around 10 million monthly active users in 2011, increased this number to 20 million in the end of 2012, to 50 million in the end of 2014 and to 100 million as of June 2016 (37 million of which are paid subscribers, including discounted offers)³⁶. Pandora, which had been preceding Spotify until 2015, has 81.1 million monthly active users as of February 2016 (without any increase from December 2014)³⁷. The number of paying members of Pandora as of November 2014 was 3 million and 81% of Pandora revenue comes from advertisements as of July 2015.

Apple Music, which is a new comer to the streaming music business (launched in June 2015) as a response of iTunes to the streaming revolution, seems like a formidable adversary in the market with its growing share in the total global streaming revenues. Just a couple of weeks after it marked its first anniversary in June 2016, Apple Music had 17 million paid subscribers as of September 2016 (nearly 50% of Spotify’s paid subscribers)³⁸.

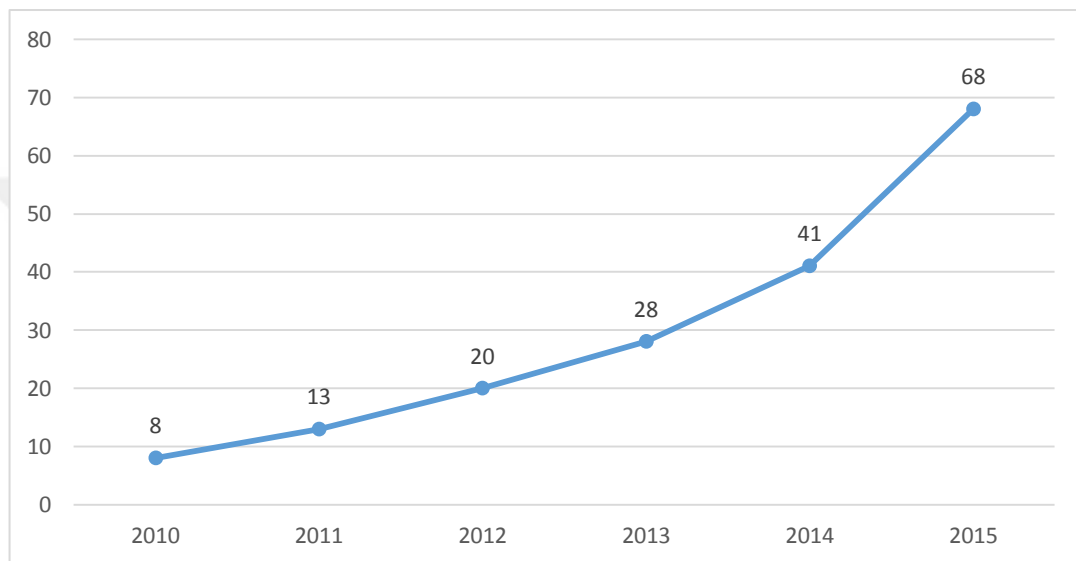
³⁶ Source: <https://www.statista.com/topics/2075/spotify/> & <http://www.statista.com/statistics/205599/quarterly-revenue-of-pandora/>

³⁷ Source: <http://expandedramblings.com/index.php/pandora-statistics/>

³⁸ Source: <http://www.theverge.com/2016/9/7/12836994/apple-music-17-million-subscribers-2016>

Number of subscribers of streaming services greatly increased in recent years – as seen in Figure 2.2 - with an estimated 68 million people now paying a music subscription (IFPI, 2016). Next Big Sound (2015) estimated the total online plays to rise from 100 billion USD in 2012 to 450 billion USD in 2014.

Figure 2.2: Number of Paying Subscribers in the World, in Millions.



Source: IFPI (2016).

Another online streaming service which is free of charge (no paid-subscription option) is Soundcloud. It is a platform mostly used by independent performers. Unlike the other services, the artists upload their songs themselves and the listeners have the opportunity to discover noname, independent artists via this platform. The users of the platform may choose to follow the artists, or may well listen to the songs without following the artists. As of January 2016, the number of monthly active users of Soundcloud is more than 175 million³⁹. The number of plays is increasing whereas the number of followers is decreasing, i.e. people aren't using the platform to follow artists as much as they did before, but they are using it to listen to the artists' music (Next Big Sound, 2015). Soundcloud is an important platform that is used to discover independent artists in Turkey as well.

³⁹ Source: <https://techcrunch.com/2016/01/24/why-soundcloud-will-be-worth-more-than-spotify/>

To date, the last online service through which music can be listened to via streaming that will be mentioned here is Youtube. Youtube is different from other services in the sense that it is a video streaming site. Even though an enormous amount of content not related to music also exists on Youtube, it is widely used for music listening by consumers all around the world. A report by the music magazine Billboard (which is owned by Prometheus Global Media) shows that, in July 2011, 59.7 million unique viewers in the US alone watched at least one video published by Vevo – one of the many music video networks publishing music videos on Youtube, which features the videos of the blockbusters of the US music industry, namely the Universal Music Group, Sony Music and EMI⁴⁰. This finding suggests that a much higher number of consumers all around the world watch music videos on Youtube from various sources. Another survey conducted in the US found out that 63% of the US population watch music videos or listen to music on Youtube as of February 2016⁴¹. Moreover, Youtube also entered the space dominated by Spotify, Pandora and Apple Music by launching Youtube Red in the end of 2015 as a new subscription based streaming service.

Increasing demand for streaming services and decreasing willingness to pay to purchase physical and/or digital tracks (see Section 2.1.3 for figures) indicate that the consumers are happy with this most recent way of listening. However it is not the case for most of the actors of the production side. Even though there exist some artists who appreciate the publicity they are able to get from online services, many others and the record labels are not satisfied with the payments they receive⁴². And there continues a battle over the intellectual property rights of the songwriters, artists and labels in almost all countries.

⁴⁰ Source: <http://www.billboard.com/biz/articles/news/1175033/business-matters-38-of-youtubes-july-us-visitors-watched-a-vevo-video>

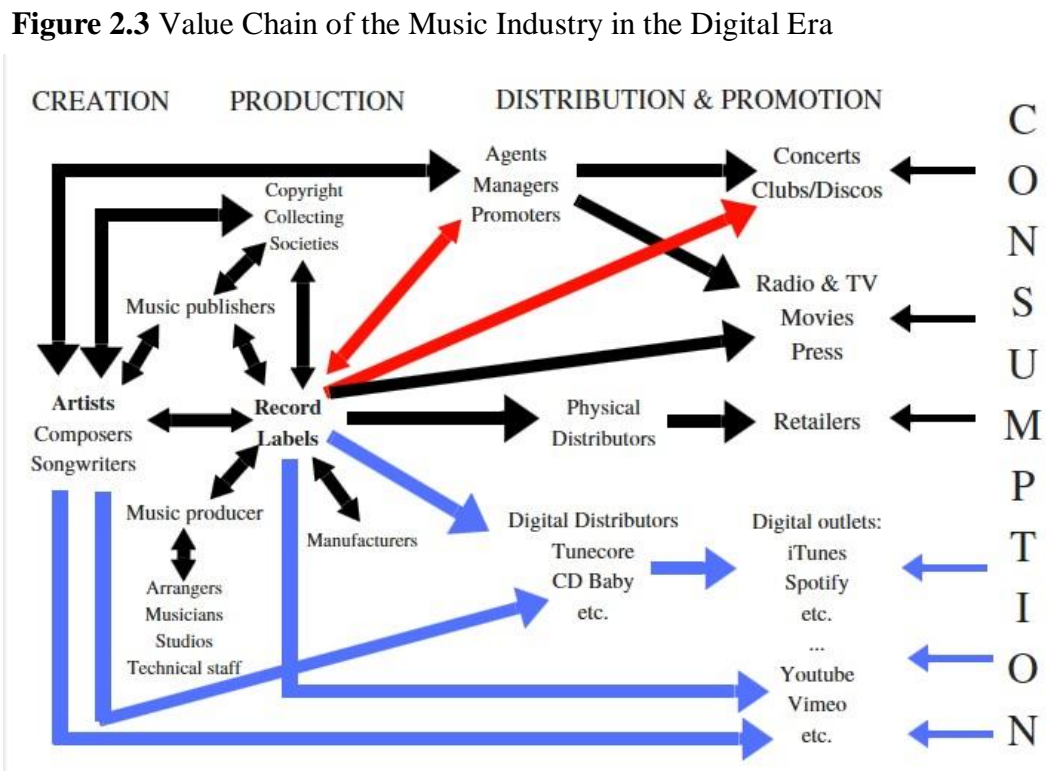
⁴¹ Source: <https://www.statista.com/topics/2019/youtube/>

⁴² For instance, Pandora announced in 2013 that it pays 0,0012 USD to record labels and 0,0002 USD to artist per play of a song.

2.1.3 Organization and the Economic Performance of the Music Industry in the Digital Era

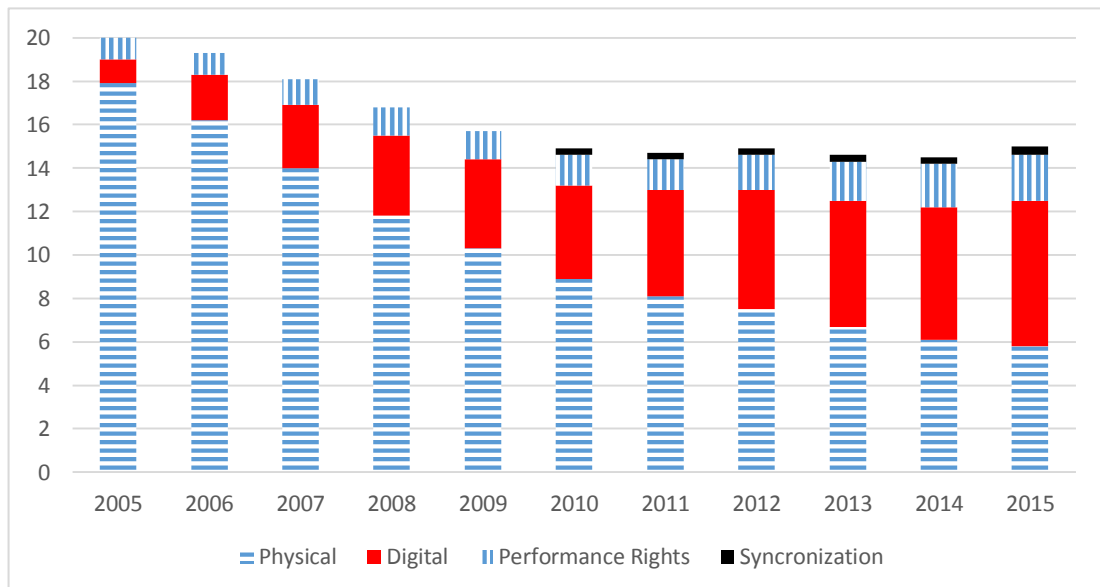
Once a new technology is invented, there is no way to annihilate it as long as it is adopted and preferred by a certain number of users. Thus, whenever such a progress is experienced in the history, the affected industries have no chance but to keep in step with the new technology. The outcomes of the digital revolution have been no different in this sense and the actors of the music industry – especially the major record labels - tried to find out ways to re-position themselves to be able to acquire a competitive edge in the new conditions of the digital sphere (as was foreseen by Janson & Mansell [1998]). One of the primary results was the change in the structure of the value chain. New players, such as digital platforms, were added to the system, new business models and new relationships were generated by the industry in order to generate and earn revenues via the digital platforms, etc. Moreover, the relative power of the old actors within the value chain changed.

Figure 2.3 shows the value chain of the music industry in the digital era



As mentioned above and seen in the figure, new actors and new interactions were added to the value chain after the digital technologies arose. The most prominent new actors of the digital era are apparently the online outlets through which the consumers can easily access to music. (Note that in the digital era artists themselves can make their songs available on a number of digital platforms without the need for a record company.) The rise of these new platforms has led to the emergence of the digital distributors via which the record companies or the artists can reach multiple digital platforms at a time. The establishment of such a business model which started to generate a new income stream for the music industry did not happen too fast and consumers' tendency to pay for digital music listening has not yet come to a point that is sufficient for the recovery of the financial losses experienced during the last 10-15 years. See Figure 2.4 for the change of global recorded music revenues by income stream in the last 10 years.

Figure 2.4: Change and Distribution of Global Recorded Music Revenues, in Billion USD



Source: IFPI (2016).

The following points stand out when the statistics are analyzed in detail: The most dramatic decline was experienced before 2010 because of the need at the time to design and implement the new business models by the music industry as a response to the sharp shift from CD purchasing to online music listening by consumers starting from the beginning of the 2000s. The music industry started to earn money from digital downloads in 2003, from paid subscriptions in 2004 and from on-demand streaming in 2009. The adaptation process by the industry which started to take place in the beginning of the 2000s is still in progress. 2015 is a turning point in the sense that digital revenues (which have increased 10% compared to 2014 and became 6.7 billion USD) have overtaken physical revenues (5.85 billion USD) for the first time. Digital revenues are 45% of the total industry revenues whereas physical sales have a 39% share. Global music industry has grown 3.2% and reached 15 billion USD. This growth, which is the industry's first significant year of growth in nearly 2 decades, is mostly caused by the 45% rise in the streaming revenues (reaching 2.9 billion USD). Such a rise in the streaming revenues more than offsets the decline in downloads (10.5% decrease) and physical formats (4.5% decrease). As of the end of 2015, streaming (paid subscription+advertisements) accounts for 43% of the digital revenues and is close to overtaking downloads (which are 45% of the total digital revenues).

As the statistics indicate, ways to earn profits from digital downloads and streaming have been found (download and streaming services made offers which generated a tendency among the listeners to pay for these services, and the record companies and copyright collecting societies made deals with these online platforms in order to get paid in return for the inclusion of the songs of their artists in the repertoires of these platforms) and digital revenues are increasing on a consistent basis, but there is still some ways to go to reach the peak level (38.7 billion USD) of global revenues experienced in 1999 (IFPI, 2001). Thus, the record companies are not content with the additional revenues coming from the digital downloads and streaming, but they are also interested in the live performance revenues of their artists – as represented by the red arrows added to the value chain. They started to make 360 degree deals with the artists which enable the record

companies to get a percentage of the artists' revenues from live performances as well as physical and digital sales, publishing and more⁴³. In this respect Warner Music purchased shares from the event company Front Line Management (the value of which increased to 110 million USD afterwards), and Universal acquired the event company Sanctuary for 88 million USD (Uçar, 2007). Hence, while the recorded music revenues significantly decreased from the beginning of the 2000s on one hand, live music revenues continuously increased on the other. According to MIDiA⁴⁴ statistics, the rise in the live music revenues from 2000 to 2013 was 60% (the decrease in the recorded music revenue was 41% during the same period)⁴⁵. PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) estimated global live music revenues to be 25 billion USD in 2016 and the compound annual growth rate of the live music sector to be 3% through 2020. Growth in live music revenues is mostly led by the increased dependency of the music sector on concerts, resulting in record companies' extending their revenue streams to include live performances and putting extra efforts to organize live music events for their artists.

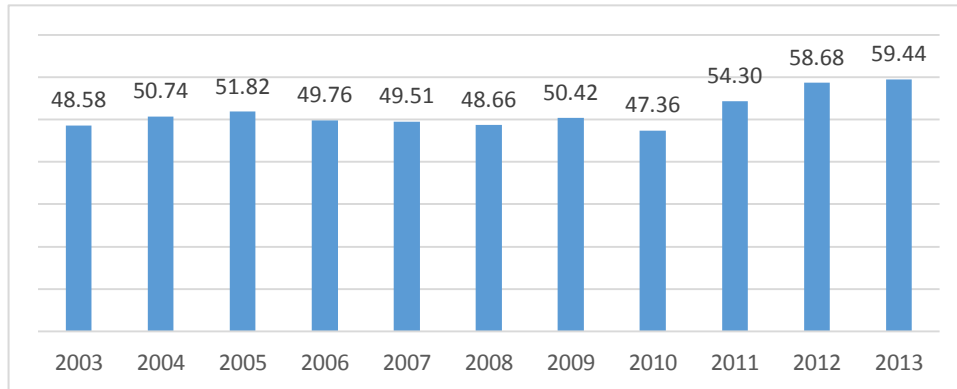
Figure 2.5 shows the attendance at popular music concerts in the US from 2003 to 2013. The two highest increase rates are realized from 2010 to 2011 (15%) and from 2011 to 2012 (8%); this might be due to the increased efforts of the record companies to promote the live music industry in order to compensate their loss in the recorded music. The total increase from 2003 to 2013 is 22%.

⁴³ According to an interview conducted with Jeff Hanson – music executive, chief of the Silent Majority Group label - published at www.hitquarters.com in September 2010, Hanson was the first one to create a 360 degree deal with attorneys Jim Zumwalt and Kent Marcus and to submit to Atlantic Records for the rock band Paramore.

⁴⁴ MIDiA is a media and technology analysis company based in London.

⁴⁵ Source: <http://www.digitalmusicnews.com/2014/06/05/music-industry-declined-3-since-2000-research-shows/>

Figure 2.5: Popular Music Concerts Attendance (Number of People) in the US (in Millions)



Source: www.statista.com

As can be seen from the new value chain, the traditional actors still remain in the industry. However, the ways in which they carry out their activities, the relative power of some of the actors in the whole system and the ways they interact with each other have changed. For instance, internet working technologies have made it possible to make music for the musicians with a physical distance (Jones, 2000). On the other hand, the arrangers became less dependent on musicians completing their arrangements. Following the technological improvements, the instruments did not need to be recorded live as the arranger could use artificial sounds in the arrangements to replace the instruments. That is not to say that these new digital technologies lower the quality of music for sure, but they make it easier to create music and thus give the opportunity to musically less competent musicians to enter the music industry as professionals. Moreover, this means a decrease in revenues of the recording musicians. Additionally, the recording and editing of the recorded partitions of each musician (and performer) became easier with new computer programs, which also led to the entrance of less qualified musicians and performers in the music industry.

Another change to be underlined is the following: It is an option not to distribute physical copies of CDs but to make the songs/albums available on the digital outlets only. This option is preferred by a number of independent artists in order to get rid of the reproduction and physical distribution costs. However, the

albums released by the major record companies are still being reproduced and distributed both physically and digitally most of the time - obviously with a decreased amount of total physical distribution - which caused the retail stores to lose significance in the value chain.

Lastly, the importance of the venues and clubs were expected to increase by taking advantage of their local brands (Bergmann, 2004).

2.2 GLOBAL MUSIC INDUSTRY: CONCENTRATION AND DIVERSITY

Digital revolution resulting in certain transformations of the value chain, including the emergence of new business models, were expected to turn the music industry upside-down to the benefit of the artists and consumers, with an increasing power of the artists over the record companies, increasing importance of consumer demands and hence an increasing amount of consumed diversity (Lam & Tan, 2001). The validity of this expectation, i.e. how the level of diversity in the world music has changed as a result of the digital revolution, will be evaluated in this section on the basis of three questions put forth below.

On the production side, the digital revolution provided an undeniable opportunity for emerging artists and musical pieces by pulling down the barriers to entry (that is to say, it became easier and less costly to make high quality music productions and possible to reach potential consumers without the need of a major record label [Garofalo, 1999]) and hence a potential for the diversity to manifest as never before. The first question to be asked is whether this potential turned into reality, i.e. whether the level of produced diversity increased in the digital era.

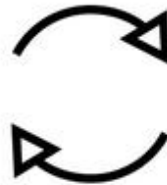
On the consumption side, it is obvious that the listeners have shifted towards online music listening and have been using the internet as a main source of music (whether they are paying for it or not) since the beginning of the 2000s. The second question regarding the consumption is whether the increased tendency of the listeners to find and listen to music online means that the produced diversity (which is present on the digital platforms) has been realized and turned into consumption (as expected by authors like Bergmann [2004] and Dolfsma [2005]) or not.

The third question is related to the market concentration rate which has been shown in the academic literature to be a prominent determinant of the level of diversity in the music industry⁴⁶. That is to say the relative powers of the major and independent labels in the music industry have been thought to be decisive on the level of diversity conveyed to the consumers. Hence the third question is how the market concentration has changed before and after the digital revolution and whether there is a correlation between diversity and concentration.

The three interrelated questions can be summarized as follows:

⁴⁶ A number of conceptual and empirical studies looked for a relationship between diversity and level of market concentration. In other words, the relationship between the strength of the major record labels and the amount of musical diversity offered has been investigated. Adorno (2002) – which was first written in 1941 - and Adorno & Rabinbach (1975) argued that the oligopoly in the music industry caused an absolute decline in the diversity in the music industry. The empirical studies on the relationship between the diversity and market concentration base their hypotheses on two competing views in the economic theory literature: one is the Schumpeter's theory that highest product diversity in any market can be achieved through an oligopolistic market structure because only the oligopolists can finance the innovation investments (Schumpeter, 1950); the other is Stigler's claim that the higher the competition in a specific market the more diversified is the production (Stigler, 1952). Peterson & Berger (1975) came up with a negative linear relationship between market concentration and mainstream diversity (i.e., the diversity of the songs appeared on the weekly top 10 sales charts) but also found that such homogenizing trends are periodically interrupted by independent labels/artists offering diversified content resulting in 'cycles in symbol production' in the popular music market of US for the years between 1948 and 1973. Alexander (1996) found a non-linear relationship between concentration ratio and mainstream musical diversity in the US and concluded that "both low and high levels of market concentration are associated with decreased product diversity" and the highest amount of diversity is achieved when the market is moderately concentrated for the 1955-1988 period (Alexander, 1996: 171). Lopes (1992) and Burnett (1990) ended up with a different oligopolistic pattern in the music industry for the late 1980s. There existed six, namely Warner Music Group, EMI, Sony, BMG, Universal Music Group and PolyGram, (later five) record labels that were dominant in the industry; however they had a tendency to have a multilayered structure by having a number of subsidiary labels, giving these labels a certain level of autonomy in their decision making while keeping hold of the centralized financial control (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2004). Peterson & Berger (1996) in their research after the application of this strategy continued to show a negative relationship between concentration and diversity.

Have the opportunities provided by the digital technologies resulted in an increased amount of produced diversity?



Has the relationship between the major record labels and independent artists/labels -which was revealed in the form of a continuing dominance of the majors before the digital era- changed as a result of new technologies (Throsby, 2002), and what is the impact on diversity?

Has the increased tendency of the listeners to find and listen to music online led to an increased amount of consumed diversity?

In the following subsections, I will first focus on the first two questions and try to analyze the level of produced and consumed diversity and how they have changed in the digital era, and then I will try to analyze the level of market concentration based on the changing relationships between major and independent record companies in the world and evaluate if there is a significant correlation between concentration and diversity levels.

2.2.1 Produced Diversity in the World Music Industry

According to the definition given in the Introduction, produced diversity among the genres under consideration should be calculated based on all the musical pieces produced at a given time. However it is hard to list all the songs produced and even harder to make a musical analysis to determine the level of produced musical diversity. Because of this technical difficulty, most of the researches conducted so far have focused on the level of diversity in the top music charts, i.e.

the mainstream diversity, which can be assessed to represent the consumed diversity rather than the produced diversity.

The only study which came closest to an analysis of the produced diversity in music industry with its large sample is the report published by the Spanish National Research Council. The study analyzed 464,411 recordings (inclusive of the genres pop, rock, R&B, hip hop, country) around the world between 1955 and 2010 and found that the music of the new millennium demonstrates less variety in terms of melodies, sound types and chord than that of previous decades (Thompson, 2014). Findings of this study indicate that the potential provided by the internet did not manifest as an increased amount of produced diversity in music.

2.2.2 Consumed Diversity in the World Music Industry

Various methods have been used by different researchers and data analysts in order to measure the amount of diversity consumed by the music listeners⁴⁷. Some of them have based their analyses on the differences between musical characteristics and made either a genre-based classification or evaluate the diversity as a result of a song-based analysis, while others have made an artist-based analysis (count-based diversity) without referring to the differences of the musical characteristics of the songs of these artists. Variations between the methods which make the results incommensurable are mostly caused by the difficulty in accurately defining and measuring diversity. All the studies are merely endeavors to do so.

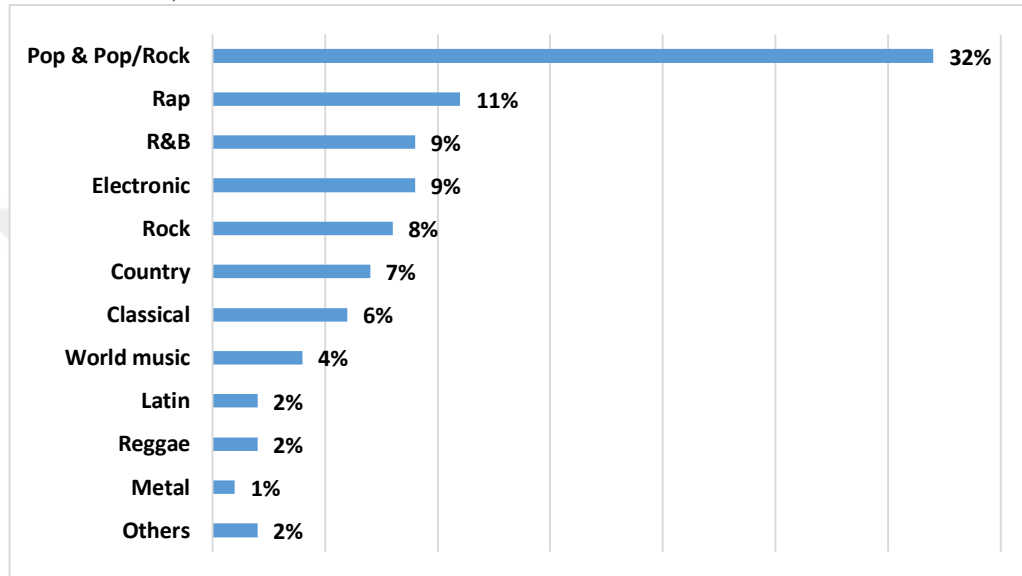
A number of studies analyze the world music market while others focus on selected countries, especially the US. Here I will summarize the results of the studies conducted for the global music market and some of the biggest markets in the world, namely the US, Germany, the UK and Australia.

Next Big Sound (2015) have declared the genre-based distribution of online music consumption in the world in 2015 as in Figure 2.6, which indicates that the

⁴⁷ In all of the related studies, the analyses were restricted to the mainstream music (i.e. the songs and genres that are mostly listened to) because of the availability of data. That is to say, what is meant here by 'consumed diversity' is the diversity of the music consumed by the majority of the population which is reflected on top sales and airplay charts.

mostly preferred genres on the internet are the extremely commercial ones, i.e. which are also the dominant genres of the mainstream industry (including the mainstream media).

Figure 2.6: Genre Based Distribution of Online Music Consumption in the World, 2015.



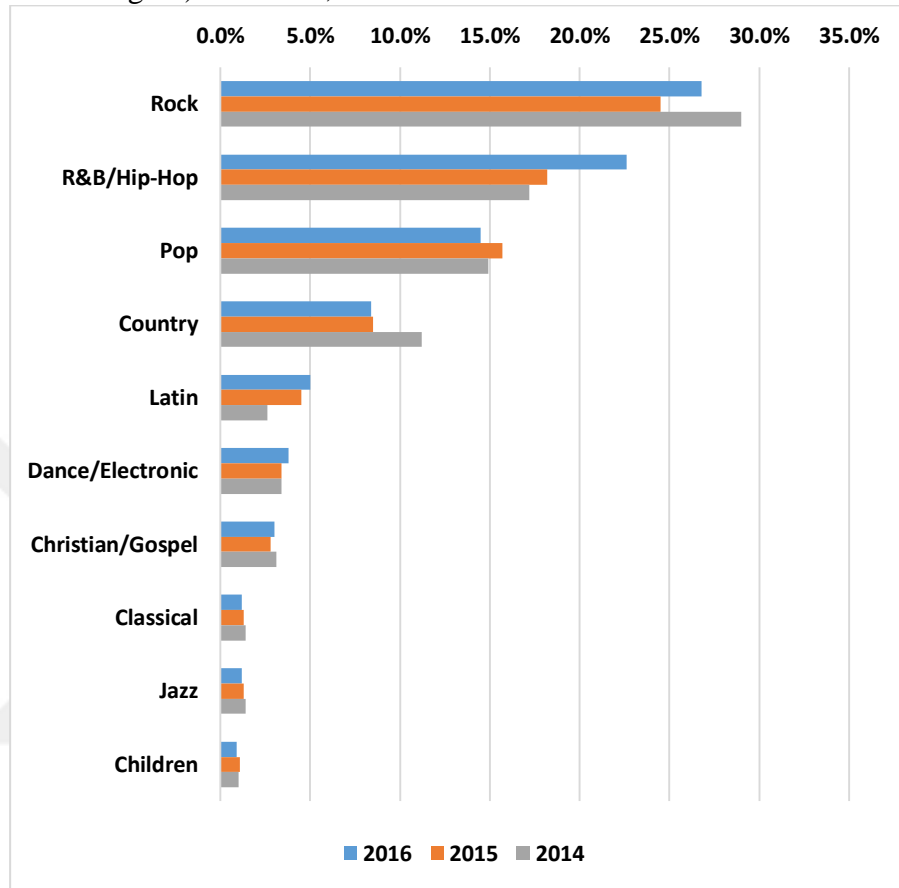
Source: Next Big Sound, 2015.

In the US music market⁴⁸, where music consumption is an important part of the everyday lives of the American music listeners⁴⁹, consumption distribution of different genres is as shown in Figure 2.7.

⁴⁸ US recording industry constitutes the 33.78% of the global music industry (physical, digital, performance rights and synchronization) and is followed by Japan (18%), Germany (9.7%), UK (9.2%), France (5.8%), Australia (2.6%) (these 6 countries totaling up to 79% of the global recording industry) as of 2014 (IFPI, 2015).

⁴⁹ According to Nielsen (2015), 91% of the Americans (about 291 million) listen to music, 75% listen to music online, 44% listen to music on a smartphone in a typical week.

Figure 2.7: Genre Breakdown of Total Recorded Music Consumption (Physical and Digital) in the US, 2014-2016



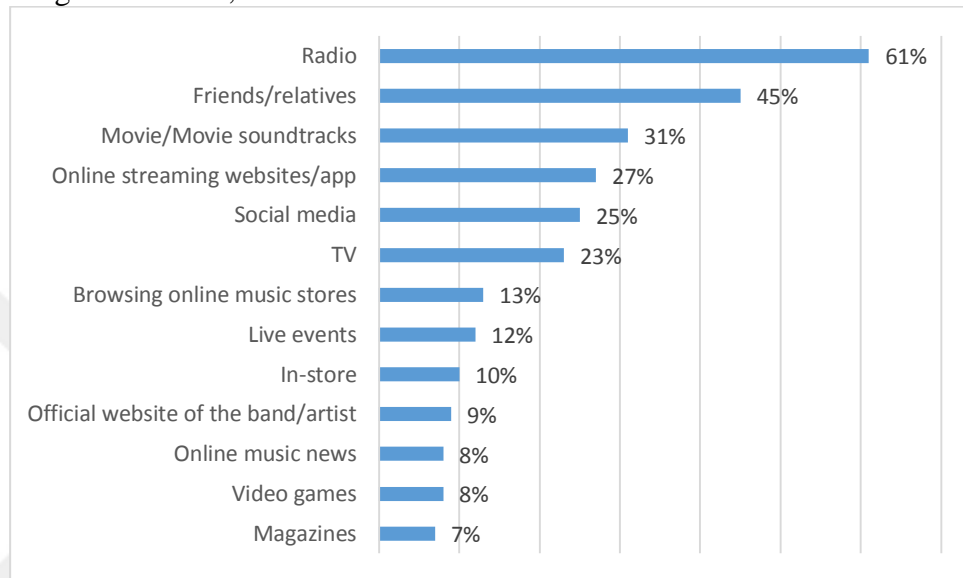
Source: Nielsen Music US Reports.

As the data suggest, there are a number of mainstream genres in the US and even though the relative dominance of each one over the others are changing from time to time, the general figures are consistent over time.

The most popular way in which the US society discovers new music is radio (see Figure 2.8). 61% of the society declared that radio is a medium through which they have discovered new music in 2015 (10% up compared to 2014). Thus, it is important to analyze the diversity of the music radio formats in the US. Online services which provide the highest potential for discovering the alternatives have a much smaller share compared to traditional media. Moreover, it is presumably not

the case that a high portion of the online discoveries are the music of alternatives (as will be shown based on statistics shortly).

Figure 2.8: Ways of Discovering New Music in the US, % Share of People Who Declare that They Use the Listed Medium as a Way of Discovering New Music, 2015

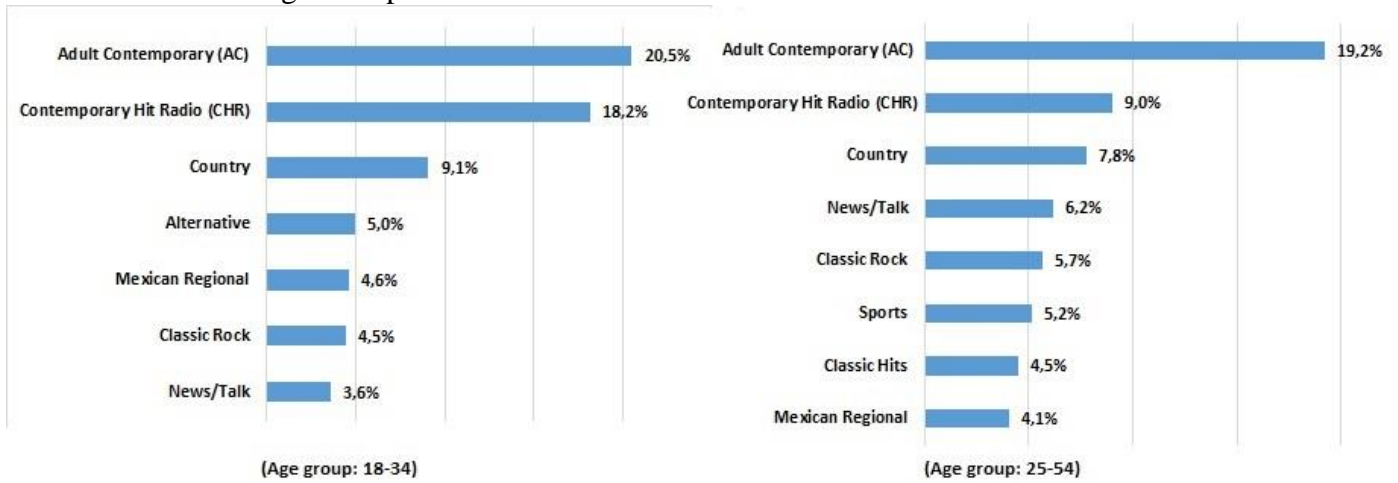


Source: 2015 Nielsen Music US Report.

After the 1996 Telecommunication Act, the radio industry in the US became highly consolidated, which led to increased centralization in decision making and standardization of music (Ahlkvist & Fisher, 2000). On the other hand, the number of formats increased in the US (because of the strategy of niche bundling [Lee, 2004] and the demand for each of the mainstream genres is large enough to satisfy the rating expectations of the mainstream radio stations of each corresponding format in the US market), but the playlists of each format are increasingly standardized in themselves (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2004; Lee, 2004). Moreover, while radio formats in the US were differentiated between regions in late-1950s, they became nationally standardized in 1970s (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2002).

Figure 2.9 shows the formats/genres of the most popular radio stations in the US for different age group

Figure 2.9: The Radio Formats with Highest Ratings in the US, 2015, for the Age Groups 18-34 and 25-54



Source: Nielsen Statistics (<http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2015/tops-of-2015-audio.html>)

As can be seen from the figure, there is a concentration of interest by the US population in two popular radio formats: Adult Contemporary⁵⁰ and Contemporary Hit Radio (CHR)⁵¹.

In Germany, which is the third biggest music market in the world⁵² after the US and Japan, the most liked musical genres are pop and rock. These two genres were stated to be liked by 34% and 34.5% of the German-speaking audience of 14 years and older in 2014 and 2015 respectively, whereas this percentage rose to 38% in 2016. The genres other than pop and rock (oldies, German “schlager”, musicals, classical, hip hop/rap, traditional German folk music, hard rock/heavy metal, techno/house, blues/gospel, country/folk/world, opera, jazz, chansons) became less likeable in 2016 compared to 2014 and 2015⁵³. Figure 2.10 shows the shares of

⁵⁰ Adult Contemporary is a ballad-heavy music with certain degrees of pop, R&B, soft-rock and the most prominent representatives are artists like Celine Dion, Whitney Houston, Mariah Carey and Adele.

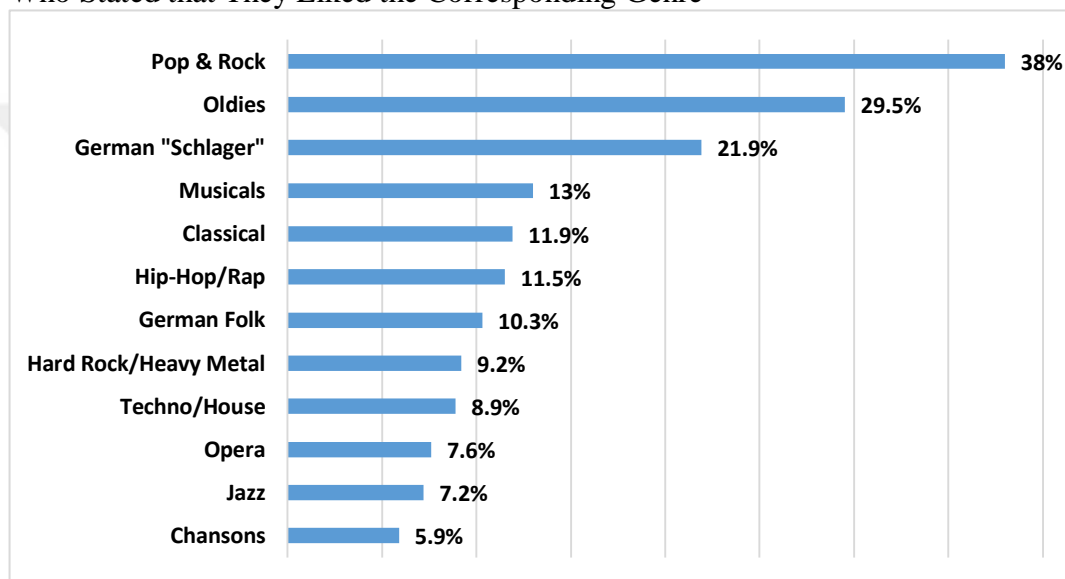
⁵¹ CHRs are the ones that play the current hits of the music industry depending on the top 40 charts.

⁵² The share of Germany in total global recording industry revenues is 9.7% as of 2014 (IFPI, 2015).

⁵³ Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/382071/most-popular-music-genres-germany/>

population (with age 14 or over) stating which genres that they liked for the year 2016. An important point to be underlined is the high popularity of German “schlager” which is a national genre. This shows that the global trends in music (in terms of musical content) are influential in Germany only to a certain extent and the local musical forms continue to be supplied and demanded.

Figure 2.10: Percentage Shares of the German Population (Age 14 or Over) Who Stated that They Liked the Corresponding Genre



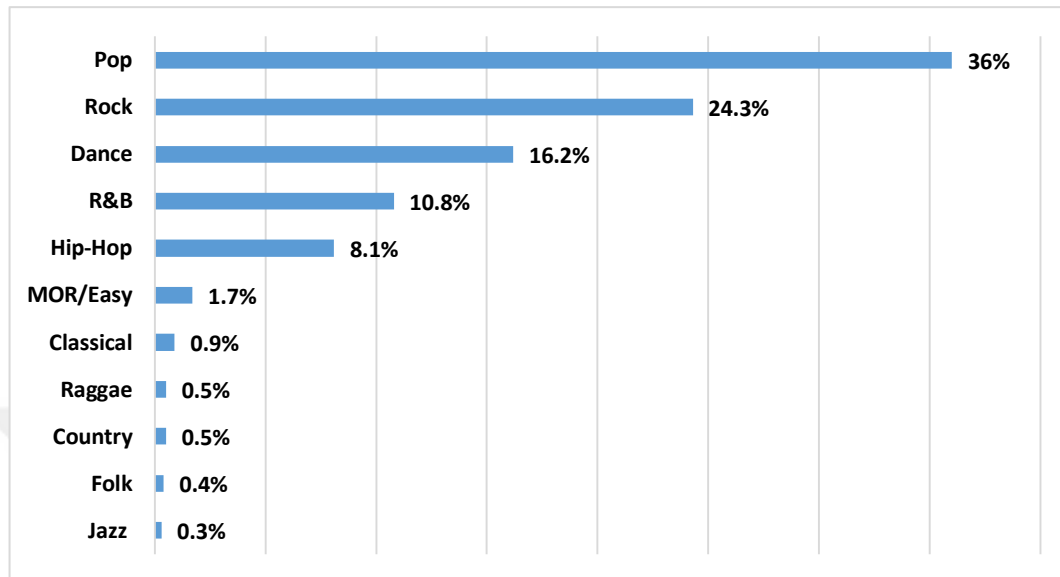
Source: Statista

In the UK, the fourth largest music market in the world⁵⁴, music single unit sales distributed by genre in 2014⁵⁵ can be seen in Figure 2.11.

⁵⁴ Share of the UK in the global record industry is 9,21% as of 2014 (IFPI, 2015).

⁵⁵ Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/276211/genre-distribution-of-music-single-unit-sales-in-the-united-kingdom-uk/>

Figure 2.11: Genre Breakdown of the Music Single Unit Sales in the UK, 2014



Source: Statista

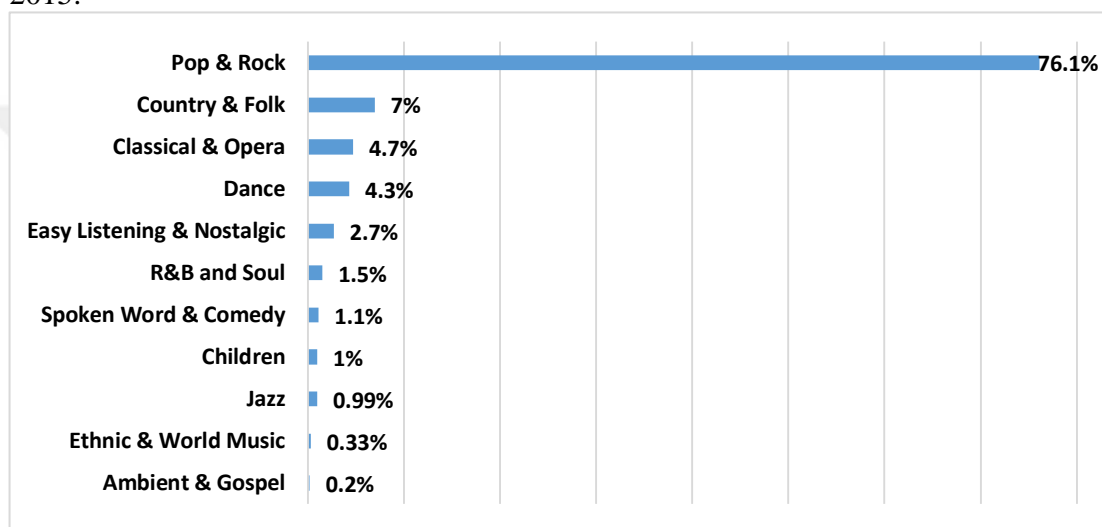
Radio listening is very common in the UK. As of 2014, 90% of all adults listen to radio at least once a week⁵⁶. The public broadcaster BBC, which runs 10 national and 40 regional radio services, has a 53% market share. Top radio stations as of 2016 are as follows: BBC Radio 2 (Adult Contemporary) with 15.5 million listeners a week, BBC Radio 4 (News/sports/talk) with 10.5 million listeners a week, BBC Radio 1 (CHR) with 9.9 million listeners a week, Heart (Adult Contemporary) with 9 million listeners a week, Capital FM (CHR) with 7.5 million listeners a week, BBC Radio 5 Live (News/sports/talk) with 5.7 million listeners a week, KISS (Dance/Urban) with 5.4 million listeners a week, Classic FM (classical) with 5.1 million listeners a week, Smooth (Oldies) with 4.8 million listeners a week, talkSport (news/sports/talk) with 3 million listeners a week⁵⁷. As the figures suggest, the formats CHR and Adult Contemporary which airplay mainstream pop music are the most popular music radios in the UK as well.

⁵⁶ Source: <https://media.info/radio/data/an-introduction-to-the-uk-radio-industry>

⁵⁷ Source: <https://media.info/radio/data/the-most-popular-radio-stations-in-the-uk>

Distributions of recorded music sales in Australia, – the sixth largest music market in the world,⁵⁸ by genre in 2015⁵⁹ can be seen in Figure 2.12. As can be seen from the figure, the concentration of the interest of the consumers on the mainstream genres Pop and Rock is even greater than the other markets analyzed above.

Figure 2.12: Distribution of Recorded Music Sales by Genre in Australia, 2015.



Source: Statista

With a genre based analysis, only a general picture about diversity can be drawn, but the level of diversity among the mainstream examples of each genre cannot be evaluated. Moreover, genre based data are not available for long periods of time, therefore a time series analysis on how diversity has changed before and after digital era cannot be made. Only the recent situation about genre diversity can be pictured.

In order to generate an understanding with regard to the diversity within the mainstream music (which is a principle matter of concern for the scope of this study

⁵⁸ Share of Australia in the global record industry is 2.59% as of 2014 (IFPI, 2015).

⁵⁹ Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/521782/music-sales-genre-australia/>

because the mainstream diversity is the diversity consumed by the majority of the society under consideration, which means that all possible alternatives of the mainstream are ‘sacrificed’) and how it has changed over time, it is necessary to analyze whether the demand for any popular genre is concentrated on certain artists and certain standardized examples of that genre or spread among numerous artists and songs that are musically differentiated to some extent, and whether the situation is better or worse in the digital era. In this regard, the results of the studies that have made time series analyses based on songs or artists can be relevant.

Peterson & Berger (1975) evaluated the diversity in the music industry between the years 1948 to 1973 using the count-based measure (the number of records and artists that managed to reach the top 10 lists in each year and the ratio of new to established artists). They came to the conclusion that the level of diversity was low up to 1954, increased from 1955 to 1964, then decreased until the beginning of the 1970s (share of new to established artists who reached the top 10 lists decreased from 9.7 to 2.2 from 1964 to 1970). Peterson and Berger (1975) identified the decreasing and increasing trends in diversity as the ‘cycles in symbol production’, i.e. new genres of music emerged as new popular trends in certain periods of the music history and during those periods the amount of diversity had increased.

Alexander (1996) analyzed the top 40 songs of each year between 1955-1987 based on musical characteristics - such as time and meter, form, harmonic structure etc. - and he concluded that the highest amount of diversity was experienced in 1971. From 1971 to 1987 the diversity level showed a decreasing trend with a fluctuating pattern.

The paper written by Mauch, MacCallum, Levy and Leroi in 2015 investigated the evolution of pop music (inclusive of 13 styles) in the US in terms of diversity by analyzing the Billboard top 100 lists between the years 1960 and 2010 (a sample of 17,000 songs) based on musical properties, by using computer-based music information retrieval tools and text-mining tools. They concluded that the diversity declined in the early 1980s and reached a minimum in 1986 which they explained by the dominance of genres such as NewWave, Disco and Hardrock

during the time. Then the level of diversity rebounded and increased until the early 2000s because of the emergence of genres such as Rap and Hip-Hop, and of the increase in the relative frequency of the genres which were dominated in the 1980s, such as R&B and Country (Mauch et. al., 2015). Contrary to the previous theories, Mauch et. al. (2015) found no evidence for a progressive homogenization of the music in the US charts and any sign of diversity cycles within the period of their study. According to them, the evolution of diversity in the mainstream music (measured by the top 100 lists) is related to the ways in which music is made. The decreasing trend experienced in the diversity after the beginning of the 2000s can be evaluated as the negative impact of the use of the internet by the consumers as a source of music on the level of diversity, which contradicts the Theory of the Long Tail explained below. This last part is especially important for the scope of this study because one of the main goals here is to discuss the impact of the internet on the diversity of music consumption. The claim of this dissertation that the internet has not improved the consumed diversity, beyond the evidence put forth in this paper, is further validated by the study mentioned above. Before putting forth further evidence for my claim, I will overview the Theory of the Long Tail which stands as a counter argument.

The Theory of the Long Tail is a prominent theory about the potential benefits of the internet for small businesses in general (and independent artists/labels in the music industry specifically). The theory (which is related to the balance dimension of the consumed diversity -i.e. how the total musical consumption is distributed over the existing titles) is explained by Chris Anderson in his book “Long Tail: Why the Future of Business is Selling Less of More” as follows:

The theory of the Long Tail is that our culture and economy is increasingly shifting away from a focus on a relatively small number of "hits" (mainstream products and markets) at the head of the demand curve and toward a huge number of niches in the tail. As the costs of production and distribution fall, especially online, there is now less need to lump products and consumers into one-size-fits-all containers. In an era without the constraints of physical shelf space and other bottlenecks of distribution, narrowly-targeted goods and services can be as economically attractive as mainstream fare (Anderson, 2006).

The theory's prediction for the music industry was that the demand for the songs that are not played on radio (and other mainstream media) is potentially as big as for those that are.

Traditional retail economics dictate that stores only stock the likely hits, because shelf space is expensive. But online retailers (from Amazon to iTunes) can stock virtually everything, and the number of available niche products outnumber the hits by several orders of magnitude. Those millions of niches are the Long Tail, which had been largely neglected until recently in favor of the Short Head of hits.

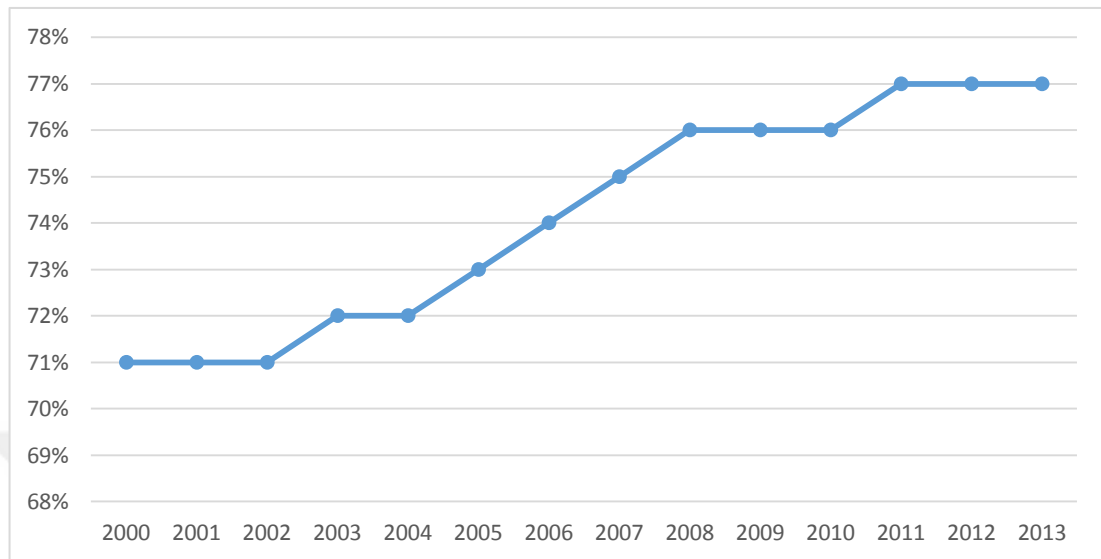
When consumers are offered infinite choice, the true shape of demand is revealed. And it turns out to be less hit-centric than we thought. People gravitate towards niches because they satisfy narrow interests better, and in one aspect of our life or another we all have some narrow interest (Anderson, 2009).

Expecting the music industry to transform in a way that would validate the long tail theory in the digital age as a result of the democratization of access to music coupled with the redundancy of musical products seems rational at first sight. However, the study of Mauch et. al. mentioned above and other statistics gathered from various researches and put forth below show that the industry turned out to be more hit-centric, i.e. the digital revolution in music intensified the superstar concentration rather than reducing it, as opposed to what the long tail theory predicted.

The report titled “The Death of the Long Tail: The Superstar Music Economy” published by MIDiA Consulting (which is a media and technology analysis company) in 2014 shows that 77% of the total global recorded music revenue (physical and digital) went to the superstars⁶⁰ (MIDiA, 2014). The increasing share of superstar artists in the total global recorded music income of artists can be seen in Figure 2.13.

⁶⁰ Superstars are identified by the top 1% of the musical works in the world. ‘Superstar artists’ as a term does not mean an absolute domination of major label artists; indeed, many independent artists (such as Adele and Taylor Swift) have broken through into the top 1% (MIDiA, 2014).

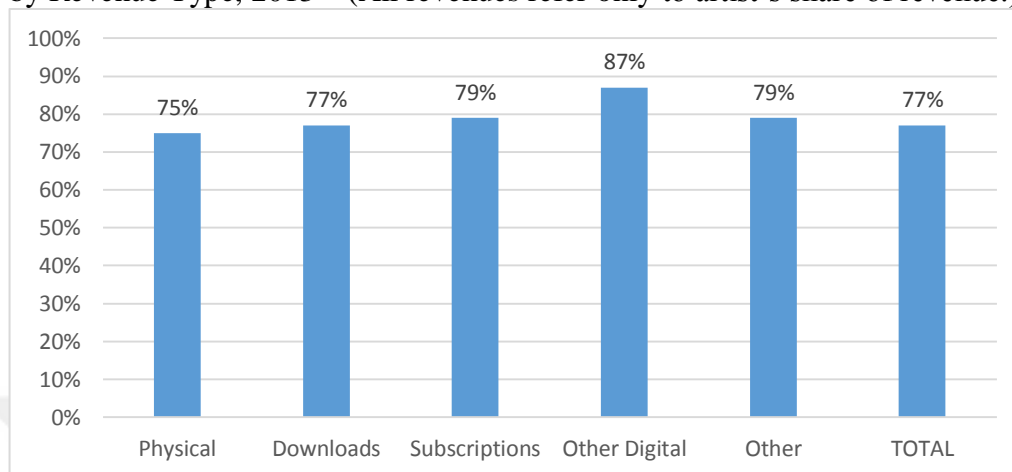
Figure 2.13: Change in the Income Share of Superstar Artists in Total Recorded Music Income of all Artists in the World.



Source: “The Death of the Long Tail: The Superstar Music Economy” by MIDiA.

Total global artist income in 2013 was 2.8 billion USD in 2013 (46% coming from physical sales, 32% from digital downloads, 14% from streaming, and the rest from other sources), which is 17% (up from 13% in 2000) of total global recorded music revenues. Figure 2.14 shows the share of superstars across different recorded music channels. Note that the situation for the online consumption is worse – i.e. the concentration is more - than in the case of physical sales.

Figure 2.14: Superstar Artists' Share of Recorded Music Income, by Revenue Type, 2013 (All revenues refer only to artist's share of revenue.)



Source: “The Death of the Long Tail: The Superstar Music Economy” by MIDiA.

There also exist other studies with results in opposition to the Long Tail Theory. Page and Garland (2009) put forth a “hit-heavy, skinny tail” distribution in the area of legal online music downloads, with more than 75% of the total tracks remaining unsold (Page & Garland, 2009).

Research conducted by the Recording Industry Association for America (RIAA) shows that out of 8 million digital tracks sold in 2011 worldwide, 7.5 million sold less than 100 copies. 80% of the albums released in 2011 sold less than 100 copies, 94% sold less than 1,000 copies and only 0.5% of all albums that sold even a single copy sold more than 10,000 copies (RIAA, 2015). Most record companies suffered a loss in about 80% of the albums they invested. (Elberse, 2013). There is excess supply in the music industry; only a small portion of the huge number of albums and songs released turns into consumption. That is to say, no matter how diversified the music produced worldwide is, consumption revolves around certain musical genres and pieces.

According to the MIDiA’s report, the hit-centric trend is driven by two factors: smaller amount of ‘front end’ display for digital services (i.e. a small number of artists/tracks [5 to 20 in general] being visible on the main pages of the digital services) and consumers being overwhelmed by excessive amount of

products which in turn hinders discovery. As a result, majority of the consumers want to be led by the mainstream and this is why curated and programmed music services are so important for engaging the masses with digital music (MIDIa, 2014). Another explanation for the high amount of concentration in the digital music market is related to the algorithms⁶¹ used by the streaming services and the social media. The first streaming service Pandora offered a music recommendation service which became an outstanding trend in music listening afterwards. This recommendation system was established as follows.

Five years before Pandora became a reality, the Music Genome Project was founded in an attempt to “capture the essence of music at the most fundamental level” (Albright, 2015). Pandora is the “custodian” of this project, which assigns values for up to 450 musical characteristics per song, depending on the genre: 150 for rock and pop, 350 for rap, 400 for jazz, and up to 450 for other genres, such as world music and classical. These characteristics include things like “unique instrumentation,” “mixed minor and major key tonality,” “hard rock roots,” “subtle use of strings,” “lots of cymbals,” “dirty organ riff,” “thin ambient synth textures,” “epic buildup / breakdown,” “melodic songwriting,” “groove based composition,” “highly synthetic sonority,” “tonal harmony,” and just about everything else you could possibly think of.

These characteristics are assigned by human analysts, about 25 of which are working at a given time, coding two to four songs per hour, for about 10,000 songs per month. This information is fed into an algorithm to allow a user the ability to listen to songs that are similar to a given song, album, or artist (or, in the case of iTunes Radio, an entire music library) (Albright, 2015).

The mechanism used by Pandora was criticized because of including a degree of homogeneity especially after it started to use “thumbs-up/thumbs-down” rating system. This stands as an example of how internet platforms can become representors of the mainstream – rather than serving as a facilitator for consumers’ reaching diversified forms of cultural expressions - by further reinforcing the popularity of the most popular cultural styles/genres and causing the less popular to get lost in the infinite space of the virtual world. Not only the algorithms of

⁶¹ An automatic system for organizing webpage content, which adapts to the profile of each internet user. These algorithms end up exerting considerable influence over users’ purchasing decisions (UNESCO, 2015).

Pandora but most of the other digital music platforms as well as social media sites such as Facebook use similar algorithms.

The large digital platforms [...] control not only sales but also communication and the recommendation algorithms in effect poses the problem of discoverability: what processes lead users to stumble on certain products and not others? How can we be sure that the mechanisms of recommendation are balanced and guarantee access to the diversity of cultural expressions? (UNESCO, 2015).

A consequence of the social media algorithms as shown by Next Big Sound (2014) is that the rise in the online performance of an established star is much higher than less known artists. About 80% of the artists that were tracked by Next Big Sound in 2013 have seen less than one Facebook page like per day, whereas Shakira (whose production company is Sony), a widely known star, has seen 50,000 Facebook likes per day on average in 2013.

Another fact that reinforces the level of standardization in the mainstream music media is the increased ability to capture which songs are liked the most, via Instagram and twitter tags, Facebook likes, YouTube streams etc., and to focus on these songs in the radio and TV programs as a result. According to iHeartMedia, the top 40 radio stations played the 10 biggest songs in 2013 almost twice as much as they did in 2003.

And not only are we hearing the same hits with greater frequency, but the hits themselves sound increasingly alike. As labels have gotten more adept at recognizing what's selling, they've been quicker than ever to invest in copycats. People I spoke with in the music industry told me they worried that the reliance on data was leading to a "clustering" of styles and genres, promoting a dispiriting sameness in pop music (Thompson, 2014).

In conclusion, the opportunities provided by the digital technologies for the diversity to manifest do not turn into an increased amount of consumed diversity. That is to say, if the exceptions are not counted, the dominance of the mainstream music genres – with an increasing standardization within each of them - continues in the digital era.

2.2.3 Market Concentration in the World Music Industry

The third question stated above is on the market concentration: How has the market concentration – i.e. the relative powers of majors and indies - changed in the digital era?

Starting from the late 1990s, the artists are provided with the opportunity to exist in the music industry without the help of a record company as a result of the disintermediation led by the digital revolution (Jones, 2000). In other words, the barriers to entry decreased to a great extent. These developments caused by the reduced costs of production coupled with the loss of significance of the constraints of the conventional (pre-digital era) music industry such as the limited shelf space in the retail stores and the selection mechanisms of the traditional media outlets (Bergmann, 2004) has been evaluated as a potential for the share of the independent artists/labels in the total music revenues to grow. That is to say, the dominance of the major record companies and the major artists in the industry were expected to be broken in favor of the less popular artists and small/medium record labels (Shirky, 2001; Dolfsma, 2005; Rantanen, 1998).

However, what is more crucial for the newcomers than being able to enter the market, is the ability to stay, i.e. the ability to turn a sufficient amount of production into consumption in order to gain a financial sustainability for their existence in the industry. If the decreased costs of production and accessibility of the internet by all artists as a promotion platform do not turn into increased profitability and subsequently market share (even a place in the market) for the independent labels/artists, then it is more appropriate to say that there are new, even more fortified invisible barriers to entry in the digital era. For instance, Blanchette (2004) refers to these new kinds of barriers as a main determinant of the increased concentration from 2001 to 2003.

Starting from its preliminary stages, the music industry have always had an oligopolistic structure (where a few number of firms with huge financial resources and marketing capacities dominate the whole industry in terms of sales volume)

with an increasing number of small firms (cumulative share of which is low compared to the major firms) (Power & Scott, 2004). This permanent and ongoing oligopolistic structure, which is caused by the major companies' tendency to become vertically integrated (Peterson & Berger, 1975) and to conglomerate, and the economies of scale – which can be defined as the cost advantage obtained as the size of a firm increases (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2004) - means that the industry is and tends to be more and more concentrated.

Before the digital era, the major record companies were financing the recordings that addressed the mainstream music demand while the role of the independent labels was to discover and invest in new artists and genres, to provide an environment in which the artists can create freely – without any commercial concerns - so as to enlarge the music industry by increasing the amount and diversity of demand (Mooney et. al, 2010). The borders between the majors and independents were fairly clear. If an artist of an independent label managed to reach a significant success, then either that label was acquired or that artist was transferred to a major record company. As a result of this, the musical style of the artist was being blunted in order to serve the mass taste (Throsby, 2002). In the digital era, even though the role of the independent labels are still the same, the ways majors interact with them have changed, making the nature of concentration more complex. Majors are no longer acquiring the independent labels which have a significant success but rather investing in them. They sometimes make contracts with indies on an album-by-album basis, or they establish their own sub-labels for different genres. In fact, there are various combinations of major-indie relations which make it hard to tell what is major and what is indie (Christman, 2011). Thus today it is much more difficult to analyze the industry in terms of the relative power and relative market share of major labels over the independents. It is also hard to conclude for any correlation between market concentration and diversity. It might be the case that the financial power of the major labels (which lead to the concentration of the market on the one hand) are being used to support (and control) the existing independent labels or to establish such sub-labels which would otherwise hardly survive because of their inability to obtain venture capital. Thus,

the availability and survival of non-mainstream genres are (at least partially) maintained by the major record labels – directly or indirectly. In any case, a historical overview of the amount of concentration is put forth below.

The amount of concentration has been calculated for different eras of the industry by different researchers using different methodologies, mainly because of the complex structure of the industry. Moreover, some of the sources have carried out an analysis at a global scale whereas some others have focused on the US market exclusively. All these factors make it difficult to make a comparative and precise analysis regarding the exact level of market concentration; however reviewing all these statistical works will help us to develop a general understanding.

The two prominent methods in calculating the market shares are respectively the one based on the distribution ownership (the share of the companies who distribute the albums) and the one based on label ownership (the share of companies who release the albums) - which started to be used more commonly in recent years.

Up to 1998 the industry had been dominated by the “big six” companies: Universal Music Group (UMG)⁶², PolyGram⁶³, Sony⁶⁴, Bertelsmann Music Group (BMG)⁶⁵, Warner Music Group (WMG)⁶⁶ and EMI Music⁶⁷. In 1998, PolyGram merged with UMG, turning the industry into the “big five” and others. Cumulative market share (based on distribution ownership) of these five companies in the US market were 84.1% in 1999, 85% in 2000, 83.3% in 2001, 83.7% in 2002 and 85% in 2003 (Blanchette, 2004).

⁶² UMG is an American-French global music company, which is owned by Vivendi, a French media conglomerate (Millard, 2005).

⁶³ PolyGram was a subsidiary to PolyGram Group which was a Dutch-German mass media company (Millard, 2005).

⁶⁴ Sony Music is owned by Sony Corporation of America, under which all Sony companies of the US operate (including Sony Electronics, Sony Pictures Entertainment, Sony Interactive Entertainment (game industry), Sony Digital Audio Disc Corporation, Sony Mobile Communications, Sony Biotechnology). Sony Corporation of America is a branch of Sony headquartered in Japan (Millard, 2005).

⁶⁵ BMG was a music label which is owned by Bertelsmann, a German-based global media company (operating in the areas of TV broadcasting, publishing and music) (Millard, 2005).

⁶⁶ WMG is a record label owned by Access Industries, an American-based multinational company operating in the following areas: natural resources and chemicals, media and telecommunications, and real estate (Millard, 2005).

⁶⁷ EMI was a subsidiary of EMI Group, which also operated in the film industry (Millard, 2005).

Table 2.1: Market Shares of the Largest 5 Record Companies in the US, 1999-2002 (%).

%	UMG	WMG	BMG	Sony	EMI	Total
1999	26.4	15.8	16.1	16.3	9.5	84.1
2000	28	15.4	19.4	13.5	8.7	85
2001	26.4	15.9	14.7	15.6	10.7	83.3
2002	28.9	15.9	14.8	15.7	8.4	83.7
2003	29.4	16.6	16.3	13	9.8	85.1

Source: Blanchette, 2004.

Lately, the Sony and BMG merger in 2004 reduced the number of major companies to four. According to IFPI (2005), the big four companies' share of the retail sales (based on distribution ownership) were 72% of the global sales in 2004. As of 2010, approximately 70% of the global music industry revenues were seized by these four vertically integrated major companies: UMG (4.5 billion Euros), Sony Music (4.2 billion Euros), WMG (2.2 billion Euros), EMI (1.8 billion Euros) (Leurdijk & Nieuwenhuis, 2011).

In the case of the US music industry, the market share (for the sales of physical and digital albums) of the big four companies were 87.17% in 2008, 88.53% in 2009, 88.98% in 2010 and 87.89% in 2011 based on distribution ownership according to Nielsen. When only the digital albums are of concern, the share of the big four decreases to an average of 84% and for the case of digital tracks to an average of 87% for the years 2008-2011⁶⁸.

The measurements reviewed up to this point are all based on a categorization of albums and tracks according to their distributors. However, this method was criticized because of its inability to show the real performance of the indie labels (WIN, 2015). The reason for this is that most of the indie albums are distributed by

⁶⁸Source:<http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20120105005547/en/Nielsen-Company-Billboard%E2%80%99s-2011-Music-Industry-Report>
<http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20110106006565/en/Nielsen-Company-Billboard%E2%80%99s-2010-Music-Industry-Report>
<http://www.nielsen.com/content/dam/corporate/us/en/newswire/uploads/2010/01/Nielsen-Music-2009-Year-End-Press-Release.pdf>

major distribution companies – even though they are released by indie labels - and thus their share in the market are accounted under ‘majors’ when the distribution ownership method is used. As a response to such criticisms, Nielsen started to announce market shares by label ownership as well as by distribution ownership.

The estimated market shares (in the US market) based on label ownership in comparison to the market shares based on distribution ownership for the years 2007 and 2011 can be seen in Table 2.2

Table 2.2: Share of Top Four Companies and Indie Labels Based on Label Ownership and Distribution Ownership, 2007 & 2011 (%)

%	By Label Ownership		By Distribution Ownership	
	2007	2011	2007	2011
UMG	22.08	21.89	31.18	29.74
Sony	21.28	24.02	25.45	29.36
WMG	12.70	14.42	19.93	19.00
EMI	9.54	7.87	10.57	8.76
Total of Majors	65.6	68.2	87.13	86.86
Indies	34.40	31.23	12.87	12.50

Source: Nielsen SoundScan⁶⁹

Finally, the most recent merger in the music industry took place between UMG and EMI. After UMG’s acquisition of EMI in 2012, the number of global giants was reduced to three. That is to say, the market concentration in the global music industry is increasing in the digital era. It can be evaluated that the market evolves from an oligopolistic to a monopolistic structure. Nielsen’s data for the share distribution based on label and distribution ownerships after 2012 are listed in Table 2.3.

⁶⁹ <http://www.billboard.com/biz/articles/news/indies/1177068/what-exactly-is-an-independent-label-differing-definitions>

Table 2.3: Share of Top Three Companies and Indie Labels Based on Label Ownership and Distribution Ownership, 2013 & 2015, (%)

	By Label Ownership			By Distribution Ownership		
	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015
UMG	28.5	27.5	26.7	38.8	38.7	38.5
Sony	22.3	22.00	23.1	29.6	28.5	29.5
WMG	14.00	14.6	15.00	18.7	18.8	18.7
Total of majors	64.8	64.1	64.8	87.1	86	86.7
Indie	34.6	35.1	34.4	12.4	13.1	12.6

Source: Nielsen SoundScan⁷⁰

WIN (2015) made an analysis of the global music market and found that the independents accounted for the 37.6% of the total global music industry revenues when the calculations were made by label ownership. One of the reasons for an increasing share of the independent labels is the tendency of some of the popular artists to move from major labels to independents (WIN, 2015), or establish their own independent labels (such as HITT Music by Tarkan, Ceceli Music by Mustafa Ceceli and Simya Music by Sertab Erener in Turkey), while it is also the case that a number of artists (such as Taylor Swift and Adele) who are releasing their albums from independent labels from the very beginning of their careers have managed to become one of the top artists of the world - even though they are only exceptions - given the promotion opportunities of the internet. Taking into consideration that most of the well-known artists of the independent labels (the ones that constitute the highest part of the 37.6% cumulative share of independents) are the representatives of the mainstream genres, i.e. their musical styles are close to the standardized mainstream songs, the relative share of independents rising up to 38%

⁷⁰ <http://www.billboard.com/articles/business/6436399/nielsen-music-soundscan-2014-taylor-swift-republic-records-streaming>
<http://www.billboard.com/articles/business/6835216/us-recording-industry-2015-streams-double-adele-dominates-nielsen-music>

does not necessarily mean an increased diversity, but rather the songs/albums similar to the ones released by the majors are being released under the umbrella of independent labels. A huge number of independent labels other than the exceptional ones face an inferior treatment by the digital distributors and outlets (Christman, 2011). That is to say, the concept 'independent' is open to debate in terms of musical diversity. While analyzing the consumption trends of the Turkish music listeners in this dissertation, the focus will be on the independents who are offering at least some sort of diversity.

To sum up, the following points stand out with regard to the diversity and market concentration in the world music industry.

As a result of pulling down of the entry barriers in the digital era, count-based produced diversity has increased (i.e. the number of artists and songs released per year increased), however the musical diversity among the songs produced decreased.

A huge part of the songs being released are not known and consumed by the majority of the population. That is to say, the consumption is concentrated on certain genres, certain (major) artists and certain standardized examples of these genres and artists.

The decrease in the consumed diversity is partially caused by the working dynamics of the internet itself, which was initially perceived as a democratizing environment for the producers and consumers of music. On the other hand, it is difficult to tell with accuracy that another determinant is the increased market concentration, partly because of the impossibility of conducting a statistical analysis with the data in hand and because of the increasingly complex nature of the market concentration in the industry. However, it is clearly seen from the figures and specific cases that the music market in the world has always been dominated by a small number of major firms and is highly concentrated. Even the increase in the cumulative share of independent labels is primarily led by the fact that the productions of a number of "major" artists are being released by independent labels in the digital age. The only contribution of the internet has been to create

exceptional cases of independent successes which was less likely before the digital era.

Another contribution of the digital revolution might be an increased amount of diversity for certain groups of individuals who are more actively seeking new music on the digital platforms (this is a hypothesis tested in Section 5.2.3 for the case of Turkey). If this is the case, policies to enlarge the group of active/curious music consumers, together with a change in the algorithms of the music platforms, would increase the level of consumed diversity in general, and the increased demand for more diversified music will result in an increased amount of diversity on the production side as well in the long run.

CHAPTER 3
HISTORY OF THE MUSIC INDUSTRY IN TURKEY
(FROM THE 1920s TO THE 2010s)

In this section, the music industry of Turkey is historically and critically overviewed as a preparation for the main analysis of this dissertation on today's music industry (which is detailed in the following section).

The 1960s can be seen as a turning point in terms of mass media music listening in Turkey because it is the period in which Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was established and only after this progress, full-time broadcasting started and spread country-wide through the new radio stations set by the corporation. Thus, the historical analysis of the diversity in the music industry is divided into two: the period before the 1960s and the period starting with the 1960s. In subsection 3.1 the pre-1960 period is evaluated briefly and then in subsection 3.2 a more detailed discussion is made regarding the 1960s and onwards. In each of these subsections the prominent musical styles and the level of musical diversity in the mainstream music industry are specified and discussed in the context of the social and political conditions.

In subsection 3.3 technological transformations in the music industry throughout the history and the impact of these transformations on the production and consumption behaviors are evaluated.

In subsection 3.4, an assessment of the live music scene in Turkey and the entertainment cultures of different decades are made.

In subsection 3.5 the song and voice contests of the Turkish popular music history are evaluated in terms of their contribution to the diversity in the music industry of Turkey.

In subsection 3.6 the gatekeepers of the music industry are listed and their filtering mechanisms which are against diversity are critically analyzed.

This section has been written based on a literature review of the music history of Turkey and in-depth interviews with Naim Dilmener and Murat Meriç,

two music critics who had conducted researches and have written books and articles on the topic.

3.1 DIVERSITY IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY OF TURKEY BEFORE THE 1960s

3.1.1 Turkish Music before the Republic

The music tradition of Turkey is based on two broad genres, the classical Turkish music of the Ottoman Palace and Turkish Folk Music (THM). Classical Turkish music started to be performed outside the Palace for the first time in the First Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹ During the time, the genre had gone through some changes, and the new examples were technically less complex so that they could be more attractive for the majority of the public. As a result, a new form (the song form/*şarkı formu* [verse-chorus-bridge-chorus / *zemin-nakarat-meyan-nakarat*]) accompanied by simpler lyrics became widespread among classical compositions (Stokes, 2009). This evolved version of classical Turkish music had started to be named as Turkish Classical Music (TSM). The process of transformation from classical Turkish music to TSM is accepted as initiated with

⁷¹ Dominant policy of the First Constitutional Era included the adoption of the western culture which resulted in an increased interest for western classical music and loss of popularity for classical Turkish music in the Palace. Consequently, the musicians composing and performing in the Palace thus far, started to make music outside the Palace. However, it was not possible to attract the attention of the public with the original version of the classical Turkish music as its likeability depended on an educated ear because of its complex musical structure (Güngör, 1990).

the compositions of Dede Efendi⁷² and carried on with those of Hacı Arif Bey⁷³ and Şevki Bey⁷⁴ (Küçük Kaplan, 2013).

The history of THM can be traced back to the pre-Islamic period. It is known from the Book of Dede Korkut⁷⁵ that folk music was a part of the daily lives of Turks from Central Asia (Çınarler, 2009). The earliest examples of this genre were the anonymous ones performed to the accompaniment of the instrument named *kopuz*⁷⁶ by *ozans*⁷⁷ (“Halk müziğinin kökeni”, 2011). After Islam started to be adopted by the Turks, the lyrical content of the musical pieces started to be shaped by the religion whereas the musical forms didn’t change too much (Çınarler, 2009). Some of the well-known *ozans* who lived in the 14th to 19th centuries were Nesimi, Kaygusuz Abdal, Pir Sultan Abdal, Köroğlu, Karacaoğlu.

THM pieces of the past had been carried to the 20th century by the *ozan* tradition, and it was a genre widely listened to and enjoyed by the public before and after the establishment of the Republic.

*Kanto*⁷⁸ can be counted as the first West⁷⁹-oriented musical style that became popular in Turkey. Just as in the case for classical music, *kanto*’s popularity among our ancestors can be traced back to the 1870s, the times when the music

⁷² Dede Efendi was a TSM composer, flute player and singer who lived between 1778 and 1846 in the Ottoman Empire. As well as performing as an artist in the Palace, he worked as a trainer in *Enderûn* and *Yenikapı Mevlevihâne*. (Source: <http://www.dersodev.com/konu/dede-efendi-hayati-ve-eserleri/1098>).

⁷³ Hacı Arif Bey is a TSM composer and singer who lived between 1831 and 1885. After joining *Müzika-i Hûmayûn* (the orchestra of the Palace), he was invited to the Palace by Sultan Abdülmecit to perform his music and to teach music in Harem-I Hûmayûn. He was the founder of *kürdilihicazkar makam* of TSM. (Source: <http://www.turksanatmuzigi.org/sanaticilarimiz/bestekarlarimiz/haci-arif-bey>)

⁷⁴ Şevki Bey was a TSM composer and lived between 1860 and 1891 in the Ottoman Empire. He joined *Müzika-I Hûmayûn* after graduating from high school. After being trained in the orchestra and becoming a senior musician he left the Palace. (Source: <http://www.turksanatmuzigi.org/sanaticilarimiz/bestekarlarimiz/sevki-bey?tmpl=component&print=1>)

⁷⁵ A collection of epic stories about Oghuz Turks.

⁷⁶ *Kopuz* is a fretless string instrument.

⁷⁷ *Ozan* is the name given by Oghuz Turks to the person who is a musician and a poet.

⁷⁸ *Kantos* were songs sung between acts on a stage, based on traditional eastern *makam* but performed on western instruments. *Kanto* is a high tempo, entertainment music which was influenced by musical theatre, Balkan, Byzantine, Greek music and Turkish *çiftetelli*.

⁷⁹ West meant “Europe” for Turkey until the mid-1940s. Only after the Second World War, the United States of America started to be mentioned when talking about western influences on our culture.

escaped from the monopoly of the Palace and started to be widespread among the public. *Kanto* was first borrowed from touring Italian theatre groups visiting İstanbul during the time. *Kanto* performances were only serving to diversify the theatre programs initially, but as a result of the great interest of the public in the genre, the duration of *kanto* performances in the programs was increased. This example illustrates that the demand of the public can be influential on the supply of music.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, *kanto* – with some structural changes making the genre more similar to classical Turkish music in terms of melodic structure and orchestration - was still popular among the public (Aksoy, 1985). It was not only performed live but also several *kanto* pieces were recorded on 78 rpm shellac disc (*taş plak*) by the record companies from the beginning of the 1900s. The impact of gypsy culture and Greek music on *kanto* were significant (Küçükkaplan, 2013).

3.1.2 Turkish Music after the Republic: The Aspiration for a ‘National Music’

Starting from the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the main aim of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder and the first president of the Republic, and his colleagues was to constitute a modern nation state based on a synthesis of the economic, political, social and cultural structure of the West with Turkish traditional values, norms and roots (Uluskan, 2010).⁸⁰ In this respect, a new life style – inclusive of the consumption of cultural goods and services - was planned for the modern Turkish society. Music was one of the most important areas to apply the cultural policy of the era. The purpose was to create a national music – as part of the nation-building strategy - which was going to be a combination of traditional melodies with polyphonic western musical techniques.

⁸⁰ When talking about “traditions, norms and roots”, what had been mentioned by the founders of the Turkish Republic were not the values and norms of the Ottoman Empire, on the contrary their intention was to rule out everything related to the empire.

In the meantime, TSM was popular among the public together with THM. However, as mentioned above, west-oriented cultural policies of the new Republic intended to either totally get rid of these traditional musical styles or to combine them with the techniques of western music (Güngör, 1990). The plan of combining TSM melodies with western musical structures was technically problematic from the very beginning, because traditional Turkish music was modal (*makamsal*) in structure and inclusive of microtones. Thus, it was impossible to fit traditional melodies on western 12-tone system without losing the microtones –i.e. without changing the original melody. In any case, TSM was excluded from the cultural policy of the era (though Atatürk was a faithful listener of the genre) (Yurdatapan, 2004). Abolishment of the Classical Turkish Music department of the state conservatory and ban of the genre from the radio between 1934 and 1936 (Karahisar, 2009) and the following quotes by Atatürk are evidences for this exclusion: “We need a new music and this will be a polyphonic music which is based on folk music” (Saygun cited in Güray, n.d.) and “These (examples of classical Turkish music) are inherited from Byzantine, our real music can be heard from Anatolian people” (Memories of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, n.d.).

Another musical genre which was banned from the radios was Rebetiko – the music of Anatolian Greeks, 1.5 million of whom were exchanged with Turks living in Greece after the end of the Independence War. As the Greeks were excluded from Turkey, so should their music have been (Yurdatapan, 2004).

Regarding the polyphony, a number of Turkish and foreign musicologists (such as Paul Hindemith, Bela Bartok, etc.) were arguing that THM was essentially polyphonic in nature - contrary to TSM - and should be taken as the basis for the music of the modern Turkish nation (Katoğlu, 2009); however, the polyphony of THM was technically different than western polyphony (Stokes, 2009). Furthermore, this kind of a musical synthesis also meant performing traditional melodies with western instruments, which was going to result in loss of diversity in orchestration and of local interpretations.

Ziya Gökalp⁸¹ - just like Atatürk - was claiming that TSM was an imitation of Byzantine music and that it was not “Turkish” originally. In Gökalp’s point of view, the musical style that was essentially the Turks’ was THM (Gökalp, 1999). In this respect, compilations of THM works were carried out in Anatolia in the 1930s and 1940s, and in 1961, 1967 and 1971. Eventually, a huge archive of folk songs was generated. However, during the compilation process, certain interventions were realized especially on the use of Turkish language in the songs (Stokes, 2009). As ensuring the use of a homogenized, ‘pure language’ among all the citizens of the new Turkey was one of the policies related to nation building, the folk songs which did not suit the pure Turkish were either eliminated from the archive or their lyrics were adjusted (Balkılıç, 2009). Such an interference would have meant the erosion of local dialects and loss of diversity. This approach did not last after the death of Atatürk.

Tango was a musical style transferred from the West during the implementation of the west-oriented cultural policy by the policy makers of the early Republic. Present forms of tango originated from Argentina and Uruguay, and passed through Europe before coming to Turkey. Turkish tangos started to be written and became famous since the 1930s. “*Mazi*”, a piece of tango composed by Necip Celâl⁸² in 1928 and recorded on vinyl with Seyyan Hanım⁸³’s performance in 1932, is accepted to be one of the first examples of Turkish popular music (Dilmener, 2003). Writing Turkish lyrics on foreign tangos was also common in the 1930s (Küçük Kaplan, 2013).

During its journey from South America to Turkey, the lyrical content and the audience of tango changed substantially. In South America, tango was the music

⁸¹ Ziya Gökalp was an author and politician who lived between 1876 and 1924. He is well known for his nationalist discourses and writings. He was a deputy of the young republic and supported the idea of Turkism in all policy areas. (Source: <http://www.antoloji.com/ziya-gokalp/hayati/>)

⁸² Necip Celâl was a composer and violin player who lived between 1908 and 1957. He received music education in Germany. He composed tangos, violin concertos, oboe concertos, violin-cello concertos and lieds. (Source: <http://www.turksanatmuzigi.org/sanatcilarimiz/bestekarlarimiz/necip-celal-andel?tmpl=component&print=1>).

⁸³ Seyyan Hanım (Seyyan Oskay) was a Turkish tango singer who lived between 1913 and 1989. She was a graduate of Istanbul Conservatory. She started to perform professionally on stage when she was 16 (Source: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seyyan_Han%C4%B1m).

of lower-classes and the lyrics were mostly peevish, rebellious, aggressive and melancholic, reflecting the disappointment and helplessness of the individuals from this class. Whereas in Turkey, tango has been the music of the educated upper-middle class and the lyrical content of the genre became more of the tenderly expressed feelings of love, even when it is melancholic (Meriç, 2006).

3.1.3 1940s-1950s: Music Simplified but Diversified

The cultural policy perspective of the early Republic was dominant until the 1940s. When the shift to a multi-party political system was experienced in Turkey in 1946, policies of the early Republic started to be abandoned gradually (Oransay, 1983). TSM and THM, in their original forms, have continued to be the preferred music styles of a certain part of the public⁸⁴.

One important reason for straying from the music policies of the 1930s was that free market conditions started to be dominant in the sector. Both THM and TSM, two main musical styles demanded by the public in Turkey, began to be produced according to the market conditions, i.e. the composers and performers of the genres started to simplify the musicality and content of the songs they produced and performed, with the expectation that these simplified forms would match the musical tastes of the masses. Despite the efforts of a group of musicians (especially the Turkish Fives⁸⁵) who tried to stand on the principles of the early Republic, their successors did not insist on the objective of creating a national music based on THM and Western classical music (Küçükkaplan, 2013).

At the end of the 1940s, examples of jazz started to be added to the repertoire of Turkish music as a result of the emergence of the U.S. influence on the Turkish

⁸⁴ TSM and THM have always been - and are still today – the preferred genres of a certain part of the population. Even though there has been a diminishing interest for these traditional musical genres by the music media (especially the mainstream media) in Turkey especially after the 2000s – which might cause a diminishing interest by the public as well in the long run -, the survey conducted within this study shows that the majority of the public still declares that they like TSM and THM to a certain extent today.

⁸⁵ Turkish Fives are the five musicians (Ahmet Adnan Saygun, Cemal Reşit Rey, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Necil Kazım Akses, Ulvi Cemal Erkin) who were the first Turkish musicians who composed examples of western classical music.

culture⁸⁶, and this genre continued to be highly influential in Turkey during the 1950s. “The establishment of the sextet group named Bibop (Cüneyt Sermet, Turhan Gencer, İlham Gencer, Müfit Kiper, İsmet Sıral and Şadan) through the end of the 1940s was the most important step thus far regarding jazz music in Turkey” (Dilmener, 2003:26). Later on, many other jazz groups were formed and Turkish jazz artists started to release songs in this genre, mostly in English.

The radio programs prepared by Erdem Buri⁸⁷ at İstanbul Radio starting from 1949 had an important role on young generations’ liking of jazz music. Moreover, stars of jazz music were being created in the 1950s with the help of the print media. The rise of Ayten Alpman during the time is one of the most prominent examples in this sense (Tunçağ, 2013).

The developments in jazz music during the 1940s and 1950s provided a solid ground for Turkish pop music that was going to emerge in the 1960s. Well-educated and experienced jazz musicians of the era transferred to pop music in the following decades, ensuring a minimum standard of musical quality for the first examples of pop (Dilmener, 2003).

Rock ‘n’ roll and swing were other styles Turkey borrowed from the West in the 1950s. The first rock ‘n’ roll group of Turkey, *Genç Denizciler* (also known as Somer Sonata Orchestra), was formed in 1955 by a number of students of the Naval Academy. They were followed by another group led by Erkin Koray⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ USA and Soviet Russia were the two countries who gained power after World War II. The geographical location of Turkey was important in being like a bridge between Russia and the Middle East, the Balkans and the Mediterranean Sea. For the USA, losing Turkey in favor of Russia would have strengthened the strategic position of Russia in the whole region and threatened the economic stability of Europe. Thus, USA took steps to form an alliance with Turkey in order to prevent Russia from expanding in military and political senses (Eser, Demirkoran & Çiçek, 2011). Turkey’s becoming an ally with the USA might have been expected to set the ground for a reciprocal cultural exchange between the two countries. However, as a repercussion of the imbalance between Turkey and the US in their political relations starting from those days, the cultural influence was also one-way, from the US towards Turkey.

⁸⁷ Erdem Buri is a Turkish composer who lived between 1925 and 1993. He is known for the songs he composed for Tülay German. (Source: <http://www.turkpopmuzik.net/ansiklopedi-249-erdem-buri-1925-1993>)

⁸⁸ Erkin Koray is a singer, composer, piano and guitar player who was born in 1941 in İstanbul. He has been performing Anatolian pop/rock and progressive rock since the second half of the 1950s. (Source: <http://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=516>)

During the 1950s, many other groups were formed successively and they started to perform at the live music venues in Turkey (especially in İstanbul).

Through the end of the 1950s, the first major star of a new musical genre “pop” – which was named *Hafif Batı Müziği* at those times – was brought forth by the industry: Erol Büyükburç (Dilmener, 2003). It should be noted that the first record of Erol Büyükburç, “Little Lucy” with which he attracted the attention of the masses and became a star, was a song with a great rock ‘n’ roll influence. Thus, Büyükburç could be considered a pop star only after the release of his subsequent recordings in the second half of the 1960s - such as “*Kırık Kalpler*” (1968) – which did not have the rock ‘n’ roll influence.

One of the important social facts that left its mark on the 1950s was the domestic migration from rural to urban regions, which led to an alienation process for the migrants and the encounter of the culture of the center and that of the periphery. The migrants who settled down as clusters in cities brought their own local music styles with them, resulting in an increased exposure of urban people to these styles and their becoming more familiar to them in the long run. Moreover, arabesque⁸⁹, musical roots of which were based on the works of a number of TSM and THM musicians of the 1930s and 1940s and which was going to boom in the 1960s, started to emerge as a musical style representative of the needs, feelings, personal experiences etc. of the migrants.

3.2 DIVERSITY IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY OF TURKEY AFTER THE 1960s

3.2.1 The 1960s: New Genres Emerging in the Popular Music Scene

1960 was the year in which the first military coup in the Republic of Turkey was perpetrated. Even though this intervention of the Turkish Armed Forces ending

⁸⁹ Arabesque is a musical genre based on TSM and THM methods and modalities together and it uses the instruments identified with these two genres together with western instruments (Küçük Kaplan, 2013). It is also influenced by Arab, – specifically Egyptian - music.

the multi-party period in Turkey could be perceived as a damage to democracy, the National Unity Committee composed of military officers who took over the government in the country after the coup until the end of 1961, was surprisingly democratic in its political practices. Especially the 1961 constitution following the coup, laid the ground for a relatively more independent environment for the coming years. Consequently, the music environment of the decade was open to novelties.

3.2.1.1 'Turkish pop' is Born: From *aranjman*⁹⁰ to Original Compositions

In the beginning of the 1960s, Erol Büyükburç's first hit song "Little Lucy" was still on the top sale lists. Hence, there was a dominance of rock 'n' roll in Turkish popular music scene. This was not only because of the song's popularity among public, but also because of the lack of support by the major record labels of the time for Turkish musicians to produce new songs. Most of these labels (Capitol, Columbia, Odeon, Sahibinin Sesi, Pathé, Grafson and Fonit) were international companies and were functioning according to the directives of their headquarters. Odeon was the only giant record company which recorded songs for a number of Turkish performers at that time. Examples were "Tango Tomorrow" performed by Ayten Alpman and the English version of "Özleyiş" tango performed by Necip Celâl (Dilmener, 2003).

Up to the 1960s, it was common among Turkish artists to perform the west-oriented genres in foreign languages rather than singing in Turkish. There were only a few examples of *kanto* and *tango* with Turkish lyrics. Singing popular music in Turkish was considered disgraceful up to the mid-1960s. The first official Turkish pop song was an *aranjman*, "Bak Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş"⁹¹. The lyrics of the song were written by Fecri Ebcioğlu and it was recorded with İlham Gencer's vocal in the beginning of the 1960s. Following the success of the song, Erdem Buri offered

⁹⁰ *Aranjman* was a concept used for the songs produced by writing Turkish lyrics on foreign compositions.

⁹¹ The original version was a French song titled "C'est écrit dans le Ciel" which was composed by Alex Alstone and performed by Bob Azzam. (Source: <http://www.mynet.com/tv/bob-azzam-cest-crit-dans-le-ciel-1960-vid-3046232/>)

a partnership to Tülay German - who was a popular jazz singer in the 1950s - to create pop songs with Turkish lyrics. He put forth three alternative ways for doing so; the first alternative was to produce *aranjments* (i.e. to write Turkish lyrics on foreign songs), the second alternative was to re-arrange Turkish folk music songs with western instruments and the third alternative was to compose original pop songs with Turkish lyrics. Following the agreement and collaboration of Tülay German, they started to create songs in all three ways. Their project can be assessed as a pioneer for the main trends of pop music with Turkish lyrics, which were going to become significantly widespread towards the end of the decade (Dilmener, 2003).

Parallel to the endeavors of Erdem Buri and Tülay German, İlham Gencer was also trying to discover new artists to work with. Those were the times when Ajda Pekkan⁹² and Emel Sayın⁹³ came before Buri in his studio to be listened to and evaluated by him (Meriç, 2006).

Murat Meriç defines 1960s as follows:

The rise of Turkish pop music in 60s was related to the relatively more democratic political environment of the era. After the 1961 Constitution came into force, preceding period of political pressure had come to an end. As a result, people started to feel freer in all areas of daily life. It was time to enjoy life, and thus, entertaining pop music songs were composed to make life more enjoyable. Writing Turkish lyrics to western pop melodies (*aranjman*) or creating original compositions with Turkish lyrics were the two options of the time. The former option was more prominent especially in the beginning of the decade. (Murat Meriç, in-depth interview, October 2014).

Performing folk music pieces in western musical forms such as jazz and cha cha, and TSM pieces with western instruments were common experimental works among the musicians of the era (Dilmener, 2003). Works of Cahit Oben quartet

⁹² Ajda Pekkan is a Turkish pop singer who was born in 1946 in İstanbul. Her music career started in 1960s and continued without a break till today.

⁹³ Emel Sayın is a TSM singer born in 1945 in Sivas. She performed as a radio artist in Ankara Radio for 7 years starting from 1963. Then she was transferred to İstanbul Radio and started to perform in İstanbul *gazinós* as well. She has also taken part in several movies and TV series as an actress throughout her career. Her last album was released in 2013 and she performed pop music for the first time instead of TSM in this album.

(including Fikret Kızılok) such as “*Makaram Sarı Bağlar*”, “*Halimem*”, “*Silifke'nin Yoğurdu*”, and solo works of Fikret Kızılok such as “*Uzun İnce Bir Yoldayım*” and “*Ay Osman*” are prominent examples.

Although a rise in pop music was being experienced in the Turkish music scene during the era, most of the popular Turkish jazz singers (such as Ayten Alpman, Sevinç Tevs, Rüçhan Çamay and Özdemir Erdoğan) of the 1950s were insisting on performing in this style and refusing to switch to pop music. That is why number of female vocals in pop music was very low especially in the first half of the 1960s. Besides Tülay German, Ayla Dikmen, Ay-Feri, Gönül Turgut and Füsün Önal were a few women pop singers standing out at the time. The jazz singers were struggling to find venues to perform, and even if a venue accepted to work with them a very small number of people were coming to listen to them. As a result, their resistance against pop music lasted only until the mid-1960s (Dilmener, 2003).

The fact that jazz musicians of the era were being forced to create and perform in another genre they do not prefer should be perceived as an initial example of the pressure imposed by the industry on the creators/artists in favor of the commercial benefits and at the expense of diversity.

One of the most important songs recorded in 1960s was “*Yarımın Şarkısı*” (released in 1965) performed by Tülay German. The significance of the song came partly from it being one of the first songs that is an original composition by a Turkish composer (Erdem Buri) and partly from its lyrics' being related to the issues regarding Turkish realities. Turkish Labor Party (TİP) gained the right to be represented in the parliament with 15 seats as a result of the 1965 elections. The party had been using “*Yarımın Şarkısı*” in the election campaigns (Dilmener, 2003).

Singing the pop songs in Turkish with a foreign accent was another trend of the mid-1960s. This was initiated after foreign singers (such as Adamo, Sacha Distel, Marc Aryan etc.) became popular by singing Turkish songs with an accent.

Despite the progress in Turkish pop music in the first half of the 1960s, the sales figures of Turkish discs (78 rpm) were not at the expected level. The reason for this was not because the Turkish audience found the Turkish pop songs unattractive but because of the technical inferiority of the recordings. 45 rpm vinyl,

which was smaller and more durable, was not being produced yet and the sound on 78 rpm discs was raspy. The desired sales boom was going to be experienced after 1965 when 45 rpm format started to be widespread in the music production in Turkey (Meriç, 2006).

The first vinyl that sold over 100,000 was created in 1968: “Samanyolu” by Berkant. The song’s music was composed by Metin Bükey; lyrics were written by Teoman Alpay. What is noteworthy about “Samanyolu” is that it was covered by a Dutch singer David Alexander Winter and a French singer Patricia Carli with English lyrics and became popular worldwide.

3.2.1.2 A New Hybrid Genre: Anatolian Pop

Towards the end of the 1960s, the experiment of combining melodies from Anatolia with pop music structures of the West to create a national music with international musical standards became the outstanding trend of Turkish pop music and it gave rise to a new style: Anatolian Pop⁹⁴. Although the birth of this style – which was defined by Moğollar as modern national music created as a combination of characteristics (rhythm, melody and instruments) of Turkish folk music with western pop/rock musical techniques - can be traced back to the examples of “Kara Tren” by Doruk Onatkut and “Burçak Tarlası” by Tülay German, Moğollar was the group identified with Anatolian Pop. The reasons for this may be Moğollar’s persistent creations in this and only this genre, their visual images’ matching properly with the genre (see Photo 3.1) and their not only arranging Turkish folk songs but also composing their own songs in this genre. Other significant representatives of the genre were Cem Karaca, Barış Manço, Hümeýra, Selda and

⁹⁴ The genre (Anatolian Pop) started to be named Anatolian Rock in the 1990s. Taner Öngür, a member of Moğollar, who used the term Anatolian Rock for the first time in 1993, explains the reason for changing the name in a discovery broadcasted on Kanal 24 TV in 2012 as follows: “In 1960s, the concept of ‘pop’ did not correspond to inferiority in music as it does today, I proposed the term for the first time to mention something like pop art (which was reminiscent of creativity and innovation), and moreover there did not exist a concept as ‘rock’ at those times in Turkey. However, during the reunion of Moğollar in 1990s, rock music was more popular and I preferred to call our style ‘Anatolian Rock’.”

Fikret Kızılok. An important characteristic of Anatolian Pop was its explicit political content. Especially the artists from the left wing composed Anatolian pop songs with lyrics against the political system and mostly related to the needs and preoccupations of the people living in the villages of Anatolia (Meriç, 2006).



Photo 3.1: Moğollar

3.2.1.3 Turkish Classical Music and Turkish Folk Music in the 1960s

In the 1960s Zeki Müren, Müzeyyen Senar, Münir Nurettin Selçuk, Perihan Altındağ Sözeri, Hamiyet Yüceses, Nesrin Sipahi, Behiye Aksoy, Mediha Demirkıran and Mustafa Sağyaşar were prominent singers of TSM. Record companies' interest in THM singers had also increased during the decade. Ahmet Sezgin and Nuri Sesigüzel stood out in this genre. Their fame not only arose from their music but also from their taking part in Turkish cinema as actors. Turkish cinema industry of those times – known as *Yeşilçam*- had a great impact on the music preferences of the public. The music pieces used in a famous Turkish movie and leading actress/actor's being a singer of a specific genre increased the familiarity and hence the likeability of the genre and the singers among the public. (Küçük Kaplan, 2013).

In the second half of the decade, TSM and THM lost popularity to some extent. The interest of the public had shifted toward new pop music styles and record companies were trying to convince their TSM and THM singers to produce

pop songs (Dilmener, 2003) – again, the pressure of the industry on the artists at the expense of diversity.

3.2.1.4 Arabesque Music in the 1960s

Domestic migration and the adaptation process of the migrants to their new cities continued in the 1960s. Groups of people who came to the cities from rural areas with their traditional values and beliefs were faced with urban values with which they were totally unfamiliar. Neither adapting to the cultural environment of the cities immediately nor maintaining their rural traditions in urban life were possible. The same dilemma experienced by all the migrants, fostered the creation of a common sub-culture which then set the foundation for arabesque music (Güngör, 1990). The music of Orhan Gencebay⁹⁵ and his successors corresponded to the emotional needs of the people experiencing a new life style and arabesque boomed in the 1960s. As expected, the clusters of migrants constituted the main audience of the genre (Özbek, 1997).

Music critic Naim Dilmener evaluates the period in terms of arabesque as follows:

There was a wave of migration in 1960s, people left their home towns to come to big cities where they didn't get happier. At those times, composers like Suat Sayın foresaw that a depressive musical style will fulfill the needs of these unhappy masses and arabesque came up. It was the music that corresponded the new lifestyles of village people living in cities. (Naim Dilmener, in-depth interview, October 2014).

⁹⁵ Orhan Gencebay is an arabesque singer, composer, instrument player and music producer who was born in 1944 in Samsun. His music career started with TSM and THM education in his early ages. He composed his first song at the age of 14. He took part as a saxophone player in brass orchestras playing western music when he was 16. He became a radio artist in TRT when he was 20. He played *bağlama* in the orchestras of many famous Turkish singers before becoming a well-known singer himself. He released THM albums in the mid-1960s; however he became famous as a singer with his arabesque albums, the first of which was released at the end of the 1960s. He has released more than 30 albums so far. He also took part as an actor in around 30 films between 1971 and 1990, and 5 TV series between 1993 and 2009.

Although it is true that the target audience of arabesque music was migrants living in *gecekondu*⁹⁶ districts especially in the 1960s and the genre in its mature form was born in this decade, emergence of the musical factors preceding arabesque can be traced back to the 1930s. Indeed, it would be appropriate to distinguish between two stages for the development of arabesque. The period before the 1960s, which can be defined as the preparatory stage, started when classical Turkish music was excluded from the cultural policies of the early Republic and this genre started to be re-shaped so as to appeal to the majority of the public. As a result, a simpler song (*şarki*) form (versus-chorus-bridge-chorus) started to be dominant in the new creations of TSM in the first place, and then composers like Sadettin Kaynak⁹⁷ pioneered a further violation of the established rules of the genre. Sadettin Kaynak approached TSM with a much more creative and independent perspective, resulting in the use of diversified musical forms and modalities in different songs (and sometimes in the same song), improvised performance by the instrumentalists and the singers, etc. This transformation was led by the musical preferences of the people living in cities and demand created via the entertainment culture in the cities in the 1930s and onwards (Küçük Kaplan, 2013).

In its second stage starting after the migration wave in the 1950s and maturing in the 1960s, arabesque was shaped according to the common struggles, concerns and needs of its new potential audience composed of migrants. In this sense it can be argued that the connection developed between this community and the genre was much more based on the lyrical content of the songs and the personal identification with the arabesque stars (Küçük Kaplan, 2013). While the lyrics of the songs were articulating the feelings of these people most of the time, visual and character-oriented identification with the artists and a sort of vulnerable heroism were created mostly through movies. An arabesque star who had the leading role in

⁹⁶ *Gecekondu* is a Turkish word meaning a house put up quickly without proper permissions. Source: <http://www.abbreviations.com/gecekondu>

⁹⁷ Sadettin Kaynak is a composer who was born in 1895 in Istanbul. He composed his first song *Hicran-ı Elem* in 1926. He worked as an imam for 6 years till the early 1930s. He created musical pieces in several genres from TSM to anthems, from marches to THM; however he is mostly known for his TSM songs. (Source: <http://www.biyografi.info/kisi/sadettin-kaynak>)

a movie often characterized a *dolmuş*⁹⁸ driver, a factory laborer (widespread occupations of *gecekondu* people), etc. who was struggling to survive, to cope with the pain of an impossible love (widespread problems of *gecekondu* people), etc. (Stokes, 2009).

It can be argued that arabesque music developed in two different categories: the first one was the TSM-based arabesque which was initiated by Sadettin Kaynak in the 1930s-1940s, further structured by Suat Sayın in the 1960s and found its real identity in Orhan Gencebay's works; the second one was THM-based arabesque which was pioneered by the compositions of Abdullah Nail Bayşu⁹⁹ (most of which were performed by Nuri Sesigüzel¹⁰⁰) and reached a peak with İbrahim Tatlıses¹⁰¹ (Küçükkan, 2013). That is to say, although arabesque was a genre negated by most of the TSM and THM musicians and scholars, it should be underlined that it has strong technical connections with these two genres. In Gencebay's terms, the impact of Arab music on arabesque is in terms of orchestration rather than melodic structure. The free performance style of the singers and musicians of arabesque existed in Arab music as well. But this free performance was also a property of *gazel*¹⁰², which was a musical form in classical Turkish music. Thus, it would be wrong to argue that arabesque is a pure imitation of Arab music; it is a mixed style instead. For instance, the strings in the arrangement of an arabesque song could be

⁹⁸ *Dolmuş* is a Turkish word meaning filled, stuffed or full and refers to the yellow shared taxis or minibuses that operate in İstanbul and elsewhere in Turkey. (Source: <http://www.istanbultrails.com/2009/07/how-and-where-to-take-a-dolmus-or-shared-taxi-in-istanbul/>)

⁹⁹ Abdullah Nail Bayşu was a Turkish composer who lived between 1926 and 1983. His compositions have been performed by famous THM and arabesque singers. (Source: <http://www.sinematurk.com/kisi/3900-abdullah-nail-baysu/>)

¹⁰⁰ Nuri Sesigüzel is a THM/Arabesque singer who was born in 1943 in Şanlıurfa. His career started as a radio artist in İstanbul Radio in 1961. He also took part in more than 30 films as an actor between 1963 and 1975. He released more than 30 albums throughout his music career. (Source: <http://www.biyografi.net.tr/nuri-sesiguzel-kimdir/>)

¹⁰¹ İbrahim Tatlıses is an arabesque singer, composer and music producer who was born in 1952 in Şanlıurfa. He was discovered by a movie producer while he was working as a construction worker. He has been one of the most famous arabesque singers since the second half of the 1970s. He took part in nearly 40 films as an actor between 1978 and 1993 and in 2 TV series in 1997 and 2003. He released more than 40 albums. (Source: <http://www.biyografi.net.tr/ibrahim-tatlises-kimdir/>)

¹⁰² *Gazel* is an improvised part in a song, performed by the singer.

performed in Arab or western style occasionally depending on the preference of the composer.

Orhan Gencebay, the most popular composer and performer of arabesque in the 1960s, composed his first song in 1966, but he experienced a turning point in his music career in 1968 when he released the songs “*Bir Teselli Ver*” and “*Hatasız Kul Olmaz*”. The huge popularity of these songs was most probably the result of their melodies’ and lyrics’ corresponding to the daily conversations, music traditions and new life styles of the migrants living in *gecekondu* districts of the big cities (Özbek, 1997).

One of Gencebay’s contributions to Turkish music was showing the usability of *bağlama* in different genres by playing a number of TSM songs and western rock songs (especially the songs of Elvis Presley) on this traditional instrument. Another important characteristic of Gencebay’s music was the multi-instrument nature of his arrangements. As in western music, he was writing separate parts for each instrument of an arrangement (Güngör, 1990).

Although arabesque music was mainly the music of migrants living in *gecekondu* districts in the first years of its existence, it gradually started to be liked by people living in the cities as they were exposed to this genre in public spaces (especially in public transportation) and via mass media (especially Police radio and Turkish cinema) in the 1960s (Küçükkaplan, 2013).

In brief, the 1960s was a period in which Turkish pop music (especially *aranjman* and Anatolian Pop examples) and arabesque emerged as the most prominent musical genre in Turkey. Nonetheless, the other genres such as jazz, THM and TSM also continued to be consumed to some extent, even though the interest of the public towards these genres decreased and the industry had a tendency to force the artists of the time to shift their productions to the most popular genres of the era.

3.2.2 1970s: Mixed Genres; Omnivore Consumers

In 1971, another military coup was experienced in Turkey which caused Turkish pop music to step back for a couple of years. The first half of the decade was a period of social tension based on a continuous left-right conflict as well as political and economic instability. Bülent Ecevit¹⁰³ became the prime minister of the Turkish Republic by obtaining the votes of one third of the electors in 1973¹⁰⁴. During his time of government, the Cyprus Peace Operation by Turkey took place.

A prominent example of the influence of a political conjuncture on the music of an era was the huge popularity of the song “*Memleketim*”¹⁰⁵ by Ayten Alpman during the times of the Operation. That was a song which had been released five years ago but did not attract too much attention from the public, but it became a hit with the help of the social and political environment of 1974. Not only “*Memleketim*” but also other war and peace songs took advantage of the conjuncture at that time.

The political environment of the early 1970s which can be symbolized with victory and peace had its repercussions on the music scene. In Murat Meriç’s terms:

The musical style corresponding to the positive political environment was pop, which made people dance, enjoy, have fun and celebrate again. And the second pop music boom in the country was experienced in the 1970s. (Murat Meriç, in-depth interview, October 2014).

Naim Dilmener evaluates the 1970s as follows:

Despite the stagnancy experienced by the popular music industry in the beginning of the decade, the rise afterwards was to such an extent that the 1970s is defined as the “golden age of pop music” in Turkey. In the 1970s, the popular music industry reached the highest amount of musical diversity. Music in rock, jazz, swing were being created, alternative pop artists such

¹⁰³ Bülent Ecevit was a Turkish politician who lived between 1925 and 2006. He had been the leader of left wing political parties CHP and DSP, from 1972 to 1980 and 1987 to 2002 respectively. (Source: <http://www.antoloji.com/bulent-ecevit/hayati/>)

¹⁰⁴ Source: <https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/secimdagitimapp/secim.zul>

¹⁰⁵ *Memleketim* was an *aranjman*, the original version of which was a Jewish folk song titled “Rabbi Elimelekh”.

as Bülent Ortaçgil were becoming famous, Anatolian Pop albums were reaching their highest sales. (Naim Dilmener, in-depth interview, October 2014).

Dynamism in the record market increased to a great extent in the 1970s. Especially after 45 rpm vinyl records had become widespread in the 1960s, general demand for recorded music rose significantly. Every year a greater number of artists were releasing new albums. The record companies started to give more weight to the distribution of sales among artists and genres while making their repertoire decisions. Huge demand for specific genres meant a great profit opportunity to seize, accumulating a significant portion of the music supply in those specific genres. However, record companies still had a tendency to some extent to give chances to new musical ideas and produce in alternative genres as well. The reason for the musical diversity in the era was different genres' still having the chance to get media exposure and the listeners' willingness to pay for the music they liked, making it possible for these alternative genres to gain at least a niche market share and earn their producers a certain amount of profit. Moreover, investing in new music always carried the possibility of exploring the next big star of the sector, besides it not being too risky in monetary terms. Consequently, musicians were motivated to experiment with new and creative musical ideas.

One of the most prominent examples of successful new pop music was that of Bülent Ortaçgil's in the 1970s. He was announced to be the pioneer of protest music in Turkey when he released his first album in 1970 and made a go of it with his album "*Benimle Oynar mısın?*" in 1974. All 13 songs in the album were composed, written and performed by Ortaçgil. Another example for experimental works was the album of Özdemir Erdoğan in which he combined folk and classical Turkish melodies with instruments and techniques of jazz music (Dilmener, 2003). Fikret Kızılok was another important artist who continued to create experimental musical pieces in the 1970s.

Making *aranjments*, even by TSM and THM artists, was still a popular way of music production in the first years of the 1970s because their likelihood of

reaching great amount of sales was still high. Ajda Pekkan kept on being the leading artist in this genre throughout the decade (Meriç, 2006).

On the other hand, TSM singers such as İnci Çayırılı, Neşe Karaböcek and Ayla Büyükataman released pop music albums during the 1970s. Besides the pop-tendency of some of the TSM singers, some others such as Zeki Müren and Behiye Aksoy were insisting on singing TSM in its original form and were getting a certain amount of media exposure, and their albums were reaching high sales figures (Meriç, 2006).

Anatolian pop – with its political and populist tone - continued to be one of the most favorite genres of the public especially in the first half of the 1970s. Even though the established folk musicians such as Nida Tüfekçi, Yıldırım Çınar, Adnan Türközü, Nerimen Altındağ Tüfekçi and Ali Ekber Çiçek were strictly opposed to the idea of combining folk melodies with polyphonic western musical techniques and tried hard for the prohibition of Anatolian pop in İstanbul Radio, high sales figures were evidence for the public's interest in this genre. Three of the most outstanding examples of Anatolian pop in the decade were “*Dağlar Dağlar*” by Barış Manço¹⁰⁶, “*Fabrika Kızı*” by Alpay - which was a song about ‘woman, labor and exploitation’ (Dilmener, 2003) and “*Namus Belası*” by Cem Karaca¹⁰⁷ and Moğollar.

Erkin Koray deserves special attention for his creative contributions to Turkish music during the 1970s. His songs showed mixed influences of arabesque, folk music and western pop music, yet they were much more unique compared to the western style performed local songs which sounded more like imitations rather than original productions (Dilmener, 2003).

Pop music singer Kâmuran Akkor recorded and released her version of Orhan Gencebay's song “*Bir Teselli Ver*” in 1971. This can be counted as the first example of arabesque influence on pop music in Turkey. Following Akkor, re-arranging previously released pure arabesque songs for pop singers (such as Ajda

¹⁰⁶ Barış Manço was a singer-songwriter who lived between 1943 and 1999. He wrote and performed songs in Anatolian pop, rock and pop/rock.

¹⁰⁷ Cem Karaca was a singer-songwriter who lived between 1945 and 2004. He wrote and performed songs in Anatolian pop/rock and progressive rock.

Pekkan, Nilüfer, etc.) became one of the dominant trends of the music industry in the second half of the decade.

An important turning point for arabesque-pop relationship was Selami Şahin's entrance to the market as a composer and singer in the second half of the 1970s (Dilmener, 2003). With Selami Şahin in the first place, many composers started to create pop songs that hold properties of arabesque music for mainstream pop singers. There also existed musicians and singers who insisted on making western style pop music productions (with Turkish lyrics), but demand for their music was declining steadily.

Gradual leak of arabesque music into pop can be explained by increased familiarity for the genre among the urban people as well as the migrant *gecekondu* community as a result of ongoing interactions between these two groups of people, and media exposure in public places. Increased familiarity led to increased likeability of arabesque sounding songs. Another important factor that was influential on arabesque's expansion - both by itself and by leaking into other genres - was the increased number of Turkish movies fictionalized around arabesque stories accompanied by arabesque songs with leading actors who were arabesque stars in the 1970s.

In the second half of the 1970s, especially when the demand for arabesque and arabesque sounding pop music rose significantly, Anatolian pop started to fall from grace. Only a number of stars of the genre such as Cem Karaca, Barış Manço and Edip Akbayram were able to maintain their popularity till the end of the decade (Meriç, 2006).

Towards the end of the 1970s, Turkish pop music started to fall under the influence of the disco music trend rising in the world¹⁰⁸. Ajda Pekkan's "*Bambaşka Biri*" (1979) was the Turkish version of Gloria Gaynor's "I will survive" and turned out to be the first disco hit in Turkey. Another hit in this genre was Zerrin Özer's version of "*Gönül*" (a song by Orhan Gencebay) which can be counted as one of

¹⁰⁸ It should be noted that the influence of the world music trends has always been felt in Turkey with a certain delay.

the first examples of re-arranging known melodies from Turkey with disco rhythms (Dilmener, 2003).

3.2.3 1980-85: Re-Boom of Arabesque

This glorious progress of pop music lasted until the rise of political turmoil prior to the 1980 military coup. The number of new albums – especially the experimental works - declined sharply at the end of the decade as a result of the decreased demand for recorded music, partly because of the pirate market and partly because of the political turmoil (Meriç, 2006).

It was the time when the entertaining pop music once more stepped back (for a few years) and arabesque was re-born. Murat Meriç says:

It was the era when the boundaries between different groups started to sharpen, people started to fight on streets, etc. The public in general was depressed and unhappy. Thus, arabesque was the style that corresponded to the feelings of the majority. Even the most famous pop artists, such as Zerrin Özer, Nilüfer, etc., were motivated to sing arabesque songs. Another trend of the era was to write and sing politically concerned pop songs as a continuation of Anatolian Pop. (Murat Meriç, in-depth interview, October 2014).

The decline in the number of recordings continued to be experienced in the music industry in the first years of the 1980s as well. The recession was such that the top music lists by music magazines shrank from top-50s to top-15s because of the lack of songs to put on the lists. Record labels were not motivated to invest in music and as a result some of the well-known singers started to finance their albums themselves. From then on, this was going to be a common trend in the industry whenever the economic conditions went down (Dilmener, 2003).

One reason for the recession in the recording industry was the decreased demand caused by the general misery and pessimism in the social life in the first years of the decade. After the 1980 coup, National Security Council seized power for 3 years (Karpas, 2012). The hopes of the public that the conflicts within the

country were going to be relaxed as a result of the coup were destroyed when much more catastrophic times followed (Meriç, 2006).

Another reason was the spectacular increase in petroleum prices as a result of the 1973 oil crises¹⁰⁹. Petroleum was the main input for vinyl production and an increase in its price meant increased cost of production, increased vinyl prices and decreased demand. As a remedy for the issue, old vinyl records started to be melted to be re-used in the industry, but the consequence of this solution was a significant decline in sound quality of the recordings made on these re-produced material. Moreover, a number of artists and their songs were totally removed from the music archives forever as a result of this melting process (Dilmener, 2003).

One important operation of the National Security Council was to impose a stage ban on transsexual singers like Bülent Ersoy, Talha Özmen, Emel Aydan, Serbüent Sultan, etc. because of their personally being against “Turkish moral fiber”¹¹⁰, and to imprison left-wing singers blaming them for threatening national unity via their rebellious songs.

Relative dominance – both in terms of supply and demand - of arabesque in the sector increased visibly in the 1980s. One imported trigger of this boom was the pessimistic mood dominant in the society in the first years of the decade and another important progress that further promoted the rise of arabesque was Prime Minister Turgut Özal’s supporting the genre during the period of his government (starting from 1983), partly because of his personal musical tastes and partly to satisfy the needs and preferences of arabesque listeners, a major group of potential voters for his political party (Dürük, 2011). Consequently, arabesque music, which was once being defined according to the characteristics of the community living in *gecekondu* areas, started to be defined according to the characteristics of a political party (Özbek, 1997). However, Hall argues that the relation between culture and class is not a relation of ‘reflection’ but that of ‘articulation’ (Hall, cited in Özbek, 1997).

¹⁰⁹ The 1973 oil crises was caused by the embargo proclaimed by the members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries and resulted in a rise in global oil prices from 2.59 USD per barrel to 11.65 USD in one year. (Source: <http://akademikperspektif.com/2012/06/14/1973-petrol-krizinin-uluslararası-politikaya-yonelik-analizi/>)

¹¹⁰ Source: <http://www.demokrathaber.org/kadin/bulent-ersoyun-32-yil-onceki-direnisi-ve-gezi-h19275.html>

In my opinion, Hall's argument is valid for the relationship between arabesque and Özal's *Anavatan Partisi* (ANAP) although it is debatable for the relationship between the genre and *gecekondu* people. It might be claimed that the arabesque of the 1960s reflected the characteristics, values, beliefs and lifestyles of this community to a great extent. On the other hand, ANAP's interest in arabesque music can be explained as the exploitation of needs and tastes of the majority and re-building them as a hegemonic ideology (Hall, cited in Özbek, 1997).

One of the most important singers of the genre, Kibariye, rose in the first years of the decade and the song "*Kimbilir*" (1981) performed by her, reached one of the highest sales figures of all times (Dilmener, 2003). Küçük Emrah and Bergen were other examples of arabesque stars who became popular and gained extraordinary success through the end of the decade. The impact of Turkish cinema on the popularity of arabesque music and singers continued during the 1980s.

A standing out version of arabesque that emerged in the 1980s was tavern music. It was born as a consequence of the emergence of a new wealthy class with characteristics and preferences different from the established upper class in Turkey. Entrance of this new class in the entertainment life not only led the *gazinos*¹¹¹ to shift from a TSM-dominant repertoire to arabesque-dominant one, but also led to the launch of new places (taverns) where a more light and entertaining version of arabesque (the tavern music) was going to be performed - after the hard times had passed. The tavern music indicated that arabesque did not need to be a painful music genre necessarily but entertaining versions of it can also be produced (Güngör, 1990).

As mentioned above, arabesque was supported a lot during the administration of Turgut Özal. However, the government tried to soften arabesque because of the unceasing criticisms towards the genre regarding its extremely melancholic content. Accordingly, in 1989, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism ordered a song (to Hakkı Bulut) that would be representative of the intended transformation and could be defined as "painless arabesque (*acısız arabesk*)"

¹¹¹ Live music venues which emerged in the 1930s in İstanbul and other big cities of Turkey as entertainment places of the upper class. See Section 3.4 for more details.

(Küçük Kaplan, 2013). This is a prominent example of direct government intervention in music production. Eventually, Hakkı Bulut composed the song “*Seven Kiskanır*”.

Actually the idea that the arabesque music is painful in nature is only a misperception about the genre. As Hakkı Bulut mentioned in an interview¹¹² each and every genre has examples of painful and joyful examples in terms of lyrical content. For instance, the lyrics of “*İkimiz Bir Fidanın*” composed by Hakkı Bulut, “*Mevsim Bahar Olunca*” composed by Orhan Gencebay and many other arabesque songs include expressions of feelings like hope, joy, etc. from beginning to end. On the other hand, infinitely many examples of pop, rock, jazz, TSM, THM, etc. which included expressions of all sorts of negative feelings can be given. To name a few, the pop songs “*Bambaşka Biri*” and “*Seveceğim*” performed by Ajda Pekkan are songs which were written around the theme “revenge”, “*Hatırlasana*” by Barış Manço tells the story of a man who feels hopeless after being left by the lover. “*Dertleri zevk edindim*” and “*Yolun Sonu Görünüyor*” are other pessimistic songs from TSM and THM respectively. To put it shortly, music (melodically and verbally) is a way of expressing all kinds of feelings. Each and every genre has been a means to do so throughout the whole music history and all around the world. Thus, arabesque’s being identified with “painfulness” is not directly related to its musical and lyrical properties that are special to it. In my opinion, this identification is partly caused by the movies of the arabesque stars having been fictionalized around painful stories, and partly by the painful examples of arabesque including more extreme and explicit expressions of melancholy in general.

Not only arabesque gained a higher popularity itself, but also its influence on pop music peaked during the 1980s. In Naim Dilmener’s words:

The only prominent pop examples of the period were arabesque-oriented pop songs by artists like Kayahan and Sezen Aksu. (Their songs were pop in terms of the instruments used, but arabesque in terms of lyrics, singing styles, the way instruments played, etc.) Even though pop music was renewing itself with “New Wave”, “Punk” and “New Romantics” movements in the world,

¹¹² http://www.marmarahaber.net/haber/hakki_bulut_trt_bana_dusm-12267.html

Turkish examples of pure pop music were not being sold. But it should be underlined that a number of singers like Ajda Pekkan tried to make use of the fame of these global movements at least in terms of their visual image. (Naim Dilmener, in-depth interview, October 2014).

An important reason for the arabesque influence on pop music has been the recruitment of musicians with an arabesque background for recording of the pop music albums. Especially the Roman musicians specialized in strings being dominant in the recording sector resulted in an arabesque touch in most of the songs they performed. Nevertheless, the deliberate steps taken by prominent singers and musicians were much effective on the emergence of a new sub-genre of pop music in the first half of the 1980s. Sezen Aksu, together with Onno Tunç (composer) and Aysel Gürel (lyric writer), carried on producing songs in which elements of arabesque existed latently and by this way they stood as the pioneers of this sub-genre (Dilmener, 2003). The album titled “*Sen Ağlama*” by Sezen Aksu was the first attempt (as an entire album) of such a pop-arabesque synthesis. The musical architect of this project was the composer Onno Tunç. He created this synthesis by integrating a Turkish musical form, which is close to the *kürdilihicazkar makam*, into pop music (Kızıldağ, 1997).

As a result of declining popularity of ‘pure’ pop music in the first half of the 1980s, TSM was another genre for which the demand increased compared to the recent past. Even Nilüfer, one of the most prominent pop stars, announced that she was going to shift to TSM starting from 1982 and continue her career in that genre. She did not keep her word in the coming years but she made arabesque sounding albums during the 1980s (Dilmener, 2003). Ajda Pekkan, another pop star, also gave up singing *aranjman*s based on pure western pop music and started to work with Turkish composers who produced for her brand new songs containing overtones of arabesque (Meriç, 2006).

Despite all conditions being against pop music in the first half of the 1980s, a couple of musicians such as Fikret Kızılok, İlhan İrem, MFÖ (Mazhar Alanson, Fuat Güner, Özkan Uğur) who insisted on not straying from their musical path and

carried on practicing experimental works within the large framework of pop music. In fact, İlhan İrem published albums which he defined to be the first pop-opera examples in Turkey starting from 1983. Not all these trials were successful in terms of sales but there were a few examples of pop songs, such as MFÖ's "*Ele Güne Karşı*", that could become hits in spite of the stagnancy in the pop music sector. Moreover there were a couple of artists, namely Barış Manço, Edip Akbayram and Erkin Koray, who did not sacrifice their musical styles and were embraced by their fan bases in any circumstance.

3.2.4 1985-90: Pop Music Rallying Again

Only in the second half of the 1980s, singers who were originally performing in the area of pop – such as Nilüfer and Ajda Pekkan – got back to releasing pure pop albums again, and new entrants to the pop music market also started to be welcomed. On one hand, there was a continued influence of disco rhythms, which started to become widespread in the late 1970s in the world, on a significant number of pop music pieces created during those times in Turkey. On the other hand, more original compositions also started to be created and sold by artists and groups like Ahmet Kaya, Bulutsuzluk Özlemi, Yeni Türkü, etc. Most of these original creations were songs that could not be performed content-wise during the repressive environment of the first half of the decade and are categorized as *özgün*¹¹³ music.

Despite the relative liveliness and remarkable success of a couple of albums in the second half of the decade, music industry had to wait until the 1990s for a real recovery.

An important progress in the 1980s that had significant repercussions in the music industry was the abolition of The Law on the Protection of the Turkish Currency by Özal which led to an increase in the imports of pop music instruments

¹¹³ *Özgün* music can be categorized into sub-genres. For instance, the music of Ahmet Kaya was defined as "left arabesque", whereas the music of groups like *Yeni Türkü* can be named "Mediterranean pop".

and other materials necessary for producing and listening to music. This gave rise to a remarkable expansion in both supply and demand sides of the music industry in the long run.

After the effects of the 1980 coup started to diminish and with the development of music industry as a result of increased imports, pop music had risen up once more in the 1990s and has not left the scene since then.

3.2.5 The 1990s: A Temporary Diversification within Pop

Monopoly of TRT was broken by the entrance of privately owned companies into the media industry in the 1990s. The first example in this sense was the establishment of the TV channel Magic Box (which was renamed Interstar in the following years and Star finally) as a result of a partnership between the Uzan family and Ahmet Özal (Turgut Özal's son).

According to Dilmener (2003), a more liberal environment started to be dominant in social life and in the economy in Özal's period of government; this resulted in an increased demand for pop music because it was an era of fun and entertainment. However, the pop music industry could not perceive and respond to this increased demand quickly enough. Only after the albums of young artists like Aşkın Nur Yengi and Yonca Evcimik reached extremely high sales figures in the beginning of the 1990s¹¹⁴ did record labels understand that it was going to be profitable to invest in new pop music artists (Dilmener, 2003).

In the beginning of the era, the popular genres of the previous decade continued to keep their places in the industry to some extent. (The number of copies sold of the most successful arabesque, TSM, THM and *özgün* music albums can be seen in table 1). However, the 1990s was also the decade in which the dominance of pop music in the music industry started to emanate.

¹¹⁴ Aşkın Nur Yengi's albums "Sevgiliye" (published in 1990) and "Hesap Ver" (published in 1991) sold 2.5 million copies and 1.6 million copies respectively. Yonca Evcimik's album "Abone" (published in 1991) sold 2.8 million copies.

(Source: <http://istanbulmusic.blogspot.com.tr/2011/03/turkish-music-stats.html>)

Table 3.1: Best Seller of Arabesque, TSM, THM and *Özgün* Music in 1990s

Artist	Album	Genre	Year	Copies
İbrahim Tatlıses	Söylüm mi?	Arabesque	1990	2,1 mil.
Coşkun Sabah	Aşığım Sana	Tavern-arabesque	1990	2,7 mil.
İbrahim Tatlıses	Vur Gitsin Beni	Arabesque	1991	2,5 mil.
Bülent Ersoy	Ablan Kurban Olsun Sana	TSM	1992	1,8 mil.
Emrah	Emrah '93	Arabesque	1993	2,2 mil.
İbrahim Tatlıses	Haydi Söyle	Arabesque	1994	2,6 mil.
Ahmet Kaya	Şarkılarım Dağlara	Özgün	1994	2,2 mil.
Mahsun Kırmızıgül	12'den Vuracağım	Arabesque	1994	2,1 mil.
Ahmet Kaya	Beni Bul	Özgün	1995	1,9 mil.
Muazzez Ersoy	Nostalji 2	TSM	1996	2,2 mil.
İbrahim Tatlıses	Ben de İsterem	Arabesque	1996	2,2 mil.
Ahmet Kaya	Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz	Özgün	1996	1,7 mil.
Mahsun Kırmızıgül	Yıkılmadım Ayaktayım	Arabesque	1998	2,6 mil.
İbrahim Tatlıses	At Gitsin	Arabesque	1998	2,5 mil.
İbrahim Erkal	Sırılsıklarm	Arabesque	1998	2,2 mil.
Ahmet Kaya	Dosta Düşmana Karşı	Özgün	1998	2 mil.

Source: <http://istanbulmusic.blogspot.com.tr/2011/03/turkish-music-stats.html>

At first, the pop music boom of the 1990s stood as a factor increasing the level of diversity in the industry. New albums of existing and new pop artists (such as Sertab Erener, Levent Yüksel, Hakan Peker, Tarkan) emerged and existed together with the popular genres of the previous decades. But this diversification within the pop music didn't last long (the reasons will be discussed shortly).

Other developments that should be noted for the 1990s are the following: The disco trend of Europe and the United States continued to be influential on Turkish pop music. The genre was especially popular in night clubs, cafes and bars that were mostly visited by youngsters. 1995 was the year in which rap music started to find a market in Turkey following the release of the first album of the first

Turkish singing rap group Cartel¹¹⁵. Importance of visual image increased during the 1990s, leading many of the singers to work with famous fashion designers such as Neslihan Yargıcı, Yıldırım Mayruk and Nur Yerlitaş.

3.2.6 The 2000s-2010s: The “Poppification” of all Genres

In the beginning of the 2000s, genres other than pop music as well as the alternative subgenres within pop started to be excluded from the mainstream music industry gradually.

In Naim Dilmener’s words:

During the 1990s, qualified¹¹⁶ rock music groups, jazz artists, alternative rock groups, rap artists found their ways to the mainstream for a couple of years. Some sort of a diversity was maintained up to the beginning of the 2000s. But unfortunately, pop music became more and more standardized from then on. (Naim Dilmener, in-depth interview, October 2014).

As a result of the exclusion of the non-pop songs from the mainstream, all other genres started to be produced with elements of pop music, i.e., they started to be melted into pop and the diversified properties of these genres started to

¹¹⁵ Cartel was composed of Turkish immigrant rappers living in Germany. Their album, which included Turkish, German, English and Spanish lyrics, was first released in Germany and attracted attention in Europe. Realizing the success of Turkish rap in Europe, PolyGram released their album in Turkey as well. The album sold over 750,000 copies in Turkey. (Source: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-magazin-1669748/>)

¹¹⁶ A qualified musician is defined under the scope of this dissertation as one who is able to play any melody (within the range of his/her instrument) on his instrument in tune and with rhythmic accuracy, and who is able to perform articulations such as legato, staccato, marcato, tenuto, etc. and musical ornaments such as trill, tremolo, acciaccatura, glissando, etc. A singer’s instrument is his/her body; thus a qualified singer is one who can use his/her body (that is to say the parts of the body - such as the vocal chords, resonance spaces, diaphragm etc. - that are needed to sing) to sing any melody within his/her range, in tune, with rhythmic accuracy, and able to perform the vocal techniques such as vibrato, licks, trills, vocal fry, yodeling etc. In order to do so, the singer should have a co-ordination between the muscles and the cavities in his/her body which are related to singing activity. Basically, diaphragm muscle should be engaged for breath control; larynx position, the level of closure and the tension of the vocal chords, the flow of voice between the chest, mouth, pharyngeal and head cavities should be provided such that the pitch is precise, not strained and not shaky, the voice passes smoothly through the vocal bridges of the singer and the volume is under control (i.e. the singer is able to sing all the nuances from piano to forte). Moreover, a qualified singer should be in control of rhythm of his/her voice.

disappear. This process, which I call the “popification” of all genres, led to a musical standardization within the popular music industry in the 2000s. Inevitably, the influence was reciprocal, i.e. not only elements of pop music leaked into other genres but also pop songs started to include properties of these genres. This might seem as a development which would diversify the pop music rather than standardizing it, however the mainstream media’s filtering mechanisms (after the 2000s) allow only the songs that contain marginal contributions from other genres to reach the audiences; otherwise they label the songs as not being radio-friendly and do not air them¹¹⁷.

The amount of production in the pop music industry which geared up in the 1990s continued to increase in the 2000s. Strong fan base mentality of the previous decades was replaced to a great extent by listeners shifting from this artist to that artist based on the temporary popularity of their songs (Dilmener, 2003). Nevertheless, the vitality of the industry did not result in an increased level of diversity. Not only the songs of a specific artist but also the songs of different artists started to sound alike in this fast moving industry. The “popification” issue will be discussed in details in section 3.6: The Gatekeepers of the Music Industry of Turkey.

3.3 THE HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE TURKISH RECORDING INDUSTRY

Until the 1930s, the main medium in the world to record audio on was shellac disc. Shellac disks were abrasive, easily breakable and played at approximately 78 rpm, limiting the playing time of a 10-inch diameter record to less than five minutes per side. In 1931, American recording label RCA Victor introduced a new medium called LP (LongPlay). This new product was a 12-inch disk made up of vinyl and played at a speed of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, allowing each side to play more than 20 minutes. Vinyl LPs, which were more durable compared to shellac

¹¹⁷ See Section 5.3 for a detailed discussion related to the filtering mechanisms of today’s mainstream music media.

disks, became much more widespread in the 1950s in the world. Shortly after the entrance of LPs to the music market, 45 rpm vinyl was introduced by RCA Victor. This new format was useful for 2-song albums or 4-song EPs (ExtendedPlay).

These new technologies had not become prevalent in Turkey as quickly as shellac disks. Even though the international record companies Columbia (an American record label owned by Sony Entertainment) and His Master's Voice (a British record label owned by EMI) had factories in Turkey, these new formats started to be used in Turkey only after 1962 (Dilmener, 2003).

Until 1965, the prominent medium to record Turkish songs on was LP, while 45 rpm vinyl had already overtaken LPs in the rest of the world. Firstly because of 45 rpm vinyl's being smaller and more durable than LP's and secondly because of the rasping sound of Turkish LP's caused by the inferior recording technology used in Turkey, listeners in Turkey were preferring foreign 45 rpm vinyl recordings over Turkish LPs. Only after the success of the Turkish orchestra in the first Balkan Melodies Festival in 1964 did recording on 45 rpm vinyl by record companies - such as *Sahibinin Sesi*, *Odeon*, *Pathe*, *Sayan* and *Melodi* - become widespread in Turkey which then accelerated the sales of Turkish music recordings. "*Burçak Tarlası*" by Tülay German – which was one of the songs performed in the Balkan Melodies Festival - was the first 45 rpm vinyl that reached a significant sales figure. "*Burçak Tarlası*" can be counted as a turning point of Turkish pop music in the sense that it initiated the mass production, distribution and consumption in real terms. As a result of this progress, the orchestra and group tradition in pop music gradually left its place to star tradition and fan concept. Another reason for the decline in group tradition was the increased demand for record/studio musicians and as a result, most of the members' of established groups started to prefer to work this way instead of performing live (Dilmener, 2003).

Through the end of the first half of the 1970s, songs started to be recorded in stereo instead of mono. In the first half of the decade 45 rpm vinyl was still much more common in Turkish music industry compared to LPs. The LP market started to widen only after 1976. However, the level of LP productions could not reach its

full potential because of pirate companies' operating daringly in the industry because of the lack of legal regulations (Ünlü, n.d.).

In the second half of the decade, audio cassette started to be used as a recording medium, first by the pirate companies, then by the record labels for official recording. Pirate companies were especially reproducing arabesque albums, contributing to the rise of arabesque during the time (Stokes, 2009).

As mentioned above, the increased cost of production caused by the boom in petroleum prices led the music industry to melt and re-produce old vinyl discs which resulted in lower sound quality. As a result, cassette technology which had already been used widely for the production of arabesque music, became the main medium of recording for the pop music as well. At first, the songs which were being released as 45 rpm vinyl started to be re-recorded as mixed cassettes and sold by the recording companies, then the original albums started to be released as cassettes from the very beginning. This cheaper technology brought in a dynamism to the sector that had been stagnant in the first half of the decade.

Interestingly, cassette production companies had a great impact on the repertoire of the pop music sector in the 1980s. Bülent Forta, owner of the record company *Ada Müzik* and the head of The Turkish Phonographic Industry Society (MÜ-YAP) explains the situation as follows: a number of producers of the audio cassettes, especially Raks which was financially subsidized by the Özal government, became powerful in the music industry to such an extent that they were standing as authorities in deciding which albums to be released and which not. Only the production of high selling albums served their purpose because the unit price of an audio cassette was very low and it was not profitable for them to print a low number of copies of a specific album¹¹⁸. Thus, they were putting pressure on record companies to prefer high-selling artist over alternative musicians¹¹⁹. Dikran Masis, former music company owner (TİM Music) said that he wanted to implement price discrimination for alternative low-selling albums in the 1980s but Raks had put a lot of pressure on them not to do so. The idea offered by Masis can be explained as

¹¹⁸ Source: Bülent Forta, in-depth interview, March 2015.

¹¹⁹ Source: Dikran Masis, in-depth interview, April, 2015.

follows: The music production costs of alternative albums would have only been covered if the unit price of such an album was increased. Thus, increasing the price for these albums would have led to an increase in the number of alternative productions, shifting some of the demand for high-selling albums to these alternative albums. For Raks (and other cassette production companies) that would have meant printing a higher number of projects but with a lower number of copies for mainstream albums, which would have decreased their profits and productivity.

A characteristic of the audio cassette period in Turkey that is worth emphasizing was the habit of rerecording selected songs on cassettes. These mixed cassettes were either being produced at homes or ordered to be produced in cassette stores. Rerecording was an obvious copyright infringement; however the laws of the era were not recognizing the act as illegal.

In the 1980s, a new format, compact disc (CD), was introduced in the world but did not become common in the Turkish record industry until the 1990s. In the 1990s, CD sales started to increase significantly while cassette sales started to decline in Turkey. 2006 was the first year when the sales of (Turkish) CDs exceeded that of cassettes. It was also the year in which the highest amount of Turkish CDs (13.5 million copies) were sold. Even though the CD sales started to decline after 2006, the Turkish music industry still experienced a significant amount sales (more than 10 million copies each year) until 2012.

In the 2000s computer-based music production started to be dominant in the sector. The advancement in computer technology made it much easier to compose, arrange (or remix) songs. This caused unqualified music makers to enter into the market. Use of similar rhythm loops and similar mechanic sounds caused an extreme amount of standardization among the pop songs of the era.

The 2000s were a turning point not only because of the technological advancement in production but also in consumption. The most recent audio formats - especially the mp3 format - made it possible to download and share music online without paying a penny. This progress caused a sharp decline in CD sales all over the world and in Turkey, leading to a contraction of the industry. Despite the efforts put forth by the actors of the music industry in the world and in Turkey to gain

profits from online music sales and streaming, the gross revenue has not yet come to the levels experienced in the beginning of the 2000s, neither in the global market nor in Turkey.

3.4 LIVE MUSIC PERFORMANCES

3.4.1 Dominance of *Gazinos* in the Night Life

Starting from the 1930s, *gazinos* had become an important part of entertainment culture in Turkey (especially in İstanbul, but also in Ankara, İzmir and Bursa). These were music clubs where the musical genres banned by the government but preferred by the public could be performed. In this sense, *gazinos* were nourished with the concept of popular music and they provided the music sector with the opportunity to make extra profit. Öztuna (1990) claims that popularization of TSM was a process of musical corruption in which *gazinos* had an important role.

Until the end of the 1950s, the dominant audience of the *gazinos* in İstanbul were members of the wealthy bourgeois class, politicians, artists and minorities living around Beyoğlu. Thus, the musical genre prominently performed in these places during that time was TSM, according to the preferences of this specific audience.

The number of live music venues increased in Turkey (especially in İstanbul) during the 1960s. *Maksim, Çatı, Klüp 12, Karavan, Yeşil Horoz, Klüp Reşat, Lozan Klübü* and *Çayhane* in İstanbul, *Gar* and *İntim* in Ankara, *Mogambo and Kübana* in İzmir were the most popular venues of all. These night clubs were teeming with people every night. This increasing demand for live music was one of the main reasons of dynamism in the music scene in terms of the formation of new music ensembles and orchestras at those times. Because of the competition between the orchestras to perform in popular places, the show part of music performances gained a higher importance. It was not sufficient to perform well musically; the owners of the venues were also expecting the music groups to entertain the listeners

and attract their attention visually. Visual shows were mostly realized as the imitations of foreign performances in the first place. Later on, groups like *Mavi Işıklar*, *Beyaz Kelebekler*, Zeki Müren and especially the Anatolian pop groups such as *Moğollar* created original visual images for their stage shows (Dilmener, 2003).

Gazino culture was still an important part of the entertainment life in Turkey in the 1960s. However, the characteristics of the *gazino* audience changed after a new wealthy class had formed as a result of the migration wave after 1950 during the Demokrat Parti government (1950-1960). Consequently, the repertoire of *gazin*os changed in accordance with the musical preferences of this new class, urbanized forms of folk music became dominant and arabesque music started to leak into the *gazino* culture indirectly through the vocal styles of the singers, and arrangements of the TSM and THM songs (Güngör, 1990).

It should be noted that *gazin*os were places where pop singers performed as well as TSM and arabesque stars. There was a hierarchy between the genres and artists performing on the *gazino* stages. Before the arabesque boom in 1960, TSM was the most prestigious genre and the artists singing TSM were the star performers. Pop and THM were categorized as lower level genres. However, after the rise of arabesque, THM and arabesque singers started to be introduced as the top performers of the *gazin*os.

In the second half of the decade, having a published record was an important criteria to being able to have a deal with the venues. It could be claimed that an industrialization in a real sense started to be realized at those times in the Turkish music scene. High popularity gained by certain singers with the help of mass distribution of their records, radio playlists and promotion of their songs by the music press started to generate the mainstream of the area.

3.4.2 Live Performances Turning into Shows

The most important novelty with regard to live performances in the 1970s was the “show” mentality brought into the area. The shows in which the singers put forth their talent in acting as well as singing was pioneered by Nükhet Duru.

Especially after the famous organizer Egemen Bostancı stepped into the area at the end of the decade, the number of shows increased (Dilmener, 2003).

Music shows continued to be organized in 1980s especially by the organizer Egemen Bostancı for singers such as Nükhet Duru, Sezen Aksu, Zerrin Özer etc. During these shows and other concerts, new songs were being presented to the audiences in order to measure their responses. The songs that got high attention from the public were being recorded and released as albums. The song “*Firuze*” by Sezen Aksu is a good example in this sense. Before being recorded, it was sang by the singer in front of the public during her live performances and liked by the listeners more than any other new song of Aksu. Then it was recorded and became one of the most prominent hits of Turkish pop music (Dilmener, 2003). This is an indicator of the public not being completely passive consumers of the cultural goods. The audiences actively prefer some songs over others among a catalogue of songs. However, the catalogue that is served to the public is being prepared by the music industry which has with a great influence over the media.

Gazino culture went on as well throughout the decade with a dominance of arabesque and TSM in the repertoires. Parallel to the *gazino* culture, a new style of entertainment together with the corresponding new musical style emerged: the tavern culture. Taverns were popular recreation spaces in Turkey until the beginning of 2000s.

3.4.3 Recorded Music in Venues: From the Discotheques of 1960s to the Clubs of the 1990s and 2000s

The first discotheques¹²⁰ of Turkey were opened in the 1960s. Tevfik Dölen, known to be the owner of the first discotheque, launched his place after discovering this new way of entertainment during a business trip to Europe. While the music listeners from the upper class were going to live music venues during the 1960s,

¹²⁰ Discotheques are places in which music is played via recoding media instead of live, decreasing the costs for the owners of the venues, and hence for the customers. (Source: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-magazin-1400570/>)

discotheques were attractive for especially young people who wanted to listen to music and dance at a lower cost. Other entertainment managers such as Reşat Nuri Karakaya, Egemen Bostancı and Tevfik Yener followed the new trend and established new discotheques in Istanbul in the mid-1960s. These were the first steps of a new entertainment culture in Turkey.¹²¹ Disco music trend in the world and its extensions in Turkey (even weak and rare) gave rise to the establishment of new discotheques in the 1980s. New discotheques (which are named “clubs” today) with different music repertoires have been established all around Turkey (especially in big cities) during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. During the 2000s, with the rise of computer technology in music production, night clubs where DJs played electronic-based pop music became popular.

3.4.4 Transformation of the Live Pop Music Scene: Rising Popularity of Alternative Pop Venues

The live music scene of Turkey started to be dominated by the performances of mainstream pop singers in clubs in the 1990s, and this trend continued in the 2000s. These clubs were generally located in the rich neighborhoods of the cities.

The clubs where live pop music performances are made by mainstream performers started to lose popularity in the second half of the 2000s, and live music venues where alternative pop music, jazz and rock music are performed started to emerge. These venues, such as *Hayal Kahvesi* in Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa, etc., *Babylon* in Istanbul, *Nardis Jazz Bar* in Istanbul, etc. are still popular (even among a minority of the public) in the 2010s together with discotheques such as *Reina* and *Roxy* in Istanbul, *Halikarnas* in Bodrum, etc. The alternative live music venues – the function of which for the alternative music scene of today will be discussed in more details in Section 5.4.5 - are preferred by a certain fraction of the public who are aware of the alternative performers and who like them¹²², whereas the

¹²¹ Source: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-magazin-1400570/>

¹²² Source: <http://www.kiyimuzik.com/bagimsiz-yerli-muzik/>

discotheques of today are places for people who would like to be entertained with electronic-based mainstream pop music.

One other important type of live music entertainment in Turkey is the *Türkü* Bar culture. *Türkü* Bars in which examples of THM (especially from Eastern and South Eastern Turkey) are performed are still popular to some extent among especially among the low profile groups (listeners with low level of income and low level of education).

3.5 MUSIC CONTESTS

The 1960s were the years in which the Boğaziçi Music Festival started to be staged annually (lasted for 3 years) by Robert College¹²³ with the aim of rescuing the Turkish pop music from imitating western music and to promote a more creative impetus among the producers of music. Boğaziçi Music Festival and other song contests following it (especially Milliyet High School Music Contests [for around 30 years], The Golden Microphone Music Contests [for 4 years] and The Golden Voice Music Contests) were significantly influential in original composition's starting to become widespread beside the *aranjman* in Turkish pop music. However, as it was easier to write Turkish lyrics on foreign songs given the technical infrastructure of the time, *aranjman* was going to be dominant till the end of the era (Meriç, 2006).

The Golden Microphone – which had taken place in 1965, 1966, 1967 and 1968 - was intended to encourage the production of songs with traditional melodies and western musical structures. In this sense, taking into consideration the importance given to the contest by most of the musicians, it can be assessed to be a guide in shaping the repertoire of Turkish pop music of the times.

In 1964, Turkey entered the international music festival *Balkan Melodies Festival* for the first time. Tülay German, Erol Büyükburç, Tanju Okan together

¹²³ Robert College was founded by Dr. Cyrus Hamlin and Mr. Christopher Rheinlander Robert in 1863 in Istanbul, Turkey. It was the oldest American College outside of the United States. In 1971, Boğaziçi University was established as a successor of the Robert College on the existing campus. (Source: http://www.boun.edu.tr/en-US/Content/About_BU/History).

with an orchestra of popular musicians of the time represented Turkey in the festival. In 1965, Erol Büyükburç, Ayla Dikmen and Başar Tamer with their orchestra represented Turkey for the second (and the last) time in the same festival (Dilmener, 2003).

In 1968, Ajda Pekkan and Sevinç Tevs represented Turkey in another international music festival, *Apollonia Festival*, in Athens and Pekkan gained the fourth place. In the same year Ajda Pekkan participated in *Barcelona Festival* as well but could not end up with a successful result. Ajda Pekkan represented Turkey in Athens for the second time in 1969 and she was placed fourth again at the end of the contest (Dilmener, 2003).

Turkey was represented by Rana Alagöz in the third, by Şenay in the fourth, by Özdemir Erdoğan in the fifth and by Ayla Algan in the sixth Apollonia Music Festivals in 1970, 1971, 1972 and 1973 respectively. None of the artists returned back to Turkey with any prizes but their attendance at the festival provided them with national fame.

Golden Orpheus was another international festival (organized in Bulgaria) that Turkey started to participate in 1969 and was represented 14 times until 1990. The most prominent results in 1970s were the third degree by Esin Afşar in 1970, the second degree by Ayla Algan in 1973, the second degree by Aydın Tansel in 1976, the first degree by Semiha Yankı in 1977 and the first degree by Çetin Alp in 1990.

After these festivals, the most successful songs were recorded by a label and distributed throughout Turkey. In this way, popularity gained by the songs during the festival times were being turned into sales in the music sector. That is to say, international music festivals were beneficial for the vitality of the national music sector.

The most important progress of the 1970s in terms of music contests was Turkey's first participation in The Eurovision Song Contest in 1975. TRT was responsible for choosing which song to represent Turkey in the contest. The corporation selected 17 songs for the national final among all the songs applied for the contest. These 17 songs were performed live on TRT and were evaluated by the

public (by filling the evaluation forms distributed to the houses) together with a professional jury. Public and the professional jury selected two different songs with equal scores. The final decision was made by drawing lots and the lucky one was “*Seninle Bir Dakika*” by Semiha Yankı (the jury’s choice) over “*Delisin*” by Cici Kızlar (public’s choice). Semiha Yankı returned back to Turkey with a failure, 19th degree.

Turkey participated in Eurovision for the second time in 1978 with the representation of Group Nazar and Nilüfer. The result was failure once more for Turkey.

Ajda Pekkan represented Turkey in the Tokyo World Popular Song Contest in 1977 and won 2 prizes.

Ayla Algan participated in the Sopot Music Festival in 1978 in Sopot, Poland, and returned back home with the first degree.

The fourth Golden Voice contest by *Hafta Sonu* magazine was also held in 1970. Golden Voice contests were intended to discover young talents and the one organized in 1970 turned out to be extremely influential on Turkish pop music by bringing two very important singers, Sezen Aksu and Nilüfer, in the pop music scene of Turkey.

The Golden Microphone which had been organized by *Hürriyet* daily newspaper until 1968, started to be re-organized by *Günaydın*¹²⁴ daily newspaper in 1972. The repertoire of the contest became much more diversified musically in the 1970s compared to the previous decade. Edip Akbayram who gained the first prize in The Golden Microphone in 1972 turned out to be an important star of Turkish music afterwards. After another 7 years break, The Golden Microphone was re-organized by *Saklambaç* daily newspaper (supplement of *Milliyet*) in 1979 for the last time. Even though the winners of the contest were Ünlü Büyükgönenc and Coşkun Demir, another contestant, Kayahan, who couldn’t win any prize but became one of the most important composers and singers of Turkish pop music in the coming decades, should be counted as the real champion. The winners in the

¹²⁴ A newspaper of *Hürriyet*’s group.

Golden Microphone Contest were being selected by the votes of a professional jury (pre-selection) and the public (final live performances).

In the 1970s, *Milliyet* High School Music Contest was being held continuously each year since it was first organized in 1960s.

Another national music festival which started to be carried out in 1974 was The *Toplu İğne* Song Contest. The contest was a product of the collaboration between the new general manager of TRT, İsmail Cem, and the record companies of the time. The winner of the first *Toplu İğne* was an unknown new talent Esmeray, who competed against famous singers such as Ali Kocatepe, Rana Alagöz, Erol Evgin and Nilüfer.

In 1980, TRT tried a different way for Turkey's Eurovision adventure. Instead of carrying out a pre-selecting process among a number of applicants, the corporation directly nominated the seemingly most successful pop star of Turkey, Ajda Pekkan, to represent the country. Among five different songs composed for Ajda Pekkan, "*Petrol*" was the one that was decided on, by the votes of TRT jury and the public, to be performed on the festival night. The strategic shift implemented by TRT with the hope of getting a better score in the contest didn't change the end result and Pekkan returned back home with another failure of Turkey's Eurovision songs history. Nonetheless, "*Petrol*" was liked to a large extent by the people living in Turkey and became a hit with a high amount of sales. The national success of the song can be explained by its conformity with the musical fashion of the era (which was to combine arabesque with western musical patterns) plus the oil crises being experienced during the time.

In 1981, TRT once more changed the selection mechanism for Eurovision. This time, a list of songs was going to be determined at first, then a number of singers nominated by TRT were going to sing the song(s) of their own preferences from this list. As a result, Ayşegül Aldinç was chosen to represent Turkey with the song "*Dönme Dolap*" in Dublin in 1981. The result was no different than the previous years.

In 1982 Neco with "*Hani*", in 1983 Çetin Alp with "*Opera*", in 1984 the group *Beş Yıl Önce On Yıl Sonra* with "*Halay*", in 1985 MFÖ with "*Aşık Oldum*",

in 1987 Seyyal Taner with “*Şarkım Sevgi Üstüne*”, in 1988 MFÖ with “*Sufi*” and in 1989 Group Pan with “*Bana Bana*” all shared a similar destiny with the singers who represented Turkey in Eurovision in previous years. Exceptionally in 1986, the group *Klips ve Onlar*¹²⁵ with the songs “*Halley*” was ranked within the first 10 – with the 9th degree – for the first time in the Eurovision finals (Kuyucu, 2011).

In 1986 Nilüfer represented Turkey in another international music festival, *The Mediterranean Music Festival*, with the song “*Geceler*” and was ranked 1st.¹²⁶

Ses Magazine organized The Golden Composition Song Contest with the aim of bringing dynamism to the music sector in 1982 and *Milliyet* High School Music Contest continued to be carried out during the 1980s. Golden Cove was another national music contest started to be held in 1986 in Kuşadası and continued to be organized in the 1990s and 2000s, 18 times in total¹²⁷.

The Eurovision adventure of Turkey continued in the 1990s. After Kayahan’s failure in 1990 with 21st degree, Group Pan was 12th with the song “*İki Dakika*” in 1991. In 1990s, famous stars gave up entering Eurovision Song Contest; instead, unknown artists started to represent Turkey (until 2003). Until 1997, the Turkish contestants returned back to Turkey with similar unsuccessful results. In 1997 Şebnem Paker and Group Ethnic gained the 3rd degree for the first time with the song “*Dinle*”. This success was not replicated up to 2003.

The best result of Turkey’s Eurovision history was gained by Sertab Erener in 2003 with the songs “*Everyway That I Can*”, the singer won the first prize for the first and the last time. After the success of Sertab Erener, who was an established Turkish pop star, TRT preferred to charge another well-known artist to represent Turkey in the following year and decided on the rock group Athena. Athena gained the 4th degree in 2004, but then TRT once more changed strategy in 2005 and sent an unknown singer, Gülseren, who could only become the 13th. Sertab Erener’s and Athena’s gaining successful results must have motivated TRT to turn to popular

¹²⁵ The group members were Candan Erçetin, Sevingül Bahadır, Gür Akad, Emre Tukur and Derya Bozkurt.

¹²⁶ Source: <http://www.milliyetsanat.com/haberler/muzik/hayati-mucadele-ile-gecti/5072>

¹²⁷ Source: http://www.kusadasi.bel.tr/?menuid=kat_detay&katid=32

Turkish artists once more until the last year of Turkey's attendance at the contest in 2012.

The song contests before the 2000s can be categorized as national, regional and international. National contests were organizations in which new talents were discovered and the creation of new songs were triggered. In this sense, they were intermediaries that supported the growth of the young music industry of Turkey. Furthermore, these national music contests contributed to the musical diversity in the Turkish popular music industry by being open to experimental works. Regional (such as the Apollonia and the Balkan Melodies festivals) and international contests (such as the Eurovision Song Contests) were always seen as beneficial for the international visibility of Turkey. Especially the Eurovision Song Contest had been taken very seriously by the Turkish authorities and the public from the first to the last time we participated because of Turkey's ambition to be perceived as a part of Europe. Nevertheless, the results gotten by Turkey were not even close to a significant success until the end of the 1990s. In my opinion, the continuous failure of Turkey for about 20 years were not only related to political (as claimed by the Turkish governmental authorities and Turkish media most of the time) but also musical reasons. Until 1997, the songs which represented Turkey in the contest were examples of western pop music in general, without any national musical features added to the compositions. I evaluate this as trying to sell snow to the Eskimos (*tereciye tere satmak*). A better strategy would have been to use Turkey's traditional music as the basic resource for the compositions. Diverging from the European musical structures would have driven Turkey forward among the competitors that were sounding alike, and would have added to cultural diversity in not only the music scene of Turkey but also that of Europe. What brought success to Turkey in its Eurovision adventure for the first time was that kind of a musical strategy. The song "*Dinle*" composed by Levent Çoker and performed by Şebnem Paker contains *Hüseyni* and *Nihavend* modes in its melodic structure and traditional instruments (such as *bağlama* and *ney*) in its orchestration. It was these traditional musical properties of the song which attracted the attention of European voters. Sertab Erener's song "Every Way That I Can" that gained her the first place in 2003,

Athena's song "For Real" that gained them the fourth place in 2004, Kenan Doğulu's song that gained him the fourth place in 2007 and Hadise's song "*Düm Tek Tek*" which gained her the fourth place in 2009 also include traditional musical features; however their successes rather depended on the televoting system¹²⁸ which was adapted starting from 1998. Whatever the reasons were, the successful results Turkish singers had gotten since the end of 1990s earned the country some sort of an international visibility.

The most popular national music contests of the 2000s and 2010s are the ones organized as weekly broadcasted TV shows¹²⁹. The first example of such TV shows was "Popstar" in Turkey, which was a format inherited from UK. It was broadcasted on *Kanal D*¹³⁰ in 2004. Later on, its name was changed to *Türkstar* (because the license owner of *Popstar* Osmantan Erkir was transferred to another TV channel, Star TV, and started to broadcast the *alaturka* version of *Popstar*).

A more long-lasting music contest in Turkey is the Turkish version of The Voice¹³¹ which is being broadcasted perpetually since 2011 in different TV channels (Show TV, Star TV and TV 8) by its licensee Acun Ilıcalı who is now the owner of TV 8.

Despite being a hope for many potential artists, all these new generation song contests are evaluated by the music producers I interviewed with as mere TV shows that have nothing to do with bringing in the next stars of the industry. The producers state that they would never sign a deal with a candidate who competes in such a TV show, being criticized every week by the jury in front of millions of people watching these shows. They are perceived to be temporal actors of the show adding marginally to the ratings together with the other competitors and the waggish and/or snippy dialogues of the jury members. The only artist who

¹²⁸ In this system, the winners are decided by the votes (sent viaSMS) of the citizens of the participant countries rather than being selected by a jury. The Turkish contestants listed here are the popstars who have large fan bases among the Turkish citizens living in European countries such as Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, the UK, etc., and thus benefited from the televoting system.

¹²⁹ Nearly all of them are formats borrowed from international televisions.

¹³⁰ The TV channel of the Doğan Group, owned by Aydın Doğan.

¹³¹ The original version was The Voice Holland and it was inherited by other countries such as the USA, the UK, Australia and many more.

participated in one of these contests and became a popstar afterwards is İrem Derici. However, her becoming a star is not directly related to her appearance on the show. She was eliminated a few weeks after she attended the competition, that is to say she was not one of the winners for whom an album would be released with the financing of the TV program. After being eliminated from the competition, İrem Derici produced her own album with the financial and promotional support of her father (who is one of the most famous advertisers in Turkey). i.e. it was not the case that a producer discovered her during the competition and offered to make an album production deal with her, or the audience of the TV show embraced her so much that she became very famous as a result of the show.

3.6 ‘GATEKEEPERS’: A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

What is being consumed by the audiences is more dependent on what is being delivered to them than what is being produced. This fact assigns the music industry’s gatekeepers - who decide which of the productions would be made available to the consumers - a very fundamental role. Until the internet started to be used to disseminate music, the only way to reach audiences was to pass the filtering mechanisms of the gatekeepers. These significant actors and their decision making procedure changed from time to time.

There are different phases of gatekeeping and hence different actors functioning as gatekeepers throughout the dissemination process of a song from the creator to the consumer. Three of them will be analyzed in details in the following subsections.

3.6.1 Radio and Television

Radio and TV have been the two major outlets via which newly released music is introduced to the audience. Not all of the albums released throughout the popular music history have had the chance to be broadcasted on the radio stations and music TVs, and not all of the artists have had the chance to appear on TV shows.

Certain authorities in these outlets (managers, programming directors etc.) have decided as gatekeepers which songs and artists to be included and which of them to be excluded from the broadcasting programs (Hul & Hutchison & Strasser, 2011; Hirsch, 1969).

3.6.1.1 The Era of Public Radio and TV: The Monopoly of TRT

Before the establishment of TRT in 1964, radio broadcasting in Turkey was under the control of Turkish Radio-Telephone Corporation between 1927 and 1936 (private ownership), Postal Telegraph and Telephone Service (PTT) between 1936 and 1940 and Public Press Office between 1940 and 1964 (MEB, 2011).

Between 1927 and 1934, prominent music styles broadcasted by İstanbul and Ankara Radios (the radio stations ran by Turkish Radio-Telephone Corporation) were TSM and western classical music. Pieces of THM were rarely played partly because of the lack of the compilation works and partly because of their being locally attractive instead of addressing the musical preferences of the vast majority of the radio listeners (Doğaner, n.d.).

In 1934, TSM was banned from Turkish radios for 2 years because of its being perceived as an Ottoman heritage, and as being contextually and technically inferior. The genre was also forbidden in all music schools in Turkey between 1927 and 1975 (Karahisar 2009). Western classical music tried to be imposed to the Turkish audience instead. However, the musical preferences of the majority of the population did not adjust in favor of western music very quickly and a great part of the listeners began to listen to Arab radio stations whose music sounded more familiar to them – because of Arab melodies' having similar characteristics with TSM, such as being monophonic and modal and using similar instruments in the performances, and its relation with *Kur'an* and *ezan*. Even Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was listening to TSM in his daily life, but for the sake of creating a national music he was discrediting classical music in his speeches (Küçükkaplan, 2013).

The ban of classical Turkish tunes from TRT and classical music education from public and private schools during the implementation of the cultural policies

of the early Republic together with the industrialization process experienced worldwide starting from the beginning of the 20th century led to a further commodification of the genre¹³², which was initiated when the classical Turkish music started to be performed for the public as well as the entourage living in the Palace (Aksoy, 1985).

Starting from the 1930s, Arab music had a significant effect on TSM. One reason for this influence was the fact that the majority of the public started to listen to Arab radio stations as a response to the ban of TSM from Turkish radios as mentioned above (Güngör, 1990). Other reasons were the continual professional visits of the Turkish musicians of the era to Egypt and the popularity of Egypt cinema in Turkey in the 1930s and later. Even though Dede Efendi and his successors initiated the transformation in the classical Turkish music, the actual rule breaker was Sadettin Kaynak (as mentioned above) who introduced the free performance style into the genre and composed songs that were defined as “*fantazi*”. In that sense Kaynak can be accepted as the one who laid the foundation of arabesque (Güngör, 1990). His songs cannot be categorized as arabesque but they stood as a model for it (Küçükkaplan, 2013).

Another consequence of the westernization policy in radios was an increase in sales of shellac discs. The audiences who were not able to listen to the genres they liked on Turkish radios started to look for other ways to satisfy their musical needs. Buying a phonograph and records was a solution in this sense besides turning radio receivers to Arab radio stations (Meriç, 2006).

Radio took on an important role for the implementation of the national music reform. A folk music choir named *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* was formed in house and started to perform folk melodies in accordance with the western polyphonic techniques (Elçi, 1997). According to Tör (1942), radio’s duty was to emancipate folk melodies from their local characteristics and shape them in such a way that they are liked by the whole society. But that kind of a standardization

¹³² This second level of transformation is accepted to be initiated by Sadettin Kaynak. Important followers of this new trend were Müzeyyen Senar, Münir Nurettin Selçuk and Hamiyet Yüceses (Güngör, 1990).

meant removing all local interpretations and diversity (Tokel, 2000). Moreover, *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* was performing Kurdish, Armenian and Greek songs - which were discovered via musical researches in Anatolia - not with their original lyrics but newly written Turkish lyrics, and in a standardized musical form (Yurdatapan, 2004). As a result, the formation of the choir and the research conducted to gather the traditional melodies of Anatolia turned out to be acts that harmed diversity.

Before the 1940s, radio receivers were only present at public places at first. Their use in private houses gradually became widespread (Küçükbaşmacı, 2013). The number of licensed radio receivers in Turkey was 10,000 in 1936, 50,000 in 1939, 270,000 in 1950 and 2 million in 1964. (The Turkish population in 1965 was 31.39 million). The number of radio receivers in the era was low in Turkey compared to many other countries including the neighbor countries where radio broadcasting started later than Turkey. One of the reasons for this was that the radio transmitters could only reach half of the population in that period (MEB, 2011). Until the use of TV became widespread in homes in the 1970s, the main function of radio was not to broadcast music but the news, soap operas, educational programs, radio theater, etc., and music in between the mentioned programs. Nevertheless, music programs occupied an important part of radio broadcasting in its first years in Turkey compared to other countries (Küçükkaplan, 2013).

As mentioned above, mass production and dissemination of LPs were going to start in the 1960s in Turkey, but their widespread use in radio programs had already begun in the early 1950s. By this means, a western style popular music archive expanded in Turkish radios quickly, and the playlists of radios started to include more of jazz, samba, tango and rhumba songs along with THM and TSM songs (Dilmener, 2003).

As stated before, TRT was established in 1964 and stood as a monopoly in radio and TV broadcasting until privately owned radio stations and television channels were established in the 1990s. Before the 90s, the only alternative to TRT was Police Radio, founded in 1952 with the permission of the cabinet. The goals of Police Radio were twofold. On the one hand, it intended to prevent crime, maintain security, increase awareness about the traffic rules and strengthen the relationship

between the organization and the public. On the other hand, it aimed to counter the effectiveness of radios such as The Voice of Budapest, The Voice of Moscow and The Voice of America, which were broadcasting to Turkey with propaganda purposes during the 2nd World War and airing the genres of music which were forbidden by the Public Press Office but liked by the Turkish audience to attract attention. In other words, the government opened a road for the alternative music liked by public that could not be aired on public radio, and Police Radio served as a platform for the music styles TRT stayed away from throughout history (Özdemir, n.d.).

In the 1960s, lyrics of most of the *aranjments* were written by former radio programmers Fecri Ebcioğlu and Sezen Cumhuri Önal. These songs were being favored to a great extent especially by İstanbul Radio because of these lyricists' good relations with the other programmers of the radio. Hence, radio broadcasting was extremely influential on the popularity of *aranjments* (Dilmener, 2003). On the other hand, some other artists – like Cem Karaca - were uncomfortable because their songs were not getting enough radio exposure. The discussion about radios' being subjective in preparing their playlists brought forth the idea of a commission which would select the songs to be broadcasted on radios according to some objective criteria. As a result, the Music Auditing Commission of TRT was established in the 1960s. However the objectivity of the Commission's decision making has always been debatable throughout history.

In 1974, the number of national radio stations of TRT was three (TRT-1, TRT-2, TRT-3) together with a number of local stations which had a broadcasting content oriented towards the needs of the people living in corresponding regions¹³³.

The Music Auditing Commission of TRT was in charge starting from the end of the 1960s. Especially in the beginning of the 1970s, singers and musicians were crying out against the Commission – whose members were not musicians at those times – blaming it for not being transparent and consistent in its decisions. Artists were arguing that the Commission should have been made up of experienced

¹³³ Today TRT has seven national radio stations airing music in different genres.

musicians and radio programmers who would set a filtering mechanism according to musical criteria. Even though the structure of the Commission changed over time and musicians also started to take part as members, the TRT Auditing Commission always stood as a prohibitor that prevented some of the musical genres and songs from entering the officially permitted mainstream music market.

The criteria of the Commission for allowing a song to be aired were musical and/or political. The political side of the decision making process was based on the directives from the government in charge. The prohibition of songs and artists (such as Ruhi Su, Cem Karaca, Melike Demirağ, Ahmet Kaya, etc.) from TRT at certain times was the most obvious reflection of the political aspect of the Corporation's filtering mechanism. The musical side was related to the perspectives of the current commission members. In Naim Dilmener's words:

The commissions' having a musical approach didn't mean that they always made the right decisions in terms of letting the music industry to progress, but at least their intention was to do so. In some periods, the commission consisted of musicians who had strict musical rules. For instance, Nida Tüfekçi, who was the head of the commission for several years, never approved THM songs arranged in popular forms. Rock and arabesque were forbidden genres for a long time. There was even a case in which Zeki Müren (the gay music performer and composer whose songs and performances had always matched the technical criteria of The Music Auditing Commission) songs could only get approval with the special request of the Executive Board of TRT. These can be considered to be examples that might have hindered the development of popular music but on the other hand the existence of such a commission ensured a minimum musical standard to be satisfied. As a result, the young generations of those times were unconsciously educated to have a more qualified ear compared to the subsequent generations. ((Naim Dilmener, in-depth interview, October 2014).

Together with radio, television was also an important medium through which artists could raise interest for their music in the 1970s¹³⁴. As there was only

¹³⁴ The first TV broadcasting in Turkey started as a laboratory work by İTÜ TV which was founded in 1952. After the ban on TV broadcasting by the institutions other than TRT, İTÜ TV was shut down in 1968 and its technical equipment were transferred to TRT (Yapıcıoğlu, 2013).

one channel and TV was entering more and more homes everyday as a source of entertainment, a singer appearing on TV could become literally an overnight success. Certainly, the sustainability of this success and fame depended on many other factors, but TV appearance provided a big opportunity especially for the new entrants. The importance of music programs in creating a fan base and hence increasing the sales of albums put TV broadcasters in a gatekeeper position in the music industry. The transfer of radio DJ İzzet Öz from radio to TV was a crucial movement in this respect. Öz, who improved the music knowledge of the public to a great extent with his radio programs, began to do the same thing on TV as well. Music video broadcasting had also started with his programs.

The influence of arabesque on pop music led to the prohibition of many of the songs of established pop artists by TRT in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Singers like Nilüfer were being barred from the TV shows and their songs were not aired on radio.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the prohibition of specific singers and genres was not as strict as it was in the previous decade. For instance, Orhan Gencebay appeared on TV on New Year's Eve in 1980 as a surprise prepared by TRT for the public. The prohibition policy was further loosened after ANAP – the political part founded by Turgut Özal - came into power in 1983.

Establishment of TRT Light Music and Jazz Orchestra in 1982 was another important progress of the decade. The orchestra has served the purpose of introducing classical jazz pieces to larger audiences as well as composing new jazz songs. TRT Light Music and Jazz Orchestra is still active today. The orchestra performs live in selective venues (especially during jazz festivals), and on TV and radio occasionally¹³⁵.

During the 1980s, the number of music programs on TV increased. Even though TRT was prohibiting many singers from taking part in these programs, this progress can still be counted as an endeavor to bring in dynamism in the pop music sector. The increased dynamism in the music sector of Turkey in the second half of

¹³⁵ Source: <http://trtmuzik.net.tr/Program/Detail/540278>

the 1980s paved the way for a gradual progress in the music video sector as well. Consequently, the image of the artists started to be given more and more importance.

Nonetheless, some of the banned artists such as Orhan Gencebay had such a strong fan base that they were still able to attain a significantly high amount of sales. On the other hand, İbrahim Tatlıses and other arabesque artists were much more welcomed during the 80s, thanks to the personal interest of Turgut Özal in the genre.

3.6.1.2 After the Establishment of Private Radio and TV

The most significant development of the 1990s, which should be taken as a milestone for the destiny of pop music, was the establishment of privately owned radio stations. According to the original version of the 1982 constitution, private ownership of radio and television was forbidden. Thus, in the beginning of the 1990s, private radio broadcasting started in Turkey de facto. Those first radio stations were broadcasting music predominantly – instead of thematic programs – including the styles banned by TRT, and targeting a young audience. The success of this strategy became apparent when the majority of the public responded with the “I want my radio back” protest after the shutdown of these private radios in 1993. Eventually, private ownership of radio and television became legal with a constitutional change. From then on, the number of privately owned radios has increased day after day. As of 2014, there were 34 radio stations that broadcasted nationally (RTÜK, 2014), and 750 regional or local radio stations¹³⁶. Today, it is even possible to broadcast from your home via the internet. But it should be underlined that there is a market concentration in the media industry, and only a few number of radio stations are listened to by the majority of the public¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Source: Turkish Statistical Institution (TURKSTAT) radio and television statistics.

¹³⁷ According to URYAD (National Radio Broadcasters Association) statistics, 2 radio stations reach more than 10% of the radio listeners, 9 radio stations reach more than 5% of the radio listeners and 14 radio stations reach more than 3% of the radio listeners.

In their first years, by airing the songs forbidden by TRT, private radio stations contributed to the diversity in the music industry. Moreover, the interest of the public for the genres aired on private radios triggered TRT to employ a more diversified broadcasting strategy in the 1990s with a sense of competition (Güngör, 1990). But this increased diversity in music broadcasting in the music industry in Turkey didn't last so long. In time, competition in the music media industry resulted in a much more standardized broadcasting strategy¹³⁸.

In spite of the restrictions and bans applied by the TRT Auditing Commission, the music in Turkey has been diversified in general until the private radios started to dominate the sector. New styles were brought in without replacing the existing ones. The genres banned by TRT, had a chance to be aired on Police Radio. According to Naim Dilmener, even the private radios in their first years tried to keep a balance between styles to some extent.

Today, there are a few number of radio stations that broadcast thematic programs, but most of the stations – including the ones with the highest ratings – are airing music exclusively. That is to say, radio stations are an important channel of music consumption for the listeners. Moreover, 92% of the participants of the survey conducted in the course of this study declared that they listen to radio at least occasionally and 15% reported radio to be a principle source (out of 10 different sources listed in the questionnaire) of discovering new music sources of music for them.

In 1994, the first music TV channel of Turkey, Kral TV¹³⁹, was established. It was followed by a couple of other channels, but only Powerturk TV¹⁴⁰, established nine years later in 2003, became an important competitor for Kral TV in terms of rating. Until competition was triggered by the establishment of Powerturk TV, Kral TV had a more diversified playlist including examples from

¹³⁸ See Section 5.3 for a detailed discussion.

¹³⁹ Kral TV was established by Cem Uzan in 1994 and was transferred to TMSF (*Tasarruf Mevduatı Sigorta Fonu*) in 2004. TMSF renewed the channel technically, improved its audio-visual quality in order to maximize its sales value. The channel was sold to Doğu Group – which also owns the national TV channels Star TV and NTV, news radio station NTV Radio and magazines like Vogue and GQ - for 95 million USD in 2008.

¹⁴⁰ Powerturk TV is owned by Cem Hakkı.

many different genres such as pop, rock, arabesque, THM and TSM. However, this does not mean that Kral TV was carrying out a mission to sustain a certain amount of diversity in the music industry. The filtering mechanism of the TV channel was much more based on financial concerns (the record companies or the artists had to pay a certain amount of money for each single exposure of their songs) and their relationships with the record companies rather than musical concerns. One of the most important factors that turned the music industry into an oligopolistic market has been the high amounts of money charged by Kral TV for the songs to be broadcasted. Only a small number of big record companies could stay in this mainstream competition. Powerturk TV concentrated on pop and rock music only¹⁴¹ whereas Kral TV was airing music in all styles. Murat Meriç claims that in an era in which a sufficiently high number of music TV and radio stations exist, Powerturk TV's or any popular radio's having a standardized broadcasting strategy is not destructive in terms of diversity because there are many other alternative music TV channels and radio stations which can air songs in all other genres. I disagree with this idea. It is true that technically it is possible to have many radio stations each broadcasting music in different styles. But this is not what happens in reality. Today, there surely exist many alternative stations (including internet radios) that air songs from different musical styles, but the mainstream radios and music TV channels, which shape the musical preferences of the majority, don't do so. Instead of diversifying their playlists, they imitate their competitors with higher ratings out of commercial concerns, and as a result, we end up with all stations' broadcasting similar music¹⁴². In the case of Powerturk TV, the following is what has happened¹⁴³: When the rating of Powerturk TV exceeded that of Kral TV, the administrative board of Kral TV decided to change the name of the channel into Kral Pop TV and adopt a broadcasting strategy similar to Powerturk TV's. Because

¹⁴¹ For the details of the Contemporary Hit Format (CHR) adopted by PowerTürk, see Section 5.3.3.

¹⁴² Evidence to support this hypothesis has been found as a result of the in-depth interviews conducted with the radio programmers and directors during the course of this study. See Section 5.3.

¹⁴³ The following information was gathered from Mehmet Akbay, General Broadcasting Manager at Kral Group.

the Kral Group started to promote their new baby Kral Pop TV, the ratings of Kral TV, which was transferred to another frequency with its original content, fell significantly. In short, the increased competition (in an oligopolistic sense) in the music TV decreased the level of diversity. Furthermore, less diversity in the music TV meant less diversity in radio as well because, until the beginning of the 2010s, music TV was highly influential on the music radio. A song's availability on music TV was an important criterion for it being accepted to be aired on radio¹⁴⁴. Thus, it became nearly necessary to have a music video broadcasted on mainstream music TV in order to get radio exposure and the filtering mechanisms of music TV were indirectly adopted by the radio stations as well i.e. the increased standardization in music TV resulted in an increased standardization in radio. As a result, Kral Group and PowerTurk TV became one of the most important gatekeepers in the music industry. However, the dominance of music TVs in the music sector declined in the 2010s¹⁴⁵.

Talk shows that are being broadcasted on mainstream TV channels since the 1990s are other important platforms for the introduction of newly released albums to the audiences. Taking into consideration that people living in Turkey are spending a certain amount of time weekly watching these talk shows¹⁴⁶, appearing on a couple of them increases the likelihood of the popularity of a new artist and/or new album. The interviews I conducted with the independent artists reveal that these shows have similar filtering mechanisms with the mainstream music media. That is to say, they do not accept an artist as a guest to the show unless they themselves and their songs are well known to the public in most of the cases. The only shows that noname artists can appear on are the ones with low ratings and/or the ones that are not watched by their target audience (such as the programs for women).

¹⁴⁴ This is a fact observed by myself during my personal experience in the music industry and also validated by the sector representatives I interviewed for this dissertation.

¹⁴⁵ The details of today's music media are discussed in Section 5.3.

¹⁴⁶ Survey results support this claim. See Section 5.2.

3.6.2 Printed Press

The first music magazine in the history of the Turkish Republic is accepted to be *Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri* which started to be published in 1934 and included articles on TSM and THM. The first magazine which shared space for popular music was *Melodi* which started to be published in 1948 (Uslu, 2009).

Before the 1960s, news published periodically on daily newspapers about the stars of TSM supported their fame. The general tendency towards the production of music in western genres in the music industry of Turkey resulted in newspapers' sharing space for the artists of these new genres as well, thus contributing to their stardom.

As it will be demonstrated in the following parts of this dissertation¹⁴⁷, familiarity with the musical style and with the singer are significant in liking a song. In this sense, the efforts of the printed press in creating familiarity with the new artists served to raise interest for the new musical styles; the increase in familiarity with these styles was also supplemented by the repeated broadcasting of the pieces representing these styles on radio.

As a support to the music reform of the early Republic, the printed press (especially the *Ülkü* magazines) was instilling the common national values in the public, informing them about how Turkish national music should sound by promoting the representative pieces (Küçükkaplan, 2013). However, it was not a quick and easy process to accept and adopt a new musical genre for the vast majority of the listeners, especially if this new genre is totally different from what the listeners were familiar with and if it is being strictly imposed top down. Hence, the prohibition of TSM and shifting to more western repertoires in radio did not mean a sudden shift in preferences of the public. Instead, as stated above (p. 147), the majority of the population started to listen to Arab radios which contributed to the birth and spread of arabesque in the long run.

¹⁴⁷ See Section 5.2.2.1 for a detailed discussion of the influence of repetition and familiarity on the liking of artists and songs.

The music magazine *Popüler Melodi* started to be published in 1961 with the claim of being the voice of the music scene in Turkey. *Popüler Melodi* was the fifth music magazine published in Turkey after *Caz*, *Caz Ekspres*, *Melodi* and another music magazine in French. While *Popüler Melodi* was continuing to be published, other music magazines such as *Müzik Kulübü* (1961), *Spor Sine Müzik* (1965) and *Diskotek* (1967) followed (Meriç, 2006).

Ses, which was another magazine being published since 1956, was not a music magazine but was sharing a significant space for music and music stars (Dilmener, 2003).

In the first half of 1960s, newspapers and magazines started to prepare music top lists according to their own preferences and foreign artists were dominant in most of these lists during that time (Dilmener, 2003).

In 1965, the daily newspaper *Milliyet* started to prepare a special page, *Müzik Kulübü*, which contributed significantly on the progress of pop music in Turkey (Dilmener, 2003). The editor of the page Doğan Şener was collecting the readers' opinions of their favorite songs, singers and groups every week, gathering information on sales from the recording companies and preparing top lists accordingly. In this sense, it would be fair to claim that these lists were much more realistic in representing the tastes of the listeners compared to the previous magazines. The initiative shown by Doğan Şener in *Milliyet* can be evaluated as a preparation period for the most prominent music magazine of pop music, *Hey*, which was going to be published in the early 1970s.

In 1970, two new music magazines, *Pop Müzik* and *Hey* started to be published in Turkey. *Pop Müzik* was very short-lived whereas *Hey* held on being an important actor in the music life of Turkey for many years. After the start-up of *Hey*, four-year-old *Diskotek* was closed down. *Hey* was owned by the *Milliyet* group and hence the financial support it got from the media company had an important effect on its longevity. An important strategy of *Hey* in terms of diversity was its tendency to share space for each and every musical initiative on its pages (Dilmener, 2003).

The spaces shared for Turkish popular music in these magazines in different eras depended on the amount of musical pieces produced in Turkey in each era. Accordingly, especially after the mid-1980s (when the Turkish Pop music was on the rise), the content of the magazines started to be dominated by Turkish music.

Towards the end of the 1980s, not only the magazines but also daily newspapers started to pay attention to and share pages for the Turkish music sector, especially for the pop music. Additionally, another music magazine *BoomMüzik* started to be published by *Güneş* Publishing in 1989 with an intention to educate the public and transform them into more conscious listeners. It was specialized in pop and rock music and attracted the attention of young generations (Kuyucu, 2013).

Another magazine that is worth mentioning is *Blue Jean* which started to be published in 1987 and still exists today. *Blue Jean* is a magazine which has had a great impact of the development of foreign popular music in Turkey. It is the most long lived music magazine published so far in Turkey (Kuyucu, 2013).

In the 1990s and 2000s, some of the private radio and TV companies started to publish a number of music magazines. *Number One* by Number One Media Group¹⁴⁸ which was published from the 1990s till the beginning of the 2000s, *Dream* by Doğan Medya Group which was published from the 1990s till 2008, and Turkish versions of the American *Billboard* by Doğuş Media Group which was published between 2006-2010 and *Rolling Stone* by Ciner Media which was published between 2006-2009 were the prominent magazines on foreign popular music. *Kral Magazine* by Uzan Media Group which was published until 2008, *Top Pop* by Avrupa Holding which was published until the end of the 1990s and *Popsi* by Doğan Medya Group which was published until 2006 were prominent music magazines on Turkish pop music in the 1990s and 2000s (Kuyucu, 2013). Another magazine of the late 1990s was *Müzik Vizyon* published by the experienced music magazinist Doğan Şener in 1998 (Dilmener, 2003).

¹⁴⁸ Number One Media Group is owned by Ali and Ömer Karacan. Their first move in the media sector was to establish Number One FM in 1992. Today, they own Number One TV , Number One FM and they are the Turkish licensees of international TV channels Discovery Channel, History channel and Nickelodeon.

One last magazine that should be mentioned is the western classical music magazine *Andante*, which continues to be published today since its start 14 years ago.

For Turkish pop music, printed media has been an important platform where musicians, music styles and genres were introduced to the public. The era before the 1990s were the times when almost every professional pop musician was able to find a place for himself/herself in the printed press because of the relative scarcity of pop music production compared to following decades (Dilmener, 2003). However, the Turkish pop music magazines together with the music related pages of the daily newspapers of the 1990s and 2000s, accompanied the mainstream music radio and TV in popularization of a standardized pop music and the stars who have been the prominent representatives of this genre.

The internet, on the other hand, just as it was a platform for alternative musicians to make their music available, is also a platform in the 2010s for many alternative online magazines and music blogs where the songs and performers who are not allowed to exist in the mainstream media are introduced to the audiences. Nevertheless, the results of the survey conducted throughout this study show that only a minority of the Turkish music listeners read online music magazines and/or blogs whereas a greater number of them check on the magazine pages of the daily newspapers (online or printed) which include news about popular performers rather than the alternatives.

3.6.3 Record Companies

Record companies were the agents in the music industry who made the financial investment necessary for the music production (purchase of songs, recording expenses, distribution and promotion expenses, etc.) before the digital age – when the music production was a much more expensive process than it is today. As the owner of the capital, record labels had the power to work with qualified music studios, experienced recording musicians and the distribution companies with the most widespread networks. Moreover, with their high

promotion budgets and their relationships with the print media, they had the power to widely promote their artists. As a result, the record companies (especially the major labels which dominated the market with their high market shares) turned out to be gatekeepers in the industry who decided on which musicians could enter the market, and hence took part in the process of manipulating the tastes of the audiences (Bergmann, 2004).

The record companies' role as gatekeepers have been further reinforced after the establishment of private radio and music TV. Prior to that, as mentioned by the experts I interviewed with, the name and fame of the record company was not a criterion for the Auditing Commission of TRT to decide to allow or ban a song. In other words, the songs released by local record companies with relatively low budgets still had the chance to be aired on TV and radio. The superiority of major labels over local labels was caused by their ability to spend larger amounts of money on production and promotion but not by their power on radio and TV. Many artists - such as Edip Akbayram, Teoman Alpay etc. - had recorded their albums with local companies and failed to get media exposure sufficient enough to bring them sales success. That was the case because there did not exist an economic relationship between public media and the record companies. However, such an economic relationship is at the heart of today's music industry. Most of the broadcasting directors of mainstream radio and TV stations expressed during my interviews that the first criterion for them to air the album of a new artist was the name of the record company that released the album. They admit that they do not even listen to an album unless it was released by one of the major companies (Doğan Music Company [DMC]¹⁴⁹, Sony Music, Avrupa Music, Polls Production, etc.). One reason behind this is the financial bond between media and music

¹⁴⁹ DMC was established in 2000 under the scope of Doğan Group which also includes the mainstream TV channels Kanal D, and CNNTürk, and other TV channels such as Cartoon Network, NBA TV, tv2 and Boomerang; the radio stations Radyo D, Slow Türk and CNNTürk Radio; the daily newspapers Hürriyet, Posta and Fanatik; the Doğan Burda magazine; music and bookstore chain D&R; the digital broadcasting platform D-Smart; the film production company D Productions as well as companies operating in the areas of energy, tourism, finance and factoring, real estate and automotive. DMC has distribution and music publishing branches as well. (Source: www.doganholding.com.tr , www.dmc.com.tr)

companies. For example, DMC and Radio D are companies of the same Group which makes them support each other. Another reason is the system of *payola*¹⁵⁰. And more generally, the artists of major companies are the ones who already are stars and who are being presented to the audiences via multi-layered promotion campaigns. Thus, airing a song of an artist who is already liked by the audiences means more rating, which is rewarded with more advertising and hence more profits. Consequently, it has been much more important in the 1990s and 2000s to sign a contract with one of the major companies in the industry so as to be able to find a way through the mainstream music media and reach the audiences.

In the digital era, it is cheaper to record music and every musician can upload their songs to the internet, making them accessible to everyone without the help of any major record label. This progress has been evaluated as hope for bypassing the gatekeeping process completely and to lead to an increased musical diversity in the preferences of the listeners. However, accessibility might lead to diversity in the musical preferences of only those listeners who deliberately and consciously look for alternatives on the internet. These intentional seekers of alternative music are only a restrained minority¹⁵¹. The majority is still bombarded with the similar material as on the conventional mainstream media because the same sort of mainstream is created on the internet as well. For instance, when you visit a music web site such as Türk Telekom Music (formerly TTNNet music)¹⁵², Fizy (formerly Turkcell Music)¹⁵³, iTunes¹⁵⁴, etc. you can see only the songs of the most popular artists on the homepage. (Thus, these digital music distributors can also be seen as upcoming gatekeepers, but they are still not as powerful as the conventional media.) Or the songs that are being promoted on radio and other types of mainstream media (such as TV series and TV shows) are going viral more

¹⁵⁰ Payola is the money paid by the companies to the radios underhandedly as part of their huge promotion budgets.

¹⁵¹ This hypothesis is supported by the survey results, see Section 5.2.3.

¹⁵² The music download and streaming service provided by Türk Telekom (Turkey's largest telecommunication company 30% of which is owned by Turkish Treasury, 55% of which is owned by Oger Telecom, 15% of which is offered to the public via Istanbul Stock Exchange). (Source: <https://www.turktelekom.com.tr/hakkimizda/sayfalar/ilk-bakista-turk-telekom.aspx>)

¹⁵³ Music streaming service provided by the GSM operator Turkcell.

¹⁵⁴ iTunes is the digital music and video store provided by Apple.

frequently and more quickly on the internet (especially via shares on social media) compared to the songs of the alternative performers. The in-depth interviews and the questionnaire I conducted with the listeners show that majority of the people (65% of the participants of the survey) do not usually use internet to look for new music but to listen to the songs which they have already heard several times on mainstream radio. Even though there are also individuals (33%) who declare that they listen to the songs offered by the music services (such as Youtube), the algorithms of these services are designed such that the songs that are offered to a listener are the ones that are similar to what he/she already knows and listens to frequently.

The goal of the [recommendation] system [of YouTube] is to provide personalized recommendations that help users find videos relevant to their interests (Davidson et. al., 2010).

Despite the fact that the YouTube video search [feature] is the number one source of views in aggregation, the related video recommendation [feature of YouTube] is the main source of views for the majority of the videos on YouTube. [...] There is a strong correlation between the view count of a video and the average view count of its top referrer videos. This means that if the top referrer videos are popular, then the video is also popular (Zhou & Gao, 2010).

With regard to the music listening, the above mentioned statements on the recommendation system indicate that the users of YouTube – the world’s most popular online video community (Davidson et. al., 2010) - either search the songs or artists that they themselves already know, or listen to the recommended music similar to what they already know. This means that a listener who is trapped in a standardized musical frame, can hardly escape with the help of the digital platforms. Moreover, a musical piece can only become popular on YouTube if it is related to already popular pieces of music.

That is not to ignore the positive effects of internet on diversity. People encounter new music on the internet, though accidentally, for sure (especially if they are intentional seekers of new music and/or they have friends on social media who share new music). There are examples of unknown, qualified alternative

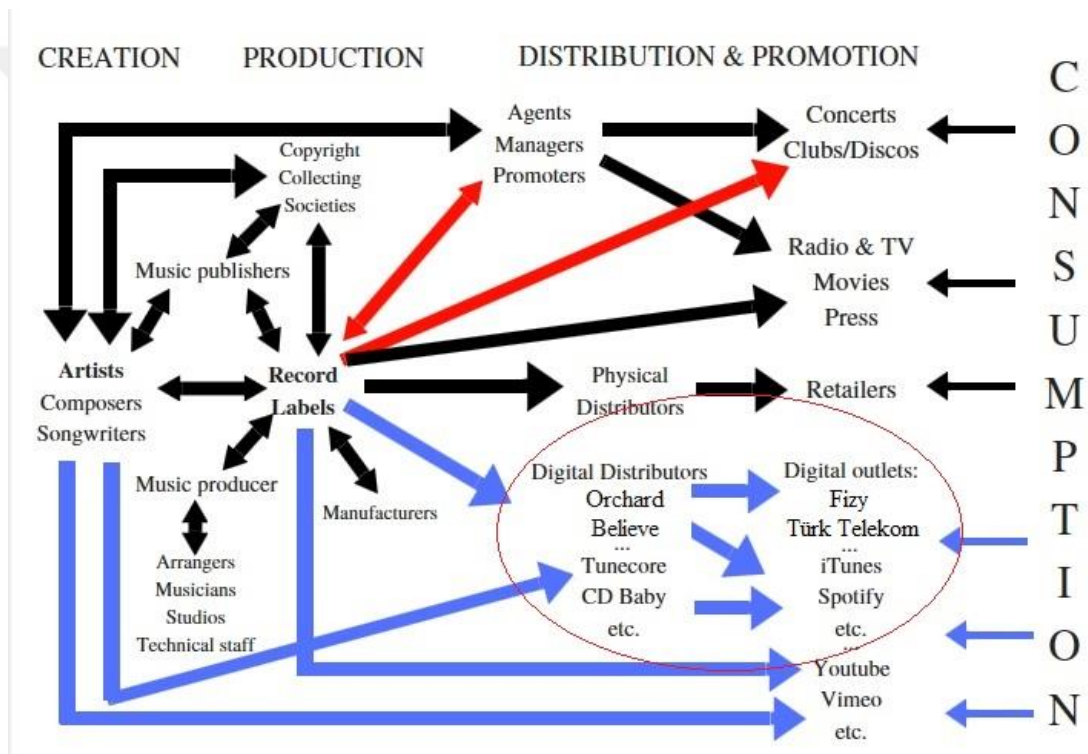
musicians who have become famous among internet users and then had the chance to sign with a major record label. But it would be an over-optimistic perspective to attribute a democratization role to the internet, at least for now.

Naim Dilmener, who is a sought after author of popular music history of Turkey, believes that at some point in the future all the major record labels will withdraw from the industry as they cannot earn satisfactory amounts of profit from CD sales in the digital era and there will be no more mainstream then. As a result, listeners will encounter the artists without any intermediaries and will look for and find music in an environment where the circumstances are equivalent for every artist. I am not that optimistic, even for the future because even though the mechanical reproduction of music has become more and more unprofitable in the digital era, there will always be a huge live music market for the capitalist to profit from. So, the major record companies will continue to promote their artists to create a mainstream on the digital world. Moreover, legal digital consumption – the paid download music - is getting more and more common among listeners, and the companies are making new deals with digital music providers to gather the streaming copyrights of their artists. That is to say, the area of music will remain to be an industry in the digital era as well. Even if Naim Dilemener were right, or even if we accept that the internet is the cause of some sort of a democratization today and will do more in the future, this democratization may not be improving in terms of quality and diversity of music unless it goes hand in hand with conscious and/or unconscious musical training of the listeners. Today, not only qualified alternative musicians but unqualified singers also become popular via internet and start to work with a major label from time to time. These unqualified musicians are given credit due to the inability of the listeners in distinguishing between good and bad music. What I mean here is not the superiority of one genre over the other but the objective technical competencies that should exist in each and every genre. In this sense I totally agree with Behar (1988) who claims that no genre is inferior to another but there exist inferior performances of each genre.

CHAPTER 4
ORGANIZATION AND ECONOMIC VOLUME
OF THE MUSIC INDUSTRY IN TURKEY

The pre- and post-digital value chains in the Turkish music industry are the same as the ones given in Chapter 2 except for the minor difference in the post-digital chain as seen in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Post-Digital Value Chain in the Music Industry of Turkey.



For a song to appear on the national digital outlets (Fizy and Türk Telekom Müzik) it should be distributed via one of the two digital distributors (Orchard¹⁵⁵ and Believe¹⁵⁶) operating in Turkey. This difference is especially emphasized

¹⁵⁵ A subsidiary to Sony Music with around 2% market share worldwide. (Source: www.billboard.com/articles/business/6502517/orchard-sony-acquisition-by-the-numbers)

¹⁵⁶ A French-based digital distribution company with a market share of 12% to 15% in France and in Italy and around 5% in Germany and the UK (Source:

because the existence of these two digital distributors makes it almost impossible for a totally independent artist to be available on local/national digital outlets, which is not the case for international outlets.

4.1 TURKISH MUSIC INDUSTRY IN FIGURES

According to the research conducted by PwC, the music industry in Turkey has a total volume of 250 million USD in 2013 (around 1.7% of the world music industry), experiencing a slight increase from its value in 2009 which was 248 million USD. In 2013, 56 million USD of the total music industry revenues came from physical recorded music sales whereas the digital recorded music revenues accounted for only 13 million USD, which has been estimated to reach 19 million USD in 2016 (PwC, 2014), 15.8 million USD of which is estimated to come from streaming services¹⁵⁷.

In the following subsections, physical sales, digital download and streaming, and radio-TV repertoire data are analyzed in terms of the diversity of the mostly preferred songs in relation to market concentration. Data on live music are lacking in Turkey, and thus could not be included in the analysis.

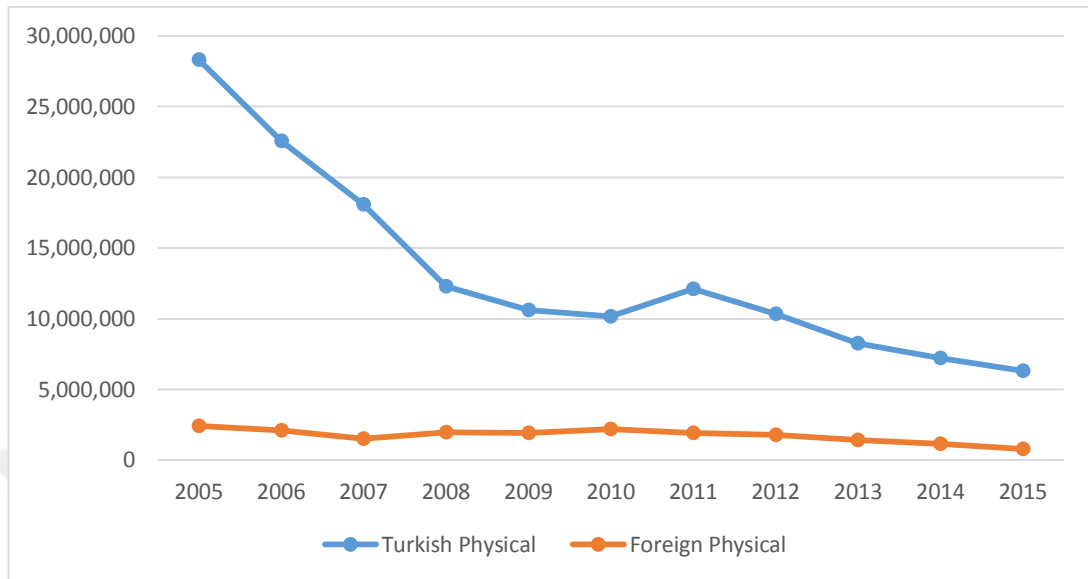
4.1.1 Physical Sales

Figure 4.2 shows the number of bandrols purchased each year for Turkish and foreign physical albums (audio cassettes, CDs and LPs) by record companies between the years 2005 and 2015.

www.musicbusinessworldwide.com/after-buying-tunecore-believe-digital-ready-to-challenge-majors/)

¹⁵⁷ www.statista.com

Figure 4.2: Number of Bandrols Purchased in Turkey¹⁵⁸.



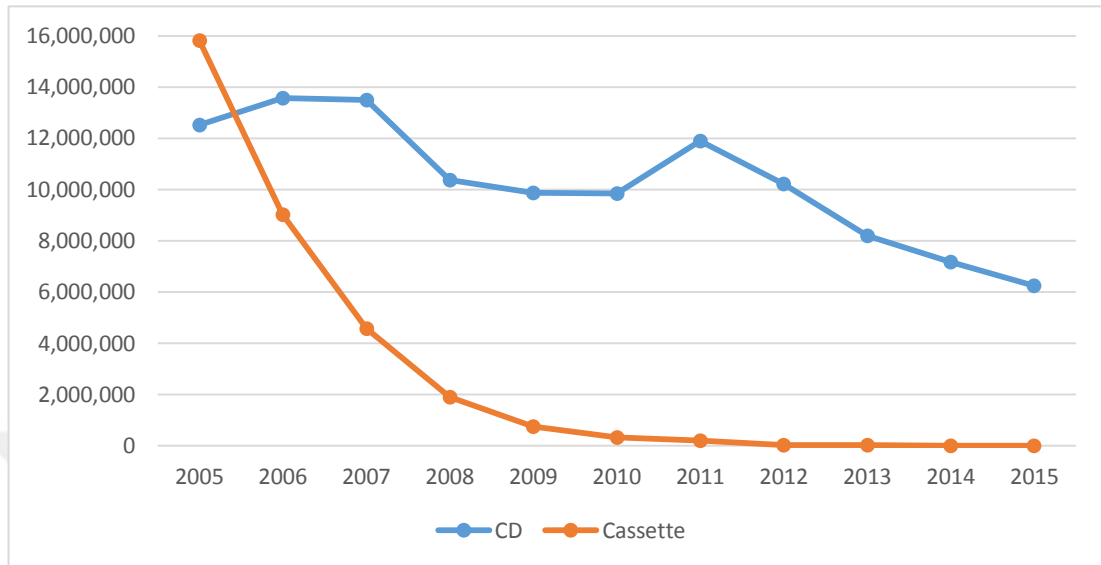
Source: MÜ-YAP www.mu-yap.org

The numbers show that there is a drastic decline (84%) in the demand for physical albums of Turkish artists from 2005 to 2015 (except the increase from 2010 to 2011) whereas the demand for physical albums of foreign artists has been stable to a certain degree especially until 2012.

Figure 4.3 shows the distribution of the number of bandrols purchased for the physical albums of Turkish artists among CDs and cassettes from 2005 to 2015 in Turkey.

¹⁵⁸ This amount shows the number of copies officially released.

Figure 4.3: Number of Bandrols Purchased for Cassettes and CDs of

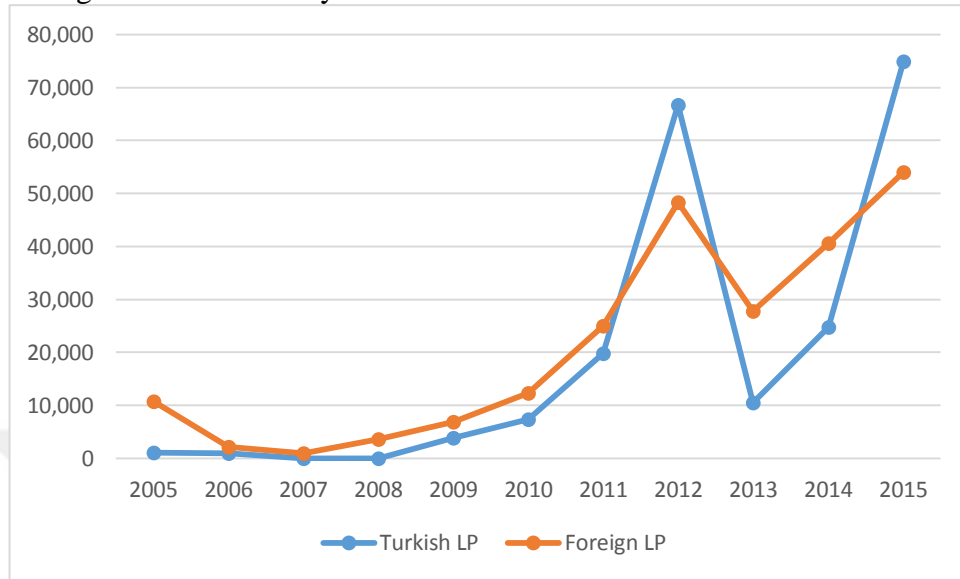


Turkish Artists in Turkey
Source: www.mu-yap.org.

Audio cassette has nearly disappeared as a format as seen in the figure. The decline in CD sales is also consistent since 2011 (with a total decline by 47% from 2011 to 2015) because of the increasing shift in listeners' interest towards digital platforms.

LP is another physical format that is sold in certain amounts - even if significantly low compared to other formats - in Turkey and is worth mentioning. Figure 4.4 shows the change in the amount of Turkish and foreign LP sales in Turkey from 2005 to 2015.

Figure 4.4: Number of Bandrols Purchased for the LPs of Turkish and Foreign Artists in Turkey



Source: www.mu-yap.org.

The breakdown of the sales among the record labels and musical genres will be discussed for the year 2014 which has the most recent detailed data available.

In 2014, 1,929 new Turkish albums were released and additional bandrols were bought for 1011 albums released before 2014 by 318 record labels registered to the associations of Producers (195 to MÜ-YAP, 68 to MÜZİK BİR, 55 to MÜYABİR). Among these 318 labels, the ones that bought 100,000 bandrols or more in 2014 are DMC¹⁵⁹, Avrupa Music¹⁶⁰, Sony Music¹⁶¹, Kalan Music¹⁶², Emre

¹⁵⁹ Explained above in footnote 149.

¹⁶⁰ Avrupa Music was established by Cengiz Erdem and Deniz Erdem in 1998. The company is also the licensee of Universal Music in Turkey since 2010. (Source: www.avrupamuzik.com)

¹⁶¹ The branch of Sony Music International in Turkey (www.sonymusic.com.tr)

¹⁶² Kalan Music was established by Hasan Saltık in 1991, with the goal of presenting lesser known musical forms originated from different regions of Turkey to listeners. (Source: www.kalan.com)

Music¹⁶³, Jet Music¹⁶⁴, Seyhan Music¹⁶⁵, Poll Production¹⁶⁶ and Esen Music¹⁶⁷ (MÜ-YAP, 2015). The shares of each company can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Number of Bandrols Purchased by the Major Record Labels in Turkey in 2014 and Their Share in Total.

Label	Number of bandrols	Share in total
DMC	748.376	10%
Avrupa Music	459.311	6,5%
Sony Music	430.748	6%
Kalan Music	262.483	3,7%
Emre Music	220.776	3%
Jet Music	197.271	2,7%
Seyhan Music	191.756	2,65%
Poll Production	176.308	2,5%
Esen Music	130.352	2%
Total of 9 labels	2.817.381	39%
Total of 318 labels	7.174.810	

Source: MÜ-YAP, 2015.

Among these nine labels - and with the exception of Kalan Music, Esen Music and Jet Music - the success of these companies, which carry out the production of standard mainstream pop music albums predominantly, can be explained (at least partly) by the amount of media exposure their artists get on especially mainstream radio and music TV as will be shown below. The sales success of Kalan Music, the repertoire of which is composed of folk songs

¹⁶³ Emre Music was established in 1970 by Hüseyin Emre. (Source: www.emreplak.com.tr)

¹⁶⁴ Jet Music was established by Aziz Çorluk and Murat Çorluk in 1984. (Source: <https://www.turkticaret.net/Firma/2423/jet.plak.kaset.yapim.dagsantictldsti>)

¹⁶⁵ Seyhan Music was established in 1987 by Bülent Seyhan. The company has a distribution branch and retail stores in İstanbul as well. (Source: www.seyhanmuzik.com)

¹⁶⁶ Poll Production was established by Polat Yağcı in 1996. (Source: www.pollproduction.com)

¹⁶⁷ Esen Music was established in 1969 and it also has a distribution branch. (Source: www.esenmuzik.com)

originated from various ethnic backgrounds and historical recordings, is partly due to its collaboration with TV-series production companies. Hasan Saltık told me during my interview with him that Kalan Music produces the soundtracks of a number of well-known TV series which serve as promotion platforms of its artists (Hasan Saltık, in-depth interview, July 2016). Additionally, Kalan Music (re)produces and sells the albums of established artists such as Neşet Ertaş, Grup Yorum and Fikret Kızılok whose physical albums are demanded by a certain number of listeners in each and every era. The successes of Jet Music and Esen Music also depend on their keeping the (re)production rights of established artists such as Zeki Müren (Jet), Hakkı Bulut (Jet), Arif Sağ (Esen), Ahmet Özhan (Esen), Aşık Veysel (Esen) and Kenan Doğulu (Esen).

4.1.2 Digital Music Listening

According to Internet Live Stats, 51% of the total population of Turkey in 2014¹⁶⁸ are internet users and according to Turkish Statistical Institution 58.7% of the internet users use the internet for playing and downloading games, images, films or music in the same year.¹⁶⁹ This means that less than 30% of the total population used (legal or illegal) digital music services to download and/or stream music in Turkey as of 2014, but these shares are presumably much higher in western parts of the country and growing continuously. Moreover, the results of the survey carried out within the scope of this dissertation (the sample of which is composed of individuals with a certain amount of internet literacy) has shown that the internet sites such as Youtube, İzlesene etc. are the most popular platforms through which new music is discovered (22% of the individuals who participated in the survey declared that the internet is a medium through which they learn about new music).

In order to make an analysis regarding the diversity of the most popular songs on the internet/mobile platforms, data provided by MÜYORBİR for 2014

¹⁶⁸ Source: Internet Live Stats (www.internetlivestats.com)

¹⁶⁹ Source: TURKSTAT ICT Usage Survey on Households and Individuals, 2014.

were used. The data include the 493 Turkish songs most frequently downloaded and/or streamed via various digital platforms in 2014. Among these 493 songs, 402 (82%) are recent pop or pop/rock songs which were released by a major record label. The majors that are dominating the digital lists are DMC, Avrupa Music, Sony Music, Emre Music, Seyhan Music, Poll Production and Dokuz Sekiz Music (DSM)¹⁷⁰ –ranking 15th on physical sales lists with 77,406 bandrols. Of the remaining 91 songs that are not recently released pop songs, 40 are nostalgic pop songs and Anatolian pop songs (which were released by major record labels as well) such as songs of Sezen Aksu, Sertab Erener, Levent Yüksel, Tarkan, MFÖ, Özdemir Erdoğan, Barış Manço and Erkin Koray which were released in the 1990s and in the first half of the 2000s). Among these 40 songs, only 1 (Med Cezir by Levent Yüksel) has a ranking better than 100th, and Tarkan is the one with the highest number of songs (14 songs) in the list. Of the 91 songs, 13 are songs of Ahmet Kaya (the ranking of his most frequently downloaded/streamed song is 144); 32 songs are representatives of THM, TSM and arabesque (Sibel Can, Adem Gümüşkaya, Coşkun Direk ft. Sibel Pamuk, Ebru Gündeş, Yıldız Tilbe, Kibariye, Müslüm Gürses, İbrahim Tatlıses, Kıvrırcık Ali, Kazım Koyuncu, Şevval Sam, Neşet Ertaş, Selçuk Balcı and Sinan Özen), 5 of which have a ranking better than 100th (2 songs of Sibel Can, 1 song of Adem Gümüşkaya –which is a song written by Gümüşkaya and officially released with the performance of Sibel Can - 1 song by Ebru Gündeş and 1 by Coşkun Direk ft. Sibel Pamuk). It should be emphasized that all these are artists of major labels. There are only 6 songs released by labels other than majors on the list; 2 of these songs are rap songs by Sagapo Kajmer (released by Melankolia Music) - one ranking 200th and the other 452nd. One is a standard pop song by Bahadır Tatlıöz released by 3 Adım Music¹⁷¹ - ranking 260th; 3 musically alternative pop songs released by small/medium record labels (Eksik Bir Şey mi var? by Ezginin Günlüğü - ranking 304th, Kör Heves by Ceylan Ertem & Mabel Matiz - ranking 314th - and Hoşgeldin by Hüsnü Arkan - ranking 396th).

¹⁷⁰ DSM was established by Ahmet Çelenk and İsa Görgülü in 2002. (Source: www.dokuzsekiz.com.tr).

¹⁷¹ A company established by a mainstream pop artist, Gökhan Türkmen.

The data show again that the seemingly open environment provided by the internet has not (yet) led to a rise in the artists of small/medium scale companies and an increased amount of diversity among the most preferred songs. Such an end result is partly caused by the algorithms of digital platforms allowing only the most popular artists and their songs to come to the forefront, and partly by the power of major record companies on the internet based on their artists' already existing fan bases and the budget shared for internet advertising as discussed in Chapter 2 above.

Moreover, major record labels form digital coalitions such as Netd and VEVO, through which they promote the video clips of the artists of their own. The digital popularity of the artists whose albums are included in these coalitions increases the visibility of a newly released song by a member firm. This is a crucial example of the creation of 'digital mainstreams' by the dominant actors of the traditional music industry.

4.1.3 Music Aired on Radio and TV

Radio is listened to in around 50% of the households in Turkey according to National Radio Broadcasters Association (URYAD)¹⁷² reports; 92% of the participants of the survey conducted for this dissertation declared that they listen to radio at least occasionally, and 15% of the participants declared that radio and TV are among the platforms they learn about new music.

Data provided by MÜYORBİR (for 2014) based on the monitoring of 101 different radio and TV stations include 265 songs aired on these stations with the highest frequency. Among these 265 songs, 3 are of arabesque/TSM artists (2 songs of Sibel Can – ranking 97th and 235th - and 1 song of Kibariye – ranking 144th). It should be underlined that the arrangements of these 3 songs are closed to pop music, and furthermore the song performed by Kibariye is a re-arranged version of a popular pop/rock song (Sil Baştan, written and priorly performed by Şebnem Ferah). 1 song is of Bülent Ortaçgil – ranking 114th - 1 song of Mert Tümay –

¹⁷² RATEM: Association of National Radio and TV Broadcasters.

ranking 252nd - who is an alternative pop artist released by Doğulu Productions (a record label owned by popular artists Kenan Doğulu and Ozan Doğulu), 4 examples of standard pop music which have been released by small/medium scale labels (2 songs of Bahadır Tatlıöz released by 3 Adım Music – ranking 85th and 248th -, 1 song by Gökhan Akar – ranking 183rd - released by Mag Music and 1 song by Beşir Bayraktar – ranking 199th. The remaining 256 (97%) songs are mainstream standard pop songs released by major record labels (252 being the songs of established artists).

The statistics indicate that almost all of the top 265 songs - which are the songs released by the major record labels and performed by the major artists - are also preferred by the free will of the listeners on digital platforms. This means that the listeners' preferences are influenced by the promotion processes carried out for these songs on multiple platforms (including both the traditional media and digital platforms).

It should be noted that the data provided for the digital platforms and for radio and TV correspond to each other to a great extent. That is to say, the songs that are aired the most on radio and TV are the ones that are listened to on the digital platforms with a high frequency as well. There are only a small number of exceptional songs which were preferred on the internet although they were not aired on radio and TV in 2014. Nevertheless, a great portion of these exceptions are the mainstream songs of the past.

Data provided in the three subsections above (including the sales, radio-TV and digital data) have shown that Turkish music industry is no different than that of the world in terms of its oligopolistic structure. A small number of (7) record labels (with a 32% share of the physical recording market), most of which concentrate on the production of mainstream pop music, dominate the whole market not only in its traditional structure (i.e. the physical sales) but also the digital music market. The findings offered in this section as a result of an evaluation of the secondary data, will also be shown to be valid using the survey results. In other words, the survey results, which will be detailed in the next sections, also confirm that the majority of the music listeners in Turkey listen to the music frequently aired on radio and TV

as well as on their own initiatives. The ongoing manipulative power of the mainstream music industry on the seemingly independent decisions of listeners necessitates the development of policies inclusive of the mainstream media. (See the Conclusion for a detailed discussion.)



CHAPTER 5
THE MUSIC INDUSTRY IN TURKEY TODAY:
A LONG WAY TO DIVERSITY

5.1 THREE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RELATED HYPOTHESES

There are three focuses of this study regarding which three research questions have been formalized. The first question is related to the consumed diversity, the others are related to the produced diversity and the functioning of the mainstream music media –which is expected to be the main determinant of the difference between the produced and consumed diversity. As mentioned before, a backward approach is adopted and the consumption side is handled first.

First research question and related hypotheses are as follows:

RQ 1: What type(s) of music do the people living in Turkey prefer and what are the factors that determine their preferences?

Hypotheses related to RQ1:

H1.1: There exists a (large) group of people living in Turkey who like and listen (only) to the music promoted on the mainstream music media.

H1.2: Familiarity caused by repeated exposure is a significant determinant of the liking of a certain type of music.

H1.3: Majority of the mainstream music likers are not aware of the alternatives of pop music (which are especially available on the digital media). i.e., availability of high level of diversity on the internet doesn't turn into a corresponding amount of consumed diversity for majority of the listeners.

H1.4: The listeners who are not aware of the alternatives are potential likers of the alternatives (i.e. they have a tendency to like the alternatives).

H1.5: There exists a group of listeners who are dissatisfied with the music broadcasted on the mainstream media and who actively look for alternatives of pop music and develop preferences for the existing alternatives.

The second research question is related to the mainstream media which is hypothesized (and shown in the next section) to be significantly correlated with what the majority of the listeners like and listen to.

RQ2: What are the working dynamics of the mainstream music media in Turkey?

The second research question can be detailed in the following sub-questions:

- How do the mainstream music media authorities decide which songs to broadcast and what are the consequences of this selection mechanism in terms of the diversity of the music broadcasted and produced?

And the last research question is on the alternative music scene, i.e. the alternative pop music artists and their productions, which are presumably the main source of diversity in the pop music industry.

RQ3: What are the working dynamics of the alternative music market?

This question can be detailed with the following sub-questions:

- What do the internet and the alternative radio and music TV channels offer to the alternative performers and their music?
- What are the problems faced and strategies adopted by the independent performers and small/medium scale record companies who work with alternative performers in order to survive in the music industry?

The first research question will be investigated in section 5.2 by testing the related hypotheses using the results of an internet survey which has been conducted within the scope of this dissertation with 1,715 people living in Turkey, after reviewing the related studies in the literature.

In sections 5.3 and 5.4, the second and third research questions will be tried to be answered based on in-depth interviews conducted with sector representatives and desk research.

5.2 MUSICAL PREFERENCES OF THE SOCIETY (MUSIC CONSUMPTION IN TURKEY)

Before analyzing the results of the survey carried out under the scope of this dissertation for the case of Turkey, the theoretical discussions and empirical studies related to cultural/musical consumption will be reviewed in the following section.

5.2.1 Theories on Cultural Consumption and Social Stratification: Homology, Omnivore/Univore, Individualization

The prominent theories on the cultural (and musical) consumption preferences are based on the examination of whether/how the cultural consumption patterns in a society are associated with any kind of social stratification. There are three different approaches that stand out in the literature in this regard: the homology thesis of Pierre Bourdieu, the cultural omnivore/univore thesis and the post-modern individualization thesis.

Bourdieu explains the sociology of lifestyles with a theoretical model - which he calls “the distinction” - in which there is a homology between the fields of cultural practices of different types and the space of social positions. The individuals holding certain positions in the society (i.e. coming from certain social groups) prefer certain types of cultural practices while individuals holding other positions prefer different types of practices. Furthermore, an individual from a certain social group feels not only a “taste” for the kind of cultural activities which correspond to his/her own group, but also a “distaste” for the activities of other groups (Bourdieu, 1984). More specifically, there are groups in the society with different levels of cultural, educational and economic capital and these levels determine the social positioning of individuals. The individuals with higher levels of capital (i.e. the individuals with higher social positions) have high-brow tastes (for instance, they like classical music) and they have a distaste for low-brow cultural practices (for instance, they dislike pop music). On the other hand, the individuals with lower social positions have a taste for low-brow cultural activities

whereas they have a distaste for high-brow activities. Bourdieu made his analyses based on an empirical study in which he surveyed the French society in the 1960s. He used the method of Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) “which allows one to analyze the pattern of relationships of several categorical variables” (Abdi & Valentin, 2007: 651) on a two- or three- dimensional map. By using MCA, different kinds of behaviors/tastes/distastes are evaluated as to whether they are common responses of a certain class in a society by looking at the positioning of the categorical variables (which represent those responses) on the map. If the MCA positions two variables close to each other, then it can be argued that a member of the society who displays the behavior/taste represented by one of these variables will also display the behavior/taste represented by the other variable with a high probability. Even though another method (namely the LCA) started to be used predominantly in related studies coming after Bourdieu’s because of its statistical advantages over MCA (as will be explained below), it should be underlined that Bourdieu brought an initiative to the MCA model in a theoretical and philosophical sense, which makes his work the most fundamental one in the literature.

Bourdieu’s model has been criticized by many authors who argued that it would only be valid for a particular period of western societies and can hardly be transposed to other contexts. Correspondingly, the model was disproved in a number of more recent studies.

The most radical opposition to Bourdieu’s homology theory, namely the individualism, has come from the supporters of the “post-modernity thesis” who claim that based on the diversity of the available cultural messages, the lifestyles of individuals are identified independently from the criteria of class, cultural capital or economic capital (Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1991; Slater 1997; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005), and even from any structural grounding such as age and gender (Bauman, 2002). Beck argued in the beginning of the 1990s that the influence of class and status on any kind of social action, formation of lifestyles and cultural consumption had started to decline (Beck, cited in Chan 2010). According to Giddens (1991), based on improved standards of living, increased social mobility

and “growing awareness of alternative social bases of identity” started to free individuals from the constraints of class (Giddens, 1991: 80).

The third of the most prominent arguments regarding the stratification of a society in terms of its members’ cultural/musical preferences is the thesis of omnivore/univore. The omnivore/univore hypothesis, originally suggested by Di Maggio (1987) and further developed by Peterson & Simkus (1992) on the musical tastes of the US population, supports the idea that the diversity of the preferences is the main criterion of social distinction rather than the access to highbrow culture. Since then, evidence was found in many studies for the idea that the people coming from higher status groups of a society (i.e. people with higher levels of education, cultural capital, economic capital, etc.) tend to be characterized by the variety of their cultural practices and tastes (including both high-brow and low-brow practices) in the US and in Europe, whereas working classes tend to be more univore - engaging in the popular cultural practices only. Some examples of such studies are Peterson and Kern (1996) and Bryson (1996) for the case of the US, Prietro-Rodriguez and Fernandez-Blanco (2000) for the case of Spain, Van Eijck (2001) for the case of Netherlands, Coulangeon (2005) for the case of France, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005 and 2007) for the case of the UK and Favaro and Frateschi (2007) for the case of Italy.

As for the methodology, a great portion of the recent cultural consumption studies use LCA instead of MCA. LCA is a statistical method used to identify latent groups in a population (if they exist) - membership of which cannot be measured directly - looking at the outcomes of observed categorical variables (Vermut & Magidson, 2004). Although LCA can be counted as a substitute of MCA in general, the most prominent advantage of it over MCA is its ability to identify the class¹⁷³ membership of each observation in the sample, which allows the researcher to conduct regression analyses at the next stage. Moreover, as the basic characteristic of MCA is its displaying the results of analysis as a visual map, the level of usefulness of the method diminishes for the cases that cannot be explained within

¹⁷³ The term class is used (in association with the LCA methodology) to indicate the groups in the society without any relation to concept of class in the above mentioned theoretical discussions.

2-3 dimensions. Just as the studies mentioned above which used LCA based on the above reasoning, LCA will be preferred over MCA for the scope of this dissertation.

Nevertheless, the dominance of the LCA over MCA in the studies dealing with cultural consumption does not mean that the latter is totally ignored after Bourdieu. A number of authors who preferred to make a visual analysis and whose area of study and the variables they worked with allowed them to end up with significant low dimensional results preferred to use MCA in their researches. For instance, Gayo- Cal, Savage & Warde (2006) have used MCA to put forth a visual map of cultural practices of people living in the UK and found results which remained between homology and omnivore/univore theories (i.e. homology thesis is valid for some of the cultural practices whereas omnivore/univore argument is valid for others).

Rankin, Ergin & Gökşen (2011) also used the method of Bourdieu in their study carried out on the cultural consumption in Turkey. Initially, they conducted a survey in which they asked the participants about their tastes (like/dislike) related to different types of cultural forms in different fields (music, film, literature, television and food/cuisine) and their participation in some cultural activities (such as visiting museums, going out to eat, going to the cinema, etc.). The MCA results indicate that the society is clearly classified according to their cultural preferences in three groups.

The first one is the group of people who like (omnivourously) the cosmopolitan musical genres (such as classical music, foreign pop music and jazz), high-brow literary genres (such as modern, world, science, history and politics) and engage frequently in activities like eating out. They do not feel any distaste for local cultural forms (such as Turkish pop music, folk music, arabesque and *Özgün* music) and moreover they declare that they like some of the local popular forms. This group is made up of people with the highest income and education levels in the society and a secular identity.

The second group is the one with a clear liking of local traditional cultural forms and a dislike for cosmopolitan/modern forms. The members of this group are older compared to the first group and have a predominant tendency to participate in

religious activities. According to the authors' estimation, this group approximately applies to 30-40 % of the Turkish population.

The third group in the Turkish society as suggested by Rankin, Ergin and Gökçen (2011) consists of people whose level of engagement with both cosmopolitan and local cultural forms are very low. They either don't know about or are not interested in any of these genres/activities.

5.2.2 Additional Studies on Musical Preferences

Other studies in the literature which make analyses regarding the determinants of musical preferences based on multivariate regression models are briefly overviewed below.

Social status (based on level of education, level of income and occupation) has been found to be significantly influential on the music preferences not only in the studies discussed above (which make a clustering/categorization analysis prior to the regression analyses) but also in studies in which the influence of these variables have been tested on the liking of specific genres (instead of on being a member of a priorly determined group) (see Hargreaves, Comber & Colley, 1995; İmik, 2007).

Abeles & Chung (1996) discriminate between short-term and long-term musical preferences and argue that the mood, physical and cognitive stimuli are the determinants of short-term preferences whereas the level of intelligence, personality, age, gender, race, past musical experience, education level and social factors are the determinants of long-term musical preferences. So, they confirm the validity of significant influence of the variables discussed frequently in other studies only for the long run.

Properties of a musical piece such as complexity, novelty, tempo, rhythm, melodic structure and timbre have also been claimed to be influential on the likeability of that piece in a number of studies (Heyduk, 1975; Wapnick, 1976; Konenci, 1982; Hargreaves & Castell, 1987; Burke & Gridley, 1990; Le Blanc, Colman, Mc Cray, Sherrill & Malin, 1988; Brittin, 1991; Burnsed, 1998; Gregory,

cited in Witchel 2010).

Keston & Pinto (1955) and Geringer (1982) on the other hand assess the impact of music education on musical preferences and conclude that classical music is preferred more by individuals with a significant amount of music education. Individuals who are amateur music performers are also shown to have different musical preference patterns than the ones who are mere listeners (Furman & Duke, 1988).

The influence of authority views on the likeability of a song or musical genre is validated by Alpert (1982) and Silva & Silva (2008). The authors emphasize the manipulative power of teachers, DJs and music writers on the music preferences of listeners. Influence of family and friends were found to be significant by Hargreaves, Miell & MacDonald (2002) and Zillman & Gan (1997).

Le Blanc corresponds musical preferences with age in the model he developed in the 1980s. He argues that people undergo changes in different periods of their lives in terms of their openness to new musical genres. An individual is more tolerant to novelties in music in his/her childhood but the level of tolerance diminishes during adolescence. The level of openness partially increases during adulthood while some genres are excluded from the personal repertoire again at older ages (Şenel, 2014). Other studies such as Smith (1994), Hargreaves, Comber & Colley (1995), Le Blanc, Sims, Sivola & Obert (1996) and Le Blanc, Jin, Stamou & Mc Cray (1998) also investigate the relationship between age and musical preferences and come up with a significant correlation.

Influence of gender on the musical preferences has been put forth by Le Blanc & Cote (1983), Killian (1990), Hargreaves, Comber & Colley (1995), O'Neill (1997), Russell (1997), Le Blanc, Jin, Stamou & Mc Cray (1998) and Boer, Fischer, Strack, Bond, Lo & Lam (2011), while that of race has been put forth by McCrary (1993), Morrison (1998), Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow (2009), Gay (2000) and Radocy & Boyle (2012).

The impact of different personality traits on the musical preferences have also been analyzed by several researchers and characteristics such as conservatism (Gay, 2000), extraversion (Delsing, Bogt, Engels & Meeus, 2008; Rawlings &

Ciancarelli, 1997), or openness to experiences (Delsing et. al., 2008; Dollinger, 1993; Rentfrow & Gosling 2003) have been argued to be correlated with music preferences. Identity has also been shown to be influential on musical preferences (Hebdige, 1995; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Le Blanc, Jin, Stamou & Mc Cray, 1998; Hall & Jefferson, 2006; Santos, 2012).

Witchel (2010) has argued that one's response to a musical piece is shaped by three dimensions which interrelate with each other: the social milieu, favorite emotions and aural expectations. Both the social milieu and aural expectations are related to the familiarity in music. This concept is explained by Şenel (2014) as acculturation based on learning (consciously or unconsciously) certain musical structures, symbols and expressions. That is to say, a listener has a higher tendency to like songs with familiar musical structures.

The influence of mainstream media on the musical preferences have been discussed by Russell (1997), Zillman & Gan (1997), Hargreaves, Miell & MacDonald (2002) and Lorenzo, Herrera & Cremades (2011). The authors have come to the conclusion that the media has a manipulative power on what is preferred to be listened to by a majority of the audiences, and as a result most of the music listeners are deprived of the genres/songs that are not aired on the mainstream media.

There are other researchers who have created comprehensive models to explain the music preference behaviors of individuals. These models – which are formulated as outputs of a number of regression analyses themselves - have been taken as guiding patterns in formulating the hypotheses of some of the above mentioned studies. The first of the prominent models is the Lens Model of Juslin & Laukka (2004). According to the model, the characteristics of music used and implemented by the composer (such as pitch, rhythm and melodic structure) and the performer (such timbre, articulation and sound level) are sources of interaction with the music listeners. The listener develops an emotional response (such as happiness, sadness, etc) when he/she listens to a piece of music, and based on these emotions, the likeability of that piece is determined. But it should be kept in mind that the emotional response of a listener to characteristics of music are highly

associated with how these characteristics were coded in the perception mechanism of the listener before. That is to say, these responses are not independent of social factors (including the impositions of the media) which are influential on the formation of such codes.

Prince's Music Listening Model is a more comprehensive one which takes into consideration more variables as potential determinants of musical preferences. According to this model, personality traits, musical education and experience, musical memory and other musical skills together with social factors and level of education determine the level of interest of an individual for certain musical genres. This level of interest and additionally the images, experiential relationships, mood and perception about the musical elements such as rhythm, melody, etc. shape the musical preferences (Prince, cited in Erdal 2009).

The last model to be mentioned here is the one developed by LeBlanc which has been referred to by many other authors in their studies on music preferences. LeBlanc's model has the largest scale in terms of the determinant factors of preferences. The model explains the impact of personal characteristics (musical skill, aural sensitivity, music education, personality, gender, ethnic background, socio-economic conditions, maturity and memory), social milieu (friends, family and authority figures), media and properties of the musical piece (technical properties, complexity, quality of the performance) together with actual emotional conditions on the development of interest, which then determines the preference decision. LeBlanc additionally emphasizes that repetition has a positive impact on the interest.

A crucial point to be addressed regarding a great portion of the determinants which have been shown to be significantly influential on musical preferences is their association with familiarity. The factors other than the ones which are totally personal (the personality traits, gender, etc.) can be argued to be related to familiarity to a certain extent. For example, the high level of media exposure to certain genres generates familiarity among the listeners, the social milieu one is living in generates familiarity for certain genres (which are frequently listened to in that milieu), and music education and experience related to certain musical forms

generate familiarity for those forms. Thus, it can be claimed that an undeniable reason for the significant influence of the aforementioned variables is the concept of familiarity which is generated as a result of repeated exposure.

The existence of a significant influence of mainstream music media (by creating familiarity through repetition) on the musical preferences is one of the primary hypotheses of this dissertation. Thus, a section is shared for the impact of repetition on the musical preferences in order to discuss the theoretical background of the issue.

5.2.2.1 Repetition as a Factor in Formation of Musical Preferences

Before overviewing the literature on the relationship between repetition and musical preferences, it should be emphasized that there are three types of repetition in music:

- Repetition of parts within a song,
- Repetition/re-listening of a whole song,
- Repetition of structural properties in different songs.

I will make a separate assessment for each of these 3 types of repetition, keeping in mind that the second and third types are more relevant for the scope of this dissertation.

When the first type of repetition (repetition of parts within a song) is considered it can be said that almost all songs, created all over the world at any time in history, include repeating parts (rhythmic, melodic and/or harmonic). Especially popular music songs (including all subcategories such as pop, rock, jazz, etc.) are based to a high degree on repetition of riffs¹⁷⁴, words, melodies, etc. Repetition is a property of composition which is not disregarded even in classical music. There surely exist experimental works by various artists in which they deliberately kept away from repetition, yet even Schoenberg – one of the most avant-garde composers who intended to break the established rules of Western classical music

¹⁷⁴ A short repeated musical phrase in popular music and jazz (Source: oxforddictionaries.com).

– admitted, “Intelligibility in music seems to be impossible without repetition” (Schoenberg, 1967).

The basic reason why repetition is used as widespread within songs must be it being the ultimate component of a song that makes it to be perceived as ‘musical’. In other words, repetition is what discriminates a song from a random sequence of notes at the listeners’ perception level. Two separate studies conducted by Margulis support the mentioned idea. In the first study, she played to people samples of works of composers such as Luciano Berio and Elliott Carter who deliberately avoided repetitiveness in their work. During the experiment, some of these samples had been digitally rearranged, that is to say certain parts of the samples had been taken and reinserted within the samples. As a result, listeners in the study consistently rated the rearranged versions – which featured repetition - as “more enjoyable, more interesting, and more likely to have been composed by a human artist rather than randomly generated by a computer” (Margulis, 2014:15). More interestingly, not only the ordinary listeners who took part in the experiment, but also the music experts to which Margulis presented the samples and findings of this experiment at the annual meeting of the Society for Music Theory in 2011, found the rearranged versions more convincing in sounding like a composition (Margulis, 2014). In the second experiment, Margulis presented to listeners randomly generated sequences of notes in one of two conditions: original or looped. As a result, the listeners consistently reported that the looped versions sounded more musical (Margulis, 2014). These experiments are demonstrative about the role of repetition in listeners’ making sense of music. “Repetition is a powerful and often underacknowledged aesthetic operative” (Margulis, 2014:16).

Besides all other styles (such as classical music, jazz music and classical Turkish music), pop music is over-dependent on within-song repetition. The rationale behind this over-dependence is beyond the nearly necessary existence of repetition in a song to be perceived as musical. It is directly related to pop music’s being ruled by an industry which is organized around a profit maximization motive. i.e., pop music is a pure product of capitalist mode of production. The way to maximize profits in the music industry (where the marginal cost of production is

close to zero), is to maximize sales. And it can best be done by offering easily understandable and easily memorized, catchy songs addressing the majority of individuals who have at least an ordinary level of musical perception. Accordingly, in almost all pop songs, the verse and especially the chorus parts are repeated several times in order to catch the interest of the listener and to create earworms¹⁷⁵. Repetition facilitates the listener's interest response – which is an important part of the emotional response to music (Silvia, 2006).

In my opinion, which is also validated by the in-depth interviews I carried out during the course of this dissertation, the over-use of within-song repetition in pop music is something determined externally by the industry. It is not because pop music is inferior by its nature as Adorno and other critical theorists argue. Pop music has the potential of being at least as creative and diversified as other genres. Moreover, in my opinion, the internal structure/organization of a single song – no matter how simple it is, how many repetitions it includes, etc. - is nothing to be criticized. What I am critical of is repeating of this structure in most of the songs in pop music and the repetition of only the songs of the same structural standards on the mainstream music media. These are related to the 2nd and 3rd types of repetition I listed above (p. 192).

One of the primary claims of this dissertation is related to the second type of repetition (repetition/re-listening of a whole song): The likeability of a piece of music increases if the listener is repeatedly exposed to that piece and that the mainstream music industry makes use of this fact while promoting the songs of certain artists. In this section, this claim is tried to be fit on a theoretical ground.

The discussion on the effect of repetition (of a musical piece) on likeability of music can be traced back to the mere exposure effect theory (which is also known as the familiarity principle) put forth by Zajonc in 1968. The psychological experiments carried out by Zajonc showed that if an individual is exposed to a stimulus for several times and gets familiar to it, he/she develops a positive attitude

¹⁷⁵ Earworm is a catchy piece of music which repeats continuously in one's mind even when the song is no longer playing. It helps to generate a sense of identification with the song and makes it easier for the listener to sing/move along with that song.

towards it even when the exposures are unconscious. Additional experiments by Zajonc showed that the effect reaches its maximum between 10-20 presentations of the stimulus. So, there is a non-linear relationship between exposure and enjoyment according to Zajonc (1968).

The discussion regarding the effect of repeated exposure on attitude was extended to the area of music by a number of researchers. In 1966, Jakobovits found a non-linear relationship between exposure and pleasure from music. According to his analysis, the liking of a song increases by increased familiarity with it up to some point, and then starts to decrease (Jakobovits, cited in Margulis 2014). In another study by Szpunar et al. (2004), the non-linear relationship between the familiarity of music and the liking of it, was identified once more.

One explanation for a decreasing pleasure after a certain amount of exposure may be the boredom effect. People love to hear familiar songs, but at the same time they love novelty in music (Pachet et al., 1999). This trait may result in finding a song boring after hearing it so many times. But the boredom effect is a less robust phenomenon in the literature in terms of significant empirical evidence (Green, 2007). Anyhow, trying to measure boredom in a laboratory setting (which is used in many of the mentioned experiments) is not fair enough, as getting bored of listening to a musical piece over and over in a limited time in a laboratory may point out a short-term boredom only and may not mean that the piece has actually become less likeable to the listener.

There exist also studies in the literature that put forth not a non-linear but a constantly positive relationship between familiarity and liking of music. Experiments by Hare (1959), Getz (1966), and North & Hargreaves (1995) all concluded with such a positive relationship. Pereira et al. (2011) found a positive linear relationship if the listening is incidental, and a non-linear relationship if the listening is focused. However, the time spent on focused listening is very limited especially in our era. Thus, even when there is a decreasing pattern of pleasure after a certain amount of listening in focused listening, one won't usually have the time to spend that long on focused listening. Most often, people listen to music as a secondary practice while dealing with something else – which is incidental

listening. Even if Pereira et al.'s findings are valid, the boredom effect is not relevant too much for today's music listening habits.

In the in-depth interviews I carried out with listeners (prior to the implementation of the survey), a small number of interviewees reported that they got bored of listening to the songs of some artists – even for incidental listening - whom they once liked a lot. However, this is the response of a minority, and there were many instances where participants reported songs that they have been listening for years without getting bored. This finding has been confirmed by the survey results as well. The subgenre of pop music which I call “established pop” and which includes the songs released and which became popular in the 1990s and 2000s is the one that is liked and/or listened to by all groups of music listeners (the details will be explained in section 5.2.3.1). That is to say, there are several songs in pop music (which can be counted as legendary songs) which the listeners never get bored of.

Although the absolute validity of boredom effect is doubtful, I believe that there exists a satiation effect of repeated exposure. The pleasure will not increase with each additional exposure indefinitely. When the listener reaches a certain amount of familiarity with a song, the pleasure presumably stays constant from that point on. Satiation effect was put forth by an experiment conducted by Peretz, Gaudreau and Bonnel (1998). In the experiment, the participants reported a level of liking for the songs they were familiar with and that level did not change after a number of repeated exposures.

No matter whether the exposure effect turns into satiation/boredom or not, what is important is the increased liking of the songs in the initial stages of repetition. Because, today's music industry operates so fast that it doesn't allow for any satiation/boredom effect even if they existed in the long run.

The positive relationship between exposure and liking reveals in the following way: listeners start to get familiar with a song after a number of exposures and familiarity leads to liking of the song. Heyduk (1975) argues that repetition makes a musical piece less unpredictable, and the familiarity created by repeated exposure makes the music less complex, easier to understand and more preferable.

In Adorno's words, "repetition is transformed into recognition (which is equivalent to familiarity) and recognition is transformed into acceptance". This transformation process is ensured by the industry through "plugging" (Adorno, 2002: 452). Plugging, in its narrow meaning, is "the ceaseless repetition of one particular hit" (especially by radios) "in order to make it successful" (Adorno, 2002: 447). Adorno uses plugging also in its broader meaning which is much more related to the 3rd type of repetition I listed above (p. 192), hence I will be referring to it in the following subsection.

Adorno says, "Provided the material fulfills certain minimum requirements, any given song can be plugged and made a success, if there is adequate tie-up between publishing houses, name bands, radio and moving pictures." (Adorno, 2002: 447). I substantially agree with this statement. Most, if not all, of the popular songs are made a success to some extent by being plugged by radios. There surely are exceptions that are unsuccessful, and differences between the success levels of different songs that are plugged equally. That is to say there are factors other than repetition that are determinant in the likeability of a song, such as the personal characteristics of the listener (whether he/she is open to experience, knowledge about different styles, etc.), situation/context (whether the song is heard in a club, wedding etc.), intrinsic features of the music (including structure, style, content) (Margulis, 2014), subjective complexity (North & Hargreaves, 1995), etc. The impact of a number of these factors are also tested in the analyses carried out in the next section. But as far as I am concerned, repetition is the factor that deserves special attention especially because of its use as a manipulative tool by the industry to shape the musical preferences of the individuals.

The type of re-listening on radios (and public places such as cafes, clubs, etc.) is involuntary re-listening. It's also very common that individuals return to their favorite songs again and again voluntarily. Using data from Billboard Celebrity news in the 1990s, David Huron estimated that five albums in the typical listener's collection accounted for around 90 per cent of their voluntary listening repertoire (Huron, 2006). I also found evidence for widespread voluntary re-listening as a result of the in-depth interviews I conducted with listeners during this

study. Almost all of my interviewees reported that they have specific songs in the playlists of their mp3 players that they listen to again and again, and/or they search on Youtube and similar sites to re-listen frequently. But, my hypothesis is that the playlists of the mainstream radios are highly influential on the voluntary listening behavior of the majority of the listeners (evidence based on survey results will be proposed in the next section).

One explanation for the increased likeability of a song after a number of re-listening comes from Pereira et al. (2011) who discovered in their experiments that emotion-related limbic and paralimbic regions of the brain and reward circuitry were more active for familiar music than unfamiliar music; hence, familiarity is crucial in engaging people emotionally with music. This type of response of the brain is valid for both liked and unliked music. This means that a person who dislikes a song during the first listening might dislike it more after re-listening to it a number of times. For instance, most of the listeners I interviewed reported that they overtly hated some types of music and they cannot bear to hear songs of that type again and again. This may be the result of their brains' emotional activation in the negative sense as a response to re-listening to a song (or a genre). But on the other hand, if a person is exposed to a new song about which he/she feels neutral, after getting familiar with the song, his/her brain develops positive emotions especially if the song has some similar properties with other songs he/she likes (Pereira et al., 2011).

All of the listeners I interviewed and 93% of the survey participants reported that they liked a song more after a number of re-listening (at least occasionally), except the ones of their 'hated' genres. And the radio programmers I interviewed told me about the system of playlist generation used by all mainstream radios. According to this system, any song which is added to the daily playlist of a radio is repeated 4, 6 or 8 times a day for a 1- or 2-months period. That is to say, radio programming strategies are based on the principle of plugging as the managers of these radios are aware of the impact of plugging on the success of a song (see sections 5.2 and 5.3 for a more detailed discussion).

When we come to the third type of repetition (repetition of structural properties in different songs) the arguments of Adorno can be borrowed in the first instance. According to Adorno, plugging not only means the ceaseless repetition of a song but, in its broader sense, it also “signifies a continuation of the inherent processes of composition and arrangement of the musical material” (Adorno, 2002: 447). In this respect, repetition reveals itself as the use of similar structures (melodic, harmonic, rhythmic, etc.) in almost every popular song. Adorno calls this “plugging the whole field” (Adorno, 2002: 451). This claim is totally true for today’s music industry of Turkey. There is a structural standardization of the songs aired in the mainstream radio and music TV channels. From the duration to the commonly used modes (*makam*) and from the form to the lyrical content, all songs are very similar (see section 5.3 for a more detailed discussion).

Adorno mentions that actually the promotion and distribution phases of music production are “industrial”. The creation of a song, on the other hand, “still remains in a handicraft stage” (Adorno, 2002:206). Therefore, standardization in the creation phase does not decrease the cost of production. In other words, if the various composers of hit songs did not follow certain standard patterns, the costs of production would not increase. So, other reasons for standardization should be looked for (Adorno, 2002). The validity of Adorno’s claim is debatable in today’s music industry. As a result of the technological progress an industrial dimension is added to the creation phase as well (if it didn’t become totally industrial). For instance, it is possible to create pop songs by rearranging readily available musical samples which decreases the cost of production as opposed to Adorno’s claim.

The answer comes from the positive relationship between the third type of repetition and likeability of music. The human brain responds emotionally to familiarity not only in the sense that it likes a familiar song but also it likes a song with familiar structures. The studies by scientists who evaluated the mere exposure effect theory from a broader perspective stand as evidence for this claim. As a result of their experiments, researchers such as Gordon & Holyoak (1983) and Manza & Bornstein (1995) concluded with ‘the structural mere exposure effect’, which is an expanded version of the mere exposure effect theory. In the case of music, structural

mere exposure effect means that hearing a number of songs with specific structural elements (e.g. songs of a specific style, songs with a specific rhythmic and/or melodic structure) repeatedly will not only increase liking for those songs but at the same time for other songs with the same structural elements (Green, 2007).

On the other hand Peretz, Gaudreau and Bonnel (1998) indicate in an experiment that people like familiar songs more than new songs which include structures familiar to the songs they already like. What is also claimed in this study is that although a listener may not like a new song with familiar structures as much as a completely familiar song in the first listening, those familiar structures make the new song to be liked more easily after a few exposures. That's why the music producers deliberately and consciously imitate successful pieces of music to maximize their sales (Adorno, 2002). For instance, if in a specific year R&B rhythms become famous and familiar among the public, the music producers tell the composers they work with to make songs with the same R&B rhythms. It is a structure that can be understood by an ordinary ear.

But together with this kind of a conscious imitation, there is an unconscious replication of structures by musicians as well because familiarity not only affects the preferences of consumers but also shapes the creative capacity of the composers. If a composer is not trained to know and perceive all different melodic, rhythmic and harmonic structures, then he/she will be stuck in a limited musicality. For example, if a composer is exposed to songs with *kürdi* mode all the time and does not train his ear to get familiar with other modes, every time he composes, his brain will direct him/her to create melodies in *kürdi* mode. Or it may be the case that the composer is competent enough to compose in all different modes but chooses to compose in a likeable mode on purpose. One of these happens in general in Turkish pop music. Music producers do not understand in that detail and cannot name the mode of the songs. But when they were offered a song with a *kürdi* melody, they feel unconsciously that the song has a potential to be liked by the audiences. This feeling has to do with familiarity. And actually, the same kind of familiarity turns out to have a positive impact on the likeability of the song.

“Perhaps nowhere else is the gap between what people actually know and what they *think* they know so wide as in music” (Margulis, 2014:165). This statement by Margulis is a great explanation of why a person likes songs written in a certain mode or with a certain rhythmic structure. An ordinary Turkish listener does not have the explicit knowledge of time and meter and cannot name a song to be 9/8, but he implicitly knows how a 9/8 rhythm sounds like and recognizes it as *roman havası* when he/she hears such a song. Supporting this idea, Koelsch et al. (2000) found that people without official musical training were significantly sensitive to the violation of a previously established musical context by unexpected chords. Bigand and Poulin-Charonnat (2006) provide a list of the musical abilities that are found in people without official musical training. So, an ordinary listener may not have a productive capacity but he/she has a perceptive capacity in music which is gained by familiarity. Thus, the perceptive capacity of any individual is limited by what he/she is familiar with. Turkish listeners will implicitly know how a *kürdi* melody sounds like because of the increased sense of tonal orientation gained through repetition (Krumhansl, 2010). And it is easier to sing along with a familiar mode of melody, which makes it more likeable. On the other hand, it is much more difficult for an ordinary Turkish listener to sing along with for instance, a blues scale because of the unfamiliarity of it and it may not give much pleasure to listen to a blues song.

If there is such an impact of familiarity on musical preferences, a policy to increase the level of diversity should take advantage of it. See Conclusion for detailed suggestions based on the impact of familiarity.

Musical/ear training affects the type of listening response (Bradley, 1971). Getz (1966), Kelly (1961), Hornyak (1966) and Bradley (1972) also supported the hypothesis that training and experience are highly correlated with the formation of positive attitudes, musical taste, preferences and value judgements about any genre. Thus, the implicit training should be used to the advantage of diversity. The basic problem of the music industry is its being managed by people (music producers and gatekeepers managing the music media) who are not aware what they are implicitly teaching to the audiences, are not even aware that this is a training process or do

not care even if they are aware at all. The musicians who are competent enough to create in a diversified manner and qualified listeners who are conscious enough to look for and listen to alternatives are only a minority.

5.2.3 Survey: The Musical Preferences of Turkish People (2015-2016)

Note once more that Section 5.2 comprises the literature review and my research related to the first of the three focuses of this dissertation – which is the “consumption of music”. In sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 (including its subsections), the related studies in the world have been overviewed. In this section, I will elaborate the details of my research and I will try to evaluate the findings based on the hypotheses associated with the consumption of music in Turkey - which were identified in the beginning. Then will come results of my research related to the second and third focuses of this study (which are the mainstream music media and the alternative music scene) in sections 5.3 and 5.4.

To recall, the first group of hypotheses are: 1) There exists a (large) group of people living in Turkey who like and listen (only) to the music promoted on the mainstream music media, 2) Familiarity caused by repeated exposure is a significant determinant of the liking of a certain type of music, 3) Majority of the mainstream music likers are not aware of the alternatives of pop music (which are especially available on the digital media), i.e. the availability of high level of diversity on the internet doesn't turn into a corresponding amount of consumed diversity for the majority of the listeners, 4) The listeners who are not aware of the alternatives are potential likers of the alternatives (i.e. they have a tendency to like the alternatives), 5) There exists a group of listeners who are dissatisfied with the music broadcasted on the mainstream media and who actively look for alternatives of pop music and develop preferences for the existing alternatives.

In order to test these hypotheses, a questionnaire was designed specifically for this dissertation as a result of a review of similar questionnaires conducted all

around the world¹⁷⁶ and in-depth interviews carried out with 30 music listeners living in Turkey. The survey includes questions regarding the liking/disliking of certain musical genres, awareness and liking of the alternatives of pop music, amount of time spent on listening to music via radio, internet, etc., the musical genres that are most frequently listened to on one's own initiative (i.e. via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet search), demographic characteristics, amount of time spent on mainstream media programs, musical capital, etc.¹⁷⁷ The questionnaire was applied via internet and 1,715 people living all around Turkey participated. However, as the high share of people who live in İstanbul and who have an undergraduate degree or above caused an imbalance in the sample, 515 people among the ones who live in İstanbul and who have an education at least at undergraduate level were deleted from the sample by using the random selection procedure of Excel. The remaining sample of 1,200 participants is distributed in terms of place of residence, gender, education level and age as follows:

Table 5.1 Shows the regional distribution (based on TURKSTAT's [Turkish Statistical Institution] 12-region categorization)¹⁷⁸:

¹⁷⁶ The surveys overviewed are the ones used during the studies Smith (1994), LaBlanc, Sims, Sivola & Obert (1996), Geringer (1982), Lychner (2000), Kenston and Pinto (1955), Alpert (1982), Baumann (1960), Hargreaves, Comber & Colley (1995), Le Blanc, Colman, Mc Cray, Sherrill and Malin (1988) Brittin (1991), Schuker & Mc Donald (1968), Barlett (1973), Peery and Peery (1986), LaBlanc's music preference model (as cited in Erdal 2009), Bergonzi & Smith (1996), Nagel, Ganzeboom, Haanstra, & Oud (1997), as well as the statistical works carried out by institutions like EUROSTAT, UNESCO and national statistics offices (such as UNESCO-UIS [2009], UNESCO-UIS [2012], EUROSTAT [2011], Australian Bureau of Statistics [2010], Australia Council for the Arts [2010], CONACULTA [2010], Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS] [2009/2010], Ministerio de Cultura [2002], National Arts Council [2009], National Endowment for the Arts [NEA] [2011], National Statistics Office Malta [2012], Ogrodnik [2000], Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates Inc. [2007], Statistical Research and Training Institute [2011], Statistics New Zealand [2002], Uganda Bureau of Statistics [2010], United States Census Bureau [2009], Urban Institute [2004].

¹⁷⁷ All of the survey questions can be found in the Appendix 1.

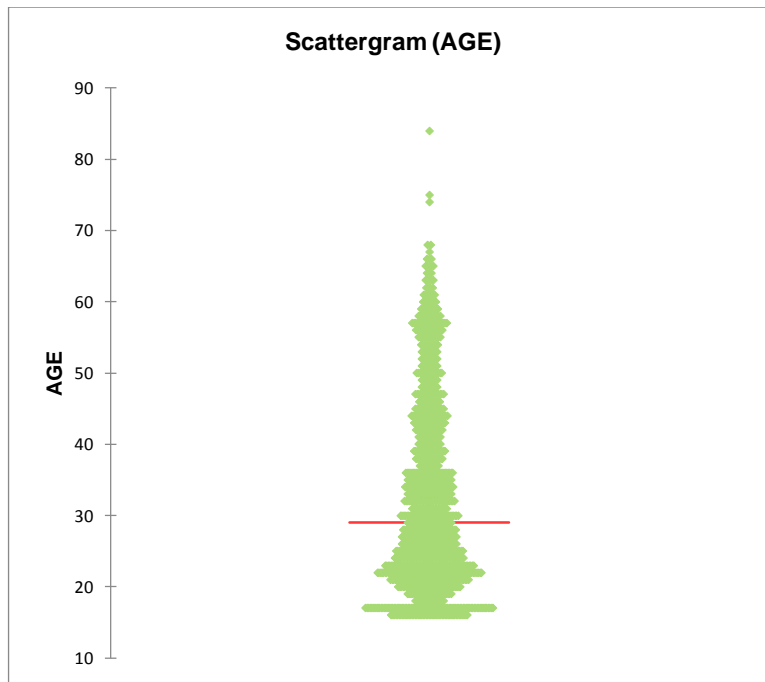
¹⁷⁸ A comparison between the regional distribution of the sample with that of Turkey is made just to give an idea, actually it is not reasonable to try to make a stratified or quota sampling because the population of the study is not the whole population of Turkey but the portion of it with a certain amount of internet literacy (which allows them to be able to listen to music via internet and to fill a questionnaire on the internet) statistics of which are not available. Thus the aim in forming the sample was to reach a certain level of variance in terms of regional, age, gender, education and income distribution rather than perfectly representing the Turkish population.

Table 5.1: Regional Distribution of the Sample

Region	Share in the sample	Share in Turkey
İstanbul	24%	19%
Mediterranean	15%	13%
West Anatolia	11%	10%
West Black Sea Region	5%	6%
West Marmara	4%	4%
East Black Sea Region	3%	3%
East Marmara	10%	10%
Aegean Region	12%	13%
South East Anatolia	8%	10%
North East Anatolia	3%	3%
Central Anatolia	3%	5%
Middle Eastern Anatolia	3%	5%

Following scattergram shows the age distribution of the sample:

Figure 5.1: Age Distribution of the Sample.



The gender distribution of the sample is as follows: 53% female 47% male.

The distribution of the sample in terms of education level can be seen in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Sample Distribution According to Level of Education.

Level of Education	Share in the Sample
Secondary school or less	29%
High school	28%
Undergraduate degree	34%
Master's degree	7%
PhD	2%

The distribution of the sample in terms of income level can be seen in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Sample Distribution According to Income Level.

Level of Income	Share in the Sample
Less than 1.000 TL/month	34%
1.000-3.000 TL/month	40%
3.001-7.000 TL/month	20%
More than 7.000 TL/month	6%

In the following subsections, the participants will be classified according to their musical preferences (i.e. according to which genres they listen to on their own initiative, whether they listen to music via mainstream radios or not, whether they know and listen to the alternatives, and whether they like the alternatives that they know) by using LCA¹⁷⁹ first. By classifying the listeners according to the aforementioned criteria, we will check whether there exist in society groups whose

¹⁷⁹ LatentGold software is used.

members are similar to each other in terms of their musical tastes and preferences, whether omnivore/univore or homology theories are valid for these groups and more importantly, whether we can confirm the hypotheses 1.1, 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5. (i.e. whether there exist groups in which only the mainstream music is listened to, whether the alternatives are unknown to the members of the majority of the groups, whether there is a tendency of liking the alternatives in some of the groups and whether there exist groups whose members are dissatisfied with the mainstream music). After classifying the society, the determinants of being a member of each group (and hence of having certain musical preferences) will be tried to be put forth by using multivariate regression analysis as the second part of the econometric analyses.

The principle aim of the analysis is to find out if the mainstream media has a manipulative power on shaping the musical preferences of society, or the seemingly democratic environment provided by the digital platforms causes the level of consumed diversity to be as high as the level of produced diversity despite the standardized repertoires of the mainstream music media. Note that these two may be valid for different groups in the society. In other words, members of some groups might be more open to be manipulated by the mainstream media and those of other groups may be more inclined to discovering new music on alternative platforms. If this is the case, I will try to identify the characteristics of these different groups (such as age, gender, level of income, level of education, etc.) through the regression analyses.

5.2.3.1 Classification of Turkish Population According to Their Musical Preferences Using LCA

The first step in the analysis is the grouping of respondents in terms of the following criteria: Turkish musical genres they prefer to listen to (via CD, vinyl, mp3 and/or internet search), whether the mainstream pop and arabesque radios¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Mainstream pop and arabesque radios are the ones with highest ratings and thus expected to have a manipulative impact on the musical preferences of the listeners.

are the ones among their favorite radio stations, their level of awareness about the alternatives and their tendency to like and listen to the alternatives that they know. The aim of this grouping is – as stated above - to understand whether the musical preferences are socially differentiated in Turkey, i.e. whether there are in society meaningful clusters whose members resemble each other in terms of their music preferences (as claimed by homology and omnivore/univore theories) and whether the related hypotheses (H1.1, H1.3, H1.4 and H1.5) can be validated. In the next section, I will investigate whether members of these groups are also similar in terms of other characteristics (such as their age, gender, level of education, level of media exposure, their musical capital, etc.) by using multivariate regression analyses. Also, I will especially check the impact of the mainstream media in comparison to the impact of the infinite availability of produced diversity on the digital platforms in order to check the validity of the basic argument of this dissertation.

As mentioned above, all the analyses regarding the consumption side are made based on a questionnaire designed and applied specifically for this study. In this questionnaire, participants were asked about their tastes (like/dislike) and listening habits regarding the following Turkish genres:

- Rhythmic/dance pop,
- Acoustic/slow pop,
- Nostalgic pop¹⁸¹,
- Second generation pop¹⁸²,
- Alternative pop,
- Soft rock,
- Hard rock,
- Anatolian rock,
- *Özgün* music,
- Rap,

¹⁸¹ Representing the songs of the artists who first appeared in the pop music scene of Turkey before the 1990s and continue to create/perform music (or continued to create/perform until recently) – such as Sezen Aksu, Nilüfer, etc.

¹⁸² Representing the songs of the artists who first appeared in the pop music scene of Turkey in 1990s and continue to create/perform music (or continued to create/perform until recently) – such as Sertab Erener, Levent Yüksel, Tarkan, etc.

- TSM,
- THM,
- Arabesque.

The questionnaire also includes the same kinds of questions on some basic foreign genres such as foreign pop, jazz and classical music in order to understand the music listening behaviors of the groups (if any) for whom no kind of Turkish music is preferred to be listened to. In order to ensure that the survey participants clearly understand what is being intended by each genre, names of the artists/groups who are the most popular representatives of each genre are also given in parentheses in the questionnaire. The level of liking of each genre and whether the genre is listened to on one's own initiative via CDs, vinyl recordings, mp3s and internet are asked separately.

The most prominent distinction of this questionnaire from the ones applied so far is the diversification it proposes within the pop music. Most of the surveys that have been used in other studies ask the participants about their preferences regarding pop/rock as a single category and only a few of them differentiate between pop and rock without any further discrimination within pop itself. However, in this survey rock has been divided into three, and pop into five subcategories. The basic reason for doing so was the intention to focus on pop (and pop/rock) in detail.

Moreover, the in-depth interviews carried out with 30 listeners prior to the preparation of the survey indicated that the recent mainstream pop music (which is represented by rhythmic/dance and acoustic/slow subcategories in the questionnaire) is not regarded in the same way as the more established examples of pop music (which are represented by nostalgic and second generation pop subcategories). Thus, the responses that would be given to the questions regarding pop music as a single category were going to be misleading.

Furthermore, based on the principal aim of this dissertation (which is to investigate the gap between produced and consumed diversity), it was necessary to ask specifically whether the participants knew about the alternative artists/groups (and their songs) whose music can be considered as pop in general but is also the

source of diversity in pop music as they add creative elements into their music to a certain extent, as a result of which they position themselves apart from standard pop.

Understanding the level of awareness about these alternatives in the society is very crucial for the scope of this dissertation because, these are the artists/groups whose music is excluded from the mainstream media repertoires and is only available on the internet and in specific live music venues; one of the main hypotheses of this dissertation is that the stance of the mainstream media prevents these alternatives from reaching the majority of the audience and internet does not do much to compensate for this situation. Moreover, it is also hypothesized that the majority of the listeners would like and listen to at least some of these alternatives in case they were aware of them.

Eight alternative artists and eight alternative groups were selected to be included in the questionnaire as a result of interviews conducted with musicians from the sector, internet search (the Youtube channels through which alternative musicians are promoted [Sofar, Akustikhane, Bip, Evden Uzakta etc.] and the scanning of the monthly programs of selected live music venues in Turkey (Hayal Kahvesi [İstanbul, Eskişehir, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Antalya, İzmit, Adana, Samsun, Aydın, Çanakkale, Gaziantep, Diyarbakır], Babylon [İstanbul], Jolly Joker [İstanbul, Ankara, Bursa], Line [İstanbul], Salon İKSV [İstanbul], Zorlu PSM [İstanbul], etc.). These are the artists/groups who have officially released albums, whose videos are watched and liked by a certain groups of people, whose live performances are attended by a certain number of people and whose music is (at least partially) away from the standard pop (which is a fact confirmed by the musicians I interviewed) and thus can be placed in the “promising” category of artists as proposed by Next Big Sound (2016). Additionally, three artists (Halil Sezai, Can Bonomo and Mabel Matiz) who were performing on the alternative scene in the past but then transferred to the mainstream music industry as a result of various factors were also added to the list in order to understand if musically alternative pieces are liked and listened to by the public when they manage to become popular.

Before applying the LCA, the sample was divided into four subsamples according to the frequency of Turkish music listening because it might have been misleading to treat a listener who listens to Turkish music with a very low frequency and a listener who listens to Turkish music with high frequency equally.

The first subsample is made up of people who do not listen to Turkish music at all, the second subsample is the group of people who listen to Turkish music with very low or low frequency, the third group is made up of medium level Turkish music listeners and the last group is that of heavy listeners¹⁸³.

LCA was run for these four subsamples first separately to start with, and then they were re-merged in pairs (the first two subsample together and the last two subsamples together) and LCA was run for these two larger subsamples. As the overall results were not different for these two methods, the one with larger samples were preferred. Consequently, the LCA results for the first group (which has 417 members who do not listen to Turkish music or listen to it with a low frequency) and for the second group (which has 783 members who listen to Turkish music with a medium or high frequency) will be given separately.

The following point should also be underlined before putting forth and assessing the results of LCA. The first trials of LCA showed that some of the variables are highly correlated and consequently was combined in order to simplify the analyses. In this regard, the rhythmic/dance and acoustic/slow genres were combined and named as standard mainstream pop (MAINPOP), nostalgic pop and second generation pop were combined and named as established pop (ESTABLISHEDPOP), TSM and THM were combined and named as traditional (TRAD) – even though these two genres are significantly different in terms of their musical structure, the preference patterns of the groups for these genres are highly correlated.

Moreover, the inclusion of the liking/listening of genres like *Özgün*, Anatolian rock, hard rock and rap made it impossible to identify a limited number of classes in the society in terms of their musical preferences. This might be caused

¹⁸³ The frequencies were calculated depending on the questions about the frequency of listening to music via radio, music TV channels, CD, vinyl, mp3 and the internet streaming.

by the complex relations of the people living in Turkey with these genres, i.e. the groups identified below do not show a clear pattern in terms of their members' liking/disliking of or listening/not listening to these genres. These genres are neither mainstream in today's music industry of Turkey nor can be categorized under the scope of pop music; hence, they can safely be excluded from a within-pop music analysis.

The process explained so far can be summarized as follows: the whole sample of 1,200 individuals are divided into two subsamples (none/low frequency Turkish music listeners and medium/high frequency Turkish music listeners). Some of the genre variables are merged and some of them are excluded based on the technical reasons explained above. Alternative artists and groups are specifically taken into consideration. In the next step, the two subsamples will be grouped separately in terms of their preferences about mainstream standard pop, established pop, soft rock, traditional music and arabesque, their frequency of listening to mainstream radio stations (pop and arabesque radios), and their awareness of and preferences for alternative artists using LCA in the following two subsections. The results will especially be evaluated in terms of the manipulative power of the mainstream media (i.e. whether the mainstream music media significantly influences the preferences of the majority of the groups) and the impact of the internet (i.e. whether the availability of the diversified examples of pop music on the internet turns into awareness and consumption for at least some of the groups).

The analyses on the first subsample are given below.

The variables taken into consideration in order to group the first subsample (who are the ones who do not listen to Turkish genres or listen to them with low frequency) into classes are the following (summarized in Table 5.4 as well):

Y-POP_listen: This is a binary variable which takes the value "1" if the respondent declares that foreign pop/rock/jazz is one of the top 5 genres he/she listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, and "0" otherwise.

MAINPOP_like: This variable takes the value "1" if the respondent dislikes the standard mainstream pop genres, "2" if the respondent is neutral about standard

mainstream pop genres and “3” if the respondent likes (at least some examples of) the standard mainstream pop genres.

ESTABLISHEDPOP_like: This variable takes the value “1” if the respondent dislikes the established pop genres, “2” if the respondent is neutral about established pop genres and “3” if the respondent likes (at least some examples of) the established pop genres.

ARAB_like: This variable takes the value “1” if the respondent dislikes the arabesque genre, “2” if the respondent is neutral about arabesque genre and “3” if the respondent likes (at least some examples of) the arabesque genre.

TRADITIONAL_like: This variable takes the value “1” if the respondent dislikes the traditional Turkish music, “2” if the respondent is neutral about traditional Turkish music and “3” if the respondent likes (at least some examples of) the traditional Turkish music.

ALT_know: The respondents are evaluated according to their answers regarding their awareness of the music of the alternatives as follows: If a person has not heard any song of any of the 16 artists/groups, then he is scored “0” to represent complete unawareness, if he/she has heard at least one song of 1 to 3 alternative artists/groups, then he/she is scored “1” to represent a low level of awareness, if he/she has heard at least one song of 4 to 7 alternative artists/groups, then he/she is scored “2” to represent a medium level of awareness and if he/she knows at least one song of at least 8 alternative artists/groups, then he/she is scored “3” to represent a high level of awareness.

Table 5.4: Variables¹⁸⁴ Used in the LCA of the First Subsample, and the Values They Get for the Corresponding Answers of the Respondents.

	Does not listen to Foreign pop/rock/jaz z	Listens to Foreign pop/rock/jaz z		
Y-POP_listen	0	1		
	Dislike	Neutral	Like	
MAINPOP_like	1	2	3	
ESTABLISHEDPOP_like	1	2	3	
ARAB_like	1	2	3	
TRAD_like	1	2	3	
	Complete Unawareness	Low level of awareness	Medium level of awareness	High level of awareness
ALT_know	0	1	2	3

When the first subsample is grouped based on the above listed variables using LCA¹⁸⁵, 1 to 5 class results are as seen in Table 5.5.

¹⁸⁴ Note that the variables other than the ALT_know are nominal variables whereas the ALT_know is an ordinary variable, and the LCA was run accordingly.

¹⁸⁵ LCA gives the values of parameters like LL, BIC(LL), L², p-value etc. for different number of class models (number of classes for which the LCA will be run by the software used is specified by the researcher in the beginning – usually, models with class 1 to class 10 are requested from the software), then the model with the optimum number of classes is selected looking at the parameters.

Table 5.5: 1 to 5 class LCA Results for the Subsample of None or Low Turkish Music Listeners.

	BIC(LL)	L ²	p-value
1-Class	3682,0347	506,0135	2,7e-11
2-Class	<u>3503,9963</u>	261,6375	<u>0,96</u>
3-Class	3513,0532	204,3569	1,00
4-Class	3546,2953	171,2615	1,00
5-Class	3594,3780	153,0066	1,00

The first criterion to select the most suitable number of classes is to check the p-value. The model with a p-value greater than 0.05 is found suitable in general. The second criterion is to check the Bayesian Information Criterion, BIC(LL). The smaller the value of BIC(LL) is, the more preferable the model is. As can be seen from the table, the 2-class model is the best model according to both criteria, and thus it was selected. Moreover the bootstrap p-value (which is another criterion to check and which is run separately by the software) for the 2-class model is also greater than 0.05.

Detailed results of the 2-class model - which include the estimated relative sizes of each class and probabilities of a person's displaying the liking/listening activities given that he/she is in class 1 and class 2 - can be seen in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Estimated Relative Sizes of Latent Classes and Conditional Probabilities of Each Variable Under the 2-class Model. (For instance, the probability of a Class 1 member to listen to Y-POP is 0,71).

	Class 1	Class 2
Relative size (%)	59	41
Y-POP_listen = 0	0,28	0,83
Y-POP_listen = 1	0,71	0,17
MAINPOP_like = 1	0,57	0,13
MAINPOP_like = 2	0,15	0,15
MAINPOP_like = 3	0,28	0,73
ESTABPOP_like= 1	0,09	0,01
ESTABPOP_like=2	0,10	0,03
ESTABPOP_like=3	0,82	0,96
TRADITIONAL_like=1	0,07	0,00
TRADITIONAL_like=2	0,20	0,00
TRADITIONAL_like=3	0,72	0,99
ARAB_like=1	0,59	0,07
ARAB_like=2	0,16	0,07
ARAB_like=3	0,24	0,86
ALT_know=0	0,19	0,71
ALT_know=3	0,80	0,29

The graphical representation of the 2-class model can be seen in Figure 5.2.

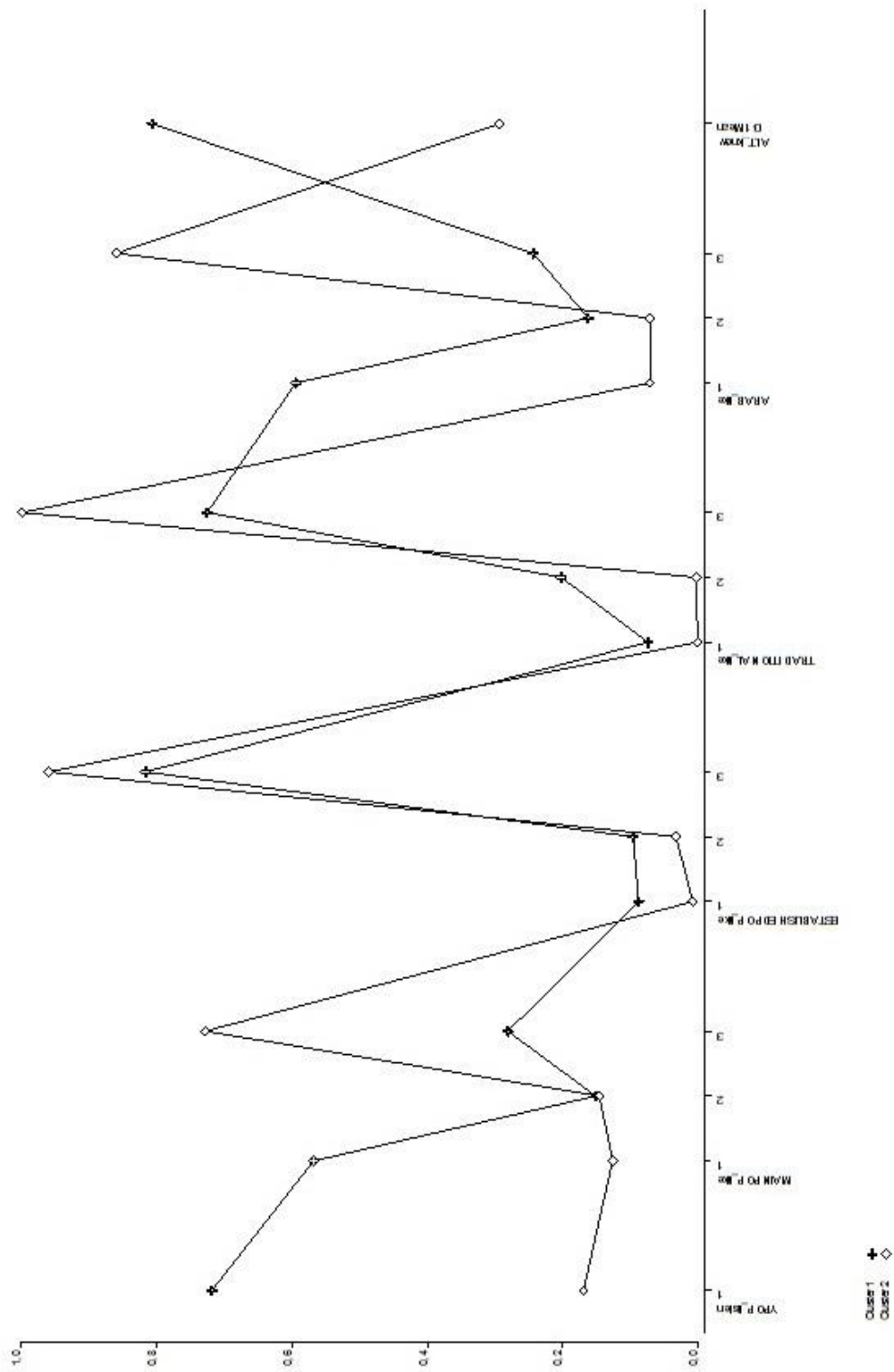


Figure 5.2: Probabilities of listening to, liking, being neutral about, disliking, being aware of specified genres by each of the two groups.

Eventually, the first group in the first subsample, which I name the “Y-Pop Listeners”, includes people who listen¹⁸⁶ to foreign pop/rock/jazz music via CD, vinyl, mp3 or streaming, dislike¹⁸⁷ mainstream standard Turkish pop music, like¹⁸⁸ established pop music, like traditional Turkish music, dislike arabesque and know the alternatives to a certain extent. When the data of this group are analyzed in more detail, it can be seen from the descriptive statistics that they like classical music, opera and foreign metal as well as foreign pop/rock/jazz and they listen to classical music/opera via CD, vinyl, etc. They also like Turkish hard rock music¹⁸⁹. In sum, this group is omnivore in terms of liking and listening to different genres of foreign music and some genres of Turkish music. They have a distaste (validating Bourdieu’s thesis) for some of the mainstream genres (standard mainstream pop of today and arabesque) which are being imposed by today’s mainstream media. Existence of this group validates my hypothesis that there are people in the society who are dissatisfied with the music on the (Turkish) mainstream music media (H1.5). The hypothesis will also be tested for other groups in the second subsample (which is composed of medium to high frequency Turkish music listeners) in the following subsection.

Second group is “Light Turkish Omnivores”. This group has a light relationship with Turkish music in terms of the time spent for listening. However, the members of this group like all of the popular Turkish genres listed in the questionnaire. They do not listen to foreign pop music and their probability of being aware of the alternative pop artists/groups is very low. When the data are analyzed in more details, it is deduced that this group does not have a clear tendency to like or dislike foreign genres¹⁹⁰. In sum, this group is omnivore, not in terms of listening but liking only, and more importantly it only includes the Turkish music genres

¹⁸⁶ If I conclude that a group “listens” to a specific genre, this means that probability of a member of this group to listen to that genre is over 50%.

¹⁸⁷ If I conclude that a group “dislikes” a specific genre, this means that probability of a member of this group to dislike that genre is over 50%.

¹⁸⁸ If I conclude that a group “likes” a specific genre, this means that probability of a member of this group to like that genre is over 50%.

¹⁸⁹ See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

¹⁹⁰ See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

which are mainstream today and/or were mainstream in the past, but not the alternatives that have been excluded from the mainstream media.

When the data of the first subsample are analyzed in more detail in terms of the likeability of the alternatives by the members of these two groups, it is realized that both groups have a tendency to like alternatives. That is to say, the majority of the members of these two groups declared that they like at least one of the alternative artists/groups that they are aware of. This finding validates for these two groups that the alternatives' not being listened to is not caused by the public's preferences independent of the manipulation of the mainstream media.

I finalized the grouping of the first of the two subsamples above and found that there exist two groups with different musical preferences within the first subsample. I will now apply the LCA to the second subsample – members of which listen to Turkish genres with medium or high frequency - in order to determine the number of groups in this subsample and to identify their characteristics in terms of different genres of Turkish music they prefer to listen to.

The variables taken into consideration in trying to group the second subsample into classes are different than those used in the previous grouping (the reasoning will be explained below) and are the following (summarized in Table 5.7 as well):

MAINPOP_listen: If the standard mainstream pop music is one of the top five genres the participant listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

ESTABLISHEDPOP_listen: If the established pop music is one of the top five genres the participant listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

SOFTROCK_listen: If soft rock is one of the top five genres the participant listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

MAINPOPRADIOS: If the participant declares that the mainstream radios are among the three most frequently listened radios, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

TRADITIONAL_listen: If traditional music is one of the top five genres the participant listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

ARAB_listen: If arabesque music is one of the top five genres the participant listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

ARABESKRADIOS: If the participant declares that the arabesque radios are among the three most frequently listened radios, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

ALT_know: The explanation made above is valid.

ALT_know_dislike_like: If the participant has not heard any songs of any of the alternative artists/groups then this variable takes the value “0”; if the respondent knows the songs of at least one of the 16 artists/groups but does not like any of these songs, then the variable takes the value “1”; if the respondent knows the songs of at least one of the alternative artists/groups and likes at least one of these songs, then the variable takes the value “2”.

ALT_listen: If alternative pop music is one of the top five genres the participant listens to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services, then this variable takes the value “1”, and “0” otherwise.

As mentioned above, the variables used in grouping the second subsample are different than the ones used in grouping the first subsample. “Like” variables were taken into consideration for the first subsample whereas the “listen” variables are used for the second subsample. The reasoning is as follows: In this dissertation, the priority is to identify latent classes in the society in terms of their actions regarding musical preferences, i.e. what people actually listen to is more important than what they say that they like. Liking/disliking is evaluated as a second step especially for testing Bourdieu’s theory of distinction. However, the first subsample is made up of people who do not spend (much) time on listening to Turkish music; hence, it would not be reasonable to consider “listen” variables for that subsample.

Table 5.7: Variables¹⁹¹ Used in the LCA of the Second Subsample, and the Values They Get for the Corresponding Answers of the Respondents.

	Does not listen to the genre	Listens to the genre		
MAINPOP_listen	0	1		
ESTABLISHEDPOP_listen	0	1		
SOFTROCK_listen	0	1		
ARAB_listen	0	1		
TRADITIONAL_listen	0	1		
MAINPOPRADIOS_listen	0	1		
ARABRADIOS_listen	0	1		
ALT_listen	0	1		
	Complete Unawareness	Low level of awareness	Medium level of awareness	High level of awareness
ALT_know	0	1	2	3
	Complete Unawareness	Dislike all known alternatives	Like at least 1 of the known alternatives	
ALT_know_dislike_like	0	1	2	

¹⁹¹ Note that the variables other than the ALT_know are nominal variables whereas the ALT_know is an ordinary variable, and the LCA was run accordingly.

1 to 10 class results of LCA¹⁹² for the second subsample can be seen in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: 1 to 10 class LCA Results for the Subsample of Medium or High Level Turkish Music Listeners.

	BIC(LL)	L ²	p-value
1-Class	9566,6755	1620,6107	4,5e-63
2-Class	8862,7798	836,7421	0,022
3-Class	8843,2609	737,2503	0,56
4-Class	8847,8418	661,8583	0,97
5-Class	8859,0973	593,1409	1,00
6-Class	8889,8931	543,9638	1,00
7-Class	8939,6889	513,7866	1,00
8-Class	9002,0639	496,1888	1,00
9-Class	9065,7672	479,9192	1,00
10-Class	9131,2721	465,4511	1,00

When we check the p-value and BIC(LL), we can see that the 3-class model seems to be appropriate to explain the groupings in the data set. However, when the bootstrap p-value (which is run separately by the software) is checked, it is greater than 0.05 only for the 5-class model and above. Moreover, the 5-class model explains the types of listeners living in Turkey in more detail and in a more meaningful way. Thus, the 5-class model is selected.

Detailed results for the 5-class model are shown in Table 5.9.

¹⁹² While identifying the latent classes in a sample, LCA assumes local independence between all the variables. Nevertheless, there is an option (in the computer programs used to run LCA) to release this assumption for selected variable pairs. For the current case, the local independence assumption is released for MAINPOP_listen and MAINPOPRADIOS, ESTABLISHEDPOP_listen and MAINPOPRADIOS, SOFTROCK_listen and MAINPOPRADIOS, ARAB_listen and ARABESKRADIOS, TRADITIONAL_listen and ARABESKRADIOS, because these variables presumably depend on each other.

Table 5.9: Estimated relative sizes of latent classes and conditional probabilities of each variable under the 5-class model.

Cluster		1	2	3	4	5											
		0,3557	0,1843	0,1752	0,1613	0,1236											
MAINPOP_listen		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ESTABLISHEDPOP_listen		0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
SOFTROCK_listen		0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
MAINPOP_RADIOS		0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Cluster		0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
1		0,1528	0,0768	0,0994	0,0883	0,0872	0,1216	0,0567	0,1398	0,0125	0,0261	0,0081	0,0301	0,0071	0,0414	0,0046	0,0476
2		0,0463	0,0216	0,0213	0,0175	0,0332	0,0430	0,0153	0,0350	0,0586	0,1141	0,0270	0,0928	0,0421	0,2277	0,0194	0,1851
3		0,0426	0,0387	0,0208	0,0333	0,0263	0,0663	0,0128	0,0571	0,0326	0,1235	0,0159	0,1063	0,0201	0,2116	0,0098	0,1822
4		0,0402	0,0372	0,0007	0,0011	0,0303	0,0777	0,0005	0,0024	0,0576	0,2221	0,0010	0,0067	0,0434	0,4642	0,0007	0,0141
5		0,2459	0,0502	0,0252	0,0091	0,1805	0,1023	0,0185	0,0185	0,0704	0,0600	0,0072	0,0108	0,0517	0,1223	0,0053	0,0221
TRADITIONAL_listen		0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1								
ARABESK_listen		0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1								
ARABESK_RADIOS		0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1								
Cluster		0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1								
1		0,7502	0,0005	0,0072	0,0000	0,2392	0,0006	0,0023	0,0000								
2		0,6752	0,0802	0,1216	0,0543	0,0353	0,0161	0,0064	0,0109								
3		0,8122	0,0689	0,0377	0,0120	0,0483	0,0158	0,0022	0,0026								
4		0,0099	0,0034	0,2286	0,2919	0,0034	0,0045	0,0773	0,3831								
5		0,0251	0,0001	0,0059	0,0001	0,7642	0,0129	0,1803	0,0114								
ALT_know		0	3														
Cluster		0	3														
1		0,0011	0,9989														
2		0,0629	0,9371														
3		0,9927	0,0073														
4		0,9931	0,0069														
5		0,5440	0,4560														
ALT_know_dislike_like		0	1	2													
Cluster		0	1	2													
1		0,0045	0,0006	0,9949													
2		0,0651	0,2851	0,6497													
3		0,5528	0,1187	0,3284													
4		0,7531	0,0732	0,1737													
5		0,1260	0,2176	0,6564													
ALTPOP_listen		0	1														
Cluster		0	1														
1		0,5932	0,4068														
2		0,8243	0,1757														
3		0,9995	0,0005														
4		0,9997	0,0003														
5		0,9995	0,0005														

The graphical representation of results can be seen in Figure 5.3.

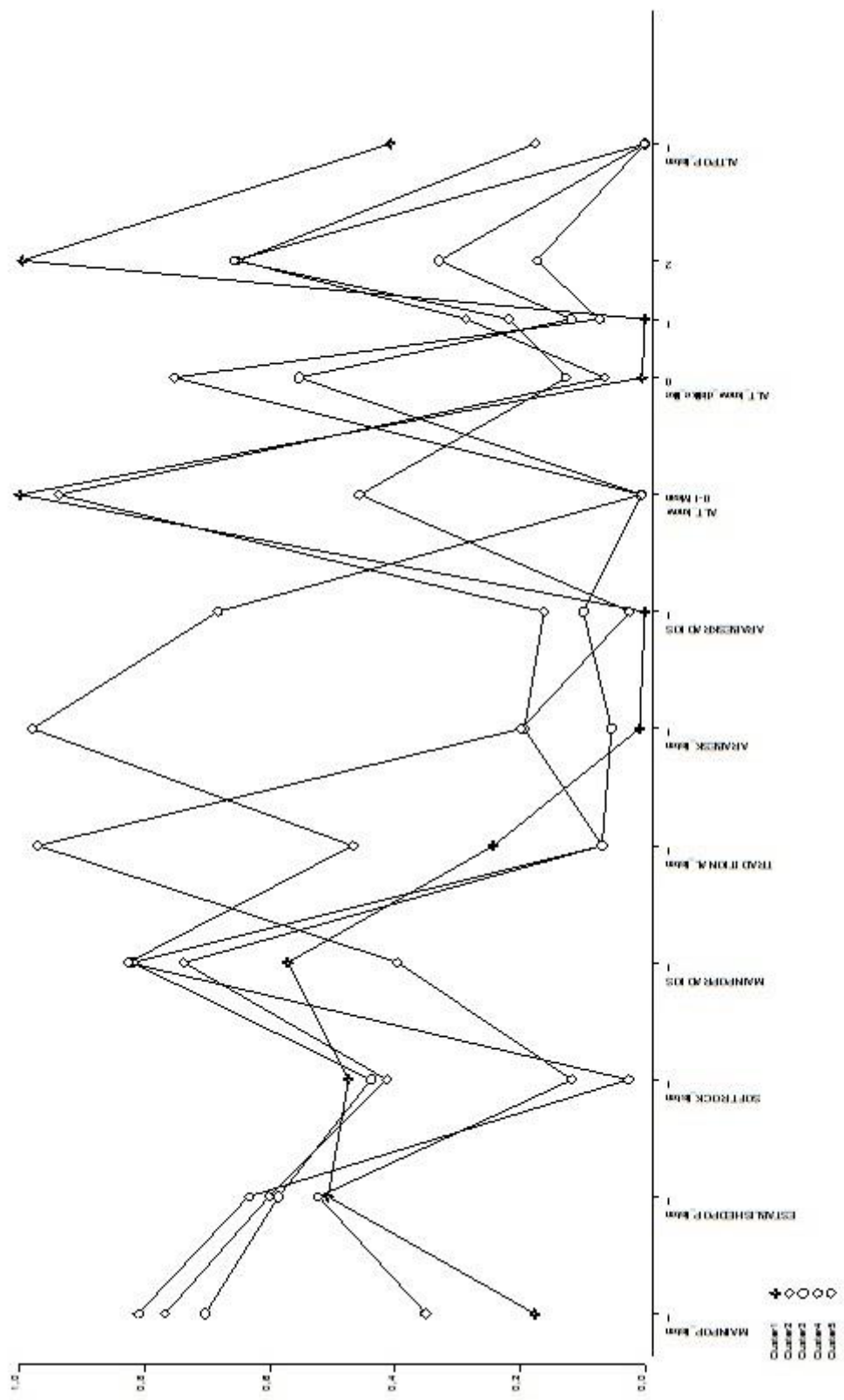


Figure 5.3: Probabilities of listening to, being aware of, liking/disliking specified genres and radios by each of the five groups.

The first group to be differentiated in the second subsample is what I call “Omnivore Listeners”. The members of this group do not listen to mainstream standard pop via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming services¹⁹³; however, they listen to mainstream pop radios¹⁹⁴. They listen to established pop with a 50% probability and soft rock with 47% probability via CD, vinyl, etc. They know the alternatives, they like at least one of the alternatives that they know and this group is the one in which alternatives are listened to via CD, vinyl, etc. with the highest probability (40%) among all groups. They do not listen to traditional music or arabesque. A closer look at the data indicates that this group likes foreign genres such as classical music, opera, foreign pop, foreign rock, jazz/blues/R&B and Turkish hard rock. The members of this group feel neutral about Turkish genres such as mainstream standard pop music and arabesque. They listen to *Özgülün* music, Anatolian Rock and Turkish hard rock¹⁹⁵. In sum, this group is the ‘most omnivore’ (both in terms of listening to and liking) of all. The members of the group like and listen to various subgenres of pop music (including the alternatives) and foreign genres as well. They do not dislike recent mainstream pop music but they stand at a certain distance from this genre (they listen to the mainstream radios but they don’t listen to the genre on their own initiative). Thus, it can be said that this group is not satisfied with what they are exposed to on the mainstream media and actively search for and listen to alternatives to a certain extent, as hypothesized in the beginning (H1.5).

The second group in the second subsample (the fourth group in total) is “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives”. The members of this group listen to mainstream standard pop¹⁹⁶ and established pop¹⁹⁷ via CD, vinyl, mp3 and/or internet streaming services. They listen to mainstream pop radios. They know the alternatives and like at least one of the alternative artists/groups among the ones they know, but they do not listen to alternatives on their own initiative (i.e. via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet

¹⁹³ With a probability of 82%

¹⁹⁴ With a probability of 57%.

¹⁹⁵ See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

¹⁹⁶ With a probability of 77%

¹⁹⁷ With a probability of 60%

search). They do not listen to traditional music or arabesque via CD, vinyl, etc. and they do not listen to arabesque radios either. However, taking a closer look at the data, we can see that the members of this group have a tendency to like arabesque, *Özgin*, traditional music, Anatolian rock while being neutral about Turkish hard rock, Turkish rap and all the listed foreign genres¹⁹⁸. In sum, the members of this group are so vigilant as to be aware of the alternatives and open to novelties in music so as to have a tendency to like the alternatives they know. Moreover, they are omnivore in terms of their liking of different music genres. However, they are highly under the influence of mainstream media in terms of their daily listening behaviors. The existence of such a group in the sample validates my hypothesis about the existence in the society of a group whose members like and only listen to the mainstream music genres (H1.1). The availability of the alternatives on the internet does not turn into consumption for the members of this group even though they are aware of and have a tendency to like these alternatives. This result stands as an extension of H1.3 which claims that the availability of the alternatives does not turn into consumption because of the unawareness of the listeners about these alternatives.

The third group in the second subsample is “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives”. The members of this group listen to mainstream standard pop¹⁹⁹ and established pop²⁰⁰ via CD, vinyl, mp3 and/or internet. They listen to mainstream pop radios as well²⁰¹. They do not listen to traditional and arabesque music via any medium. They are not aware of and do not listen to alternatives. They are similar to the previous group in terms of their liking/disliking of other genres²⁰². This group once more validates H1.1, i.e. the members of this group like and only listen to the mainstream (pop) genres. Moreover, they are unaware of the alternatives even though 60% of this group uses internet as a music listening medium frequently.

¹⁹⁸ See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

¹⁹⁹ With a probability of 70%

²⁰⁰ With a probability of 59%

²⁰¹ With a probability of 79%

²⁰² See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

That is to say, the availability of high amount of diversity on the internet turns into neither awareness nor consumption for this group, which validates H1.3.

The fourth group in the second subsample is “Pop Arabesque Listeners”. The members of this group listen to mainstream standard pop²⁰³, established pop²⁰⁴ and arabesque music²⁰⁵ via CD, vinyl, mp3 and/or internet. They also listen to mainstream radios²⁰⁶ and arabesque radios²⁰⁷. They neither know nor listen to alternatives. In these respect, this group is similar to “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” with the only difference that the members of “Pop Arabesque” have arabesque music (which is a mainstream genre as well) in their daily listening behaviors in addition to (old and recent) mainstream pop. With a more detailed analysis of the data of this group, it can be seen that the members of this group have a clear dislike of all of the foreign genres and Turkish hard rock²⁰⁸. This group is one of the two groups whose members display dislike for some genres (the other one is the “Y-POP listeners” as mentioned above. That is to say, Bourdieu’s theory of distinction – which argues that social groups with different cultural tastes display a distaste for the cultural preferences of each other - is validated for “Y-POP_listeners” and “Pop Arabesque Listeners” only, members of which display a distaste for the favorite genres of the other.

The fifth and last group in the second subsample is “Traditional Music Listeners”. They don’t listen to mainstream standard pop music and soft rock but have a higher tendency to listen to established pop (with 50% probability) via CD, vinyl, etc. They don’t listen to mainstream pop radios. They don’t listen to arabesque or arabesque radios. It is highly probable that a member of this group knows at least some of the alternatives and at least one of the alternatives known is liked in this group. But the members of this group do not listen to any of the alternatives via Cd, vinyl, mp3 or streaming. When the data of this group are examined more closely, it can be said that they are omnivore in terms of their liking

²⁰³ With a probability of 81%

²⁰⁴ With a probability of 63%

²⁰⁵ With a probability of 98%

²⁰⁶ With a probability of 83%

²⁰⁷ With a probability of 68%

²⁰⁸ See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

of the following Turkish genres: mainstream standard pop music, established pop, Anatolian rock, *Özgin* and arabesque respectively. They do not have a clear liking or disliking towards other genres. This group is similar to “Light Turkish Omnivores” except for their frequent listening to traditional Turkish genres.²⁰⁹

Listening and liking patterns of each group for different genres are summarized in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Summary of the LCA Results. + (-) sign for “listen” rows shows that the members of the group written in the corresponding row (do not) listen to the genre in the corresponding column via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming. + (-) sign in the “like” rows shows that the members of the group in the corresponding row (dis)like the genre in the corresponding column. 0 sign in the “like” rows shows that the members of the group in the corresponding row are neutral about the genre in the corresponding column. “?” sign shows that the listening/liking patterns cannot be inferred from the data.

		Mainstream Std. Pop	Established Pop	Soft Rock	Alternatives	Arabesque	Traditional genres	Hard Rock	Rap	Anatolian Rock	Özgin Music	For. Pop/Rock/Jazz	Classical/Opera	SUMMARY
Y-Pop Listeners	Listen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	Omnivore in liking
	Like	-	+	?	+	-	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	Know & like alternatives
Light-TR-omni.	Listen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Omnivore in liking
	Like	+	+	+	?	+	+	?	?	+	+	?	?	Don't know alternatives
Omnivore Listeners	Listen	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	+	?	?	Omnivore in liking
	Like	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	Omnivore in listening
Pop List_Aware alt.	Listen	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Omnivore in liking
	Like	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	Univore in listening
Pop List_Unaware alt.	Listen	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	Omnivore in liking
	Like	+	+	0	?	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	Univore in listening
Pop Arabesque	Listen	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Partially omnivore in liking and listening
	Like	+	+	-	?	+	0	-	?	?	?	-	-	Don't know alternatives
Traditionals	Listen	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	?	-	-	Omnivore in liking
	Like	+	+	?	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	?	?	Partially omni. In listening
														Partially know alternatives

Consequently, the LCA results can be evaluated as a whole in terms of the diversity of the musical preferences in the society as follows: All of the groups are

²⁰⁹ See Table 5.10 for the summary of the characteristics of each group.

omnivore in one way or another in their musical preferences (some of them both in terms of liking and listening, some of them only in terms of liking); however, the diversity of the preferences in terms of listening is restricted by what is offered by the mainstream music media (in the past and today) in almost all groups. Thus, H1.1 -which says that there exists a large group of people living in Turkey who like and listen to the music promoted on the mainstream music media - is failed to be rejected. The alternatives are excluded from the listening repertoires of all groups except “Omnivore Listeners” and this is mainly caused by the fact that the alternatives are highly unknown to the Turkish music listeners other than “Omnivore Listeners” and “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives”, even though the use of the internet²¹⁰ - where all the alternatives are available - as a music listening medium is common in all of the groups except for Light Turkish Omnivores. This finding stands as evidence for the fact that the availability does not necessarily mean awareness for the majority of the population. Hence, H1.3 - which says “majority of the mainstream music likers are not aware of the alternatives of pop music, i.e. availability of high level of diversity on the internet doesn’t turn into a corresponding amount of consumed diversity for majority of the listeners”- is failed to be rejected as well.

On the other hand, the research results indicated that a great portion of the music listeners have a tendency to like the alternatives to a certain extent although they are not included in the listening repertoires of most of the individuals. Besides the findings put forth above, additional evidence for the likeability of alternatives can be assessed by analyzing the responses of the survey participants about their liking/disliking the three artists (Halil Sezai, Can Bonomo and Mabel Matiz) whose musical works include elements apart from standard pop music (making them musically alternative somehow) while they managed to enter the mainstream music market exceptionally. Survey results show that majority of the members of each group in which these three artists are known liked the songs of at least one of them.

²¹⁰ At least 71% of the members of all groups (except Light-Turkish-omnivores) listen to music via internet at least 1 hour a week; at least 95% of the members of all groups listen to music via internet at least occasionally.

That is to say, when the alternatives of pop music end up being mainstream (well-known), they also become liked by the majority, i.e. the public is open to novelties in within pop music. Thus, H1.4 - which says that the listeners who are not aware of the alternatives are potential likers of the alternatives - is failed to be rejected.

The reason for alternatives' not being declared to be one of the genres listened to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet streaming even by the people who know and like them to a certain extent might be because of the dominance of the mainstream media (including the traditional media that are directly and indirectly associated with music and performers, and the virtual mainstream created as a result of the algorithms of sites like Youtube, Facebook, etc. in addition to the dominance of the major labels and artists on the internet) in the daily lives of everyone, leading them to give priority to mainstream music (of any kind) even in their personal and seemingly independent choices of music. In other words, the claim put forth in the previous section that the songs that are voluntarily re-listened to by the listeners correspond to a great extent to the repertoires of the mainstream music media is validated.

5.2.3.2 Determinants of the Musical Preferences: Results of the Regression Analysis

Up to this point, the first part of the econometric analyses has been completed. Using LCA, the listeners in Turkey have been categorized into seven groups in terms of their musical preferences (which genres they like/dislike and/or listen to on their own initiative, whether they listen to music via mainstream pop and/or arabesque radios, whether they know, like and/or listen to the alternatives) and it is concluded that the mainstream music genres are dominant in the listening repertoires of most of the groups. Nevertheless, there are also some groups whose members are aware of the alternatives and there also exists one group (namely the "Omnivore Listeners") whose members choose to listen to the alternatives on their own initiative to a certain extent. Now, I will try to find out the determinants of being a member of each group, and will especially try to explain the reasons for the

level of domination of mainstream genres in the listening repertoires of a great portion of the society, and what factors cause the small portion of the listeners who diversify their listening preferences (including the alternatives of pop music) to do so. This section will develop understanding of the determinants of standardization vs. diversification in listeners' music repertoires; this will, in turn, guide me in developing relevant cultural policy suggestions which would result in an improved amount of consumed diversity among all groups.

In order to find out the determinants of being a member of each group specified in the previous section, Multinomial Logit²¹¹ was chosen as the regression method.

The dependent variable is the class membership and the regression was run multiple times, each time choosing a different category of the class membership variable as the reference category, in order to be able to make comparisons between each and every pair of classes²¹² (there are 21 pairs in total) because a single run of the method allows to make a comparison between each category (each group in our case) with the reference group only. In other words, what one finds as a result of each single regression is the probability of 'being a member of one group as opposed to being a member of the reference group'.

Independent variables are chosen based on the studies in the world literature and on the basic hypotheses of this dissertation, and are grouped into five categories:

- Demography variables,
- Status variables,
- Personality variables,
- Variables related to mainstream media exposure,
- Musical capital variables.

²¹¹ Multinomial Logit is a method commonly used for the cases in which dependent variable is categorical with more than two categories.

²¹² In multinomial logit, one should choose a single category of the dependent variable (one of the 7 groups in our case) as the reference category and the resulting regression coefficients indicate the probability of occurrence of each category as opposed to the reference category only.

Investigating the impact of mainstream media variables and some of the musical capital variables is especially important in testing the hypothesis of this dissertation regarding the manipulative power of the mainstream music media in association with the impact of familiarity, and thus will be discussed in detail shortly.

Below I will identify which variables are included in the analysis under the scope of each of the five categories:

Demography variables include age, gender and the geographic region in which the longest period of life has been spent. The regional distribution was made according to TURKSTAT's 12-region categorization²¹³ and the corresponding question was asked accordingly in the survey. However, while running the regression, quasi-complete separation problem²¹⁴ was encountered (which happens occasionally for multinomial logit) for the region variable. To solve the problem, the categories representing the geographically close sub-regions were aggregated and three larger regions of Turkey were identified eventually²¹⁵.

Status variables are education and income levels²¹⁶. The two categories of the education level (the graduate level and PhD level) were aggregated because of the quasi-complete separation issue. If the respondent is a graduate of secondary school or less, then the education variable takes the value "0"; if he/she is a high school graduate, then the variable takes the value "1"; if the respondent has a graduate/college degree, then the variable takes the value "2"; and if he/she has a master's or PhD degree, then the value of the variable is "3". If the income level of

²¹³ http://www.tuik.gov.tr/Kitap.do?KITAP_ID=173&KT_ID=0&metod=KitapDetay

²¹⁴ Separation problem in logistic regression occurs when the dependent variable separates an explanatory variable. For instance, if the dependent variable takes a specific value for all values of the explanatory variable that are smaller than a threshold number and another specific value for all values of the explanatory variable greater than or equal to the same threshold number this means that there is complete separation, i.e. there is no need for estimation in order to predict the value of the dependent variable given a value of the explanatory variable.

²¹⁵ İstanbul, West Marmara, East Marmara, Aegean Region and Mediterranean Region were aggregated to be "West", West Black Sea Region, West Anatolia and Central Anatolia were aggregated to be "Central", East Black Sea Region, North East Anatolia, Middle East Anatolia and South East Anatolia were aggregated to be "East".

²¹⁶ Actually, the occupation was also asked in the questionnaire; however, as the respondents were requested to write their occupations manually the outputs included a high number of meaningless responses, and furthermore the existing answers were not sufficient to categorize the occupations into meaningful groups. Hence, this variable has been excluded.

the respondent is less than 1,000 TL/month, then the income variable takes the value “0”; if the income level is between 1,000 TL and 3,000 TL/month, then the variable takes the value “1”; if it is between 3,001 TL and 7,000 TL, then the value of the variable is “2”; and otherwise the variable takes the value “3”.

Personality variables are related to openness to new musical styles (represented by the variables ‘tendency to like a song after repeated exposure’ and ‘loving to discover new music’) and being an active searcher of alternative music (via internet or other platforms). If the answer given to any of these questions by the respondent is “never”, then the variable takes the value “0”; if the answer is “occasionally” then the variable takes the value “1”; and if it is “very often” or “always” then the variable takes the value “2”.

Variables related to mainstream media exposure are whether (and how frequently) the participant watches Turkish TV-series, whether (and how frequently) the participant watches talk shows on mainstream media channels, whether (and how frequently) the participant watches the celebrity news programs on TV, whether (and how frequently) the participant reads celebrity news news in newspapers and/or on internet sites and the ratio of time spent listening to music on radio to the time spent listening to music on the internet. If the answer to a question related to TV Shows by the respondent is “never”, then the related variable takes the value “0”; if the respondent declares that he/she watches the program occasionally, then the variable takes the value “1”; and if the answer is 1 hour a week or more, then the variable takes the value “2”. (Originally the categories “1-3 hours a week” and “more than 3 hours a week” were separate but aggregated during the analysis because of the quasi-complete separation issue.) For the question related to reading celebrity news news, if the answer of the respondent is “never”, then the variable takes the value “0”; if the answer is “less than once a month”, then the value is “1”; if the respondent declares that he/she reads celebrity news news 1 to 4 times a month, then the variable takes the value “2”; and if the answer is “more than 4 times a month”, then the value is “3”.

Musical capital variables are the musical genres listened to in the house lived until the age of 18, whether (and for how long) the participant has had a music

education (other than the mandatory music education in primary and high schools), whether (and for how long) the participant has had an experience of amateur music activities, whether (and how frequently) the participant reads music-related articles in newspapers, journals, internet blogs, etc., and whether (and how frequently) the participant watches TV programs on arts and culture. The participants were asked whether the genres Turkish pop, rock, arabesque, THM, TSM, *Özgün*, foreign pop, rock and jazz were listened to frequently in the house they lived until the age of 18; however, some of them had to be aggregated again during the analysis because of the quasi-complete separation problem again. And the resulting categories for this variable are: Turkish pop/rock, arabesque, TSM/THM (traditional), *Özgün*, foreign pop/rock/jazz and classical. The music education and amateur music activities variables take the value “0” if the respondent never had a music education/never participated in amateur music activities, the value “1” if the education/activity lasted less than 1 year, and the value “2” if the education/activity lasted 1 year or more. (Originally, categories “for 1-3 years” and “more than 3 years” were separate; however, they were aggregated because of the quasi-complete separation problem.) The categories of the variables about reading music articles and watching arts and culture programs on TV are structured in the same way as the variables on reading celebrity news and watching TV-shows explained above.

All the variables listed above will be checked for their influence on being a member of one of the 7 groups rather than being a member of another group by using multinomial logit regressions. In other words, the influence of each variable on class membership is hypothesized separately²¹⁷. As a result of these analyses, we will be able to assess the influence of each of the above listed independent variables on being a member of one of the groups rather than the others (i.e. on music-related preferences such as choosing a listening repertoire dominated by mainstream genres, on being aware of [and listening to] the alternatives, etc.)

As mentioned above, the multinomial logit was run 6 times (which is 1 less than the total number of groups and allows to make comparison between each group

²¹⁷ The null hypothesis regarding each variable is H0: There is no significant influence of the variable under consideration, i.e. the coefficient of the variable is equal to 0.

pairs), each time taking a different group as the reference category²¹⁸. The goodness of fit²¹⁹ results are common for each run and given in Table 5.11. Two of the R² values being more than 0.70 means that the model is appropriate in explaining the relationship between the explanatory variables and the dependent variable.

The regression results for each run are given in separate tables in Appendix 2. When “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” is chosen as the reference category, the regression coefficients and standard errors for each explanatory variable are as seen in Table A2.1; when “Pop Arabesque Listeners” is chosen as the reference category, the regression coefficients and standard errors for each explanatory variable are as seen in Table A2.2; when “Omnivore Listeners” is chosen as the reference category, the regression coefficients and standard errors for each explanatory variable are as seen in Table A2.3; when “Y-Pop Listeners” is chosen as the reference category, the regression coefficients and standard errors for each explanatory variable are as seen in Table A2.4; when “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” is chosen as the reference category, the regression coefficients and standard errors for each explanatory variable are as seen in Table A2.5; when “Light Turkish Omnivores” is chosen as the reference category, the regression coefficients and standard errors for each explanatory variable are as seen in Table A2.6; all of these can be found in Appendix 2.

²¹⁸ Multicollinearity was checked before running the regressions and no variables were found to have an intolerable collinearity with the other variables.

²¹⁹ Goodness of fit estimates indicate whether the model explains the variance in the data significantly or not.

Table 5.11: Goodness of Fit Results for Each Regression.

Statistic	Independent	Full
Observations	1200	1200
Sum of weights	1200,000	1200,000
DF	1199	948
-2 Log(Likelihood)	4494,866	2984,701
R ² (McFadden)	0,000	0,336
R ² (Cox and Snell)	0,000	0,716
R ² (Nagelkerke)	0,000	0,733
AIC	4506,866	3488,701
SBC	4537,407	4771,400
Iterations	0	7

Looking at the detailed regression results given in Appendix 2, one can tell which of the variables has a significant impact on discriminating the membership of which of the class pairs²²⁰, i.e. which of the variables increase/decrease the probability of being a member of one class rather than another class, that is to say which of the variables are influential on musical preferences. The results will be evaluated separately for the influence of each variable included in the five variable groups below.

Among the demography variables, region discriminates between only one of the class pairs and hence its influence can be ignored. On the other hand, age and gender are significantly influential on which class an individual belongs to. The findings related to these two variables can be read from Table 5.12 as follows: The cell_{ij} of Table 5.12 (i representing the row, j representing the column) shows whether the probability of a person being a member of the class in the ith row rather

²²⁰ The variables coefficients of which are signed with stars in the tables in the Appendix 2 - indicating that the corresponding p-values are smaller than 0.05 and 0.01- are significantly influential on class membership.

than the class in the j^{th} column increases (+), decreases (-) or does not change significantly (O) by age/gender.

Table 5.12: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Age and Gender (Bottom-left triangle for age, upper right triangle for gender).

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware alt.	Pop Listeners_Unaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	O	O	+	+	+	O
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	O	+	+	+	+
Pop Listeners_aware alt.	-	-	X	+	+	+	O
Pop Listeners_UNaware	O	O	+	X	O	O	O
Pop Arabesque	O	O	O	O	X	O	O
Traditionals	+	O	+	O	+	X	O
Light TR Omnivores	+	O	+	O	+	O	X

As the age increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” rather than being a member of any of the other classes except “Pop Arabesque” decrease. That is to say, the members of “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” are relatively young. This might be explained by young people’s being relatively more vigilant in discovering diversified forms of pop music (presumably on the internet).

As the age increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Traditional Music Listeners” and the probabilities of being a member of “Light Turkish Omnivores” rather than being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners”, being a member of

“Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” or a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” increase. That is to say, members of “Traditional Music Listeners” and “Light Turkish Omnivores” are relatively old in age compared to the other three groups listed. The reasoning behind Traditional Music Listeners’ being older in age is most probably the traditional genres’ being more popular during the younger ages of today’s elderly. And Light Turkish Omnivores’ (who do not listen to a lot of music) being relatively older can be explained by young people being more interested in and sharing more time for music in their daily lives.

As for the gender, a woman’s being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” or “Omnivore Listeners” or “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” is more probable than her being a member of “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives”, “Pop Arabesque Listeners” or “Traditional Music Listeners”. Additionally, the probability of a woman’s being a member of “Omnivore Listener” rather than “Light Turkish Omnivores” is higher than that of a man. This can be evaluated as women’s being more interested in music and are more open to novelties in music compared to men.

Among the status variables, income does not have a significant impact on class membership. In other words, there are people from different income groups in each group. Thus, it is excluded from the analysis. On the other hand, the level of education is highly influential.

The cell_{ij} of Table 5.13 (i representing the row, j representing the column) shows whether the probability of a person being in the class in the ith row rather than being in the class in the jth column increases (+), decreases (-) or does not change significantly (O) by education.

Table 5.13: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Education.

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X						
Omnivore Listeners	-	X					
Pop Listeners_aware	-	O	X				
Pop Listeners_UNaware	-	O	O	X			
Pop Arabesque	-	-	O	O	X		
Traditionals	-	O	+	O	+	X	
Light TR Omnivores	-	-	O	O	O	-	X

As the level of education increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” rather than being a member of any of the other classes increase in general²²¹; the probabilities of being a member of “Light Turkish Omnivores” rather than being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners”, “Omnivore Listeners” or “Traditional Music Listeners” decrease; the probabilities of being a member of “Traditional Music Listeners” rather than being a member of “Pop Listeners_aware

²²¹ Note that the education variable has 4 levels and the regressions results are given for 3 levels, i.e. the coefficients, standard errors and p-values of 3 levels are different from each other and different for each class pairs. The results given here are the general trends and a more detailed analysis can be made looking at the tables showing the regression results. For instance, probability of being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” rather than “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” increases for each of the 3 educational levels (high school, undergraduate, masters/PhD) compared to primary school, whereas the probability of being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” rather than “Omnivore Listeners” increases only for the high school graduates (as opposed to primary/secondary school graduates) and there is no significant difference between the probabilities of being a member of these two classes if the individual has an undergraduate or MA/PhD degree.

of alternatives”, “Pop Arabesque Listeners” or “Light Turkish Omnivores” increase; and the probabilities of being a member of “Omnivore Listeners” rather than being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” or “Light Turkish Omnivores” increase. To summarize the most prominent results, Y-Pop Listeners are relatively more educated compared to all other groups. Pop Arabesque Listeners and Light Turkish Omnivores are the groups with the least educated members.

Among the variables related to personal characteristics, tendency of liking to discover new music is influential only on discriminating the class “Traditional Music Listeners” from “Omnivore Listeners” and “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” (the probabilities of being a member of “Traditional Music Listeners” rather than “Omnivore Listeners” or “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” decrease as the tendency to like discovering new music increases). Thus, the impact of this variable can be ignored.

The impact of tendency to like a song after a number of repetitions on all the class pairs are summarized in Table 5.14 and the impact of being an active searcher of music on the internet and other platforms are summarized in Table 5.15.

The cell_{ij} of Table 5.14 (i representing the row, j representing the column) shows whether the probability of a person being in the class in the ith row rather than being in the class in the jth column increases (+), decreases (-) or does not change significantly (O) by tendency of liking a song after repetition.

An increased tendency of liking a song after repetition increases the probability of being a member of “Omnivore Listeners” against all other classes, and increases the probability of being a member of “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” against “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives”. That is to say Omnivore Listeners are the ones who declare (more frequently) that they have a tendency to like a song after a number of repetitions. This doesn’t necessarily mean that the members of other groups do not have the same tendency. As discussed above, liking of a song or a genre after repeated exposure happens unconsciously most of the time. Thus, a listener’s not declaring that he/she likes a songs after repetition might not mean that this is not the case. The result should rather be

evaluated as follows: Omnivore Listeners are more conscious about the impact of repeated exposure.

Table 5.14: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Tendency of Liking a Song after Repetition.

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X						
Omnivore Listeners	+	X					
Pop Listeners_aware	O	-	X				
Pop Listeners_Unaware	O	-	-	X			
Pop Arabesque	O	O	O	O	X		
Traditionals	O	-	O	O	O	X	
Light TR Omnivores	O	-	O	O	O	O	X

The cell_{ij} of Table 5.15 (i representing the row, j representing the column) shows whether the probability of a person being in the class in the ith row rather than being in the class in jth column increases (+), decreases (-) or does not change significantly (O) by being an active searcher of new music on the internet/on other platforms.

As the tendency to actively search for new music on the internet increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” against all classes except “Traditional Music Listeners” and “Light Turkish Omnivores” decrease. Probabilities of being a member of “Light Turkish

Omnivores” against all classes except “Pop Listeners_UNAware of alternatives” also decrease. As expected, Pop Listeners who are unaware of alternatives, Light Turkish Omnivores who do not spend much time on listening to music on any platform including the internet and Traditional Music Listeners who are relatively older in age and presumably are not as interested as other groups in discovering new music are the groups which do not actively search for alternative music. Especially Pop Listeners_Unaware of alternatives are the ones who are satisfied with the music imposed by the mainstream media. The members of the other two groups are the least interested in pop music.

Table 5.15: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Tendency to Actively Search for New Music. (Bottom-left triangle for tendency to search via internet, upper right triangle for tendency to search through other platforms).

	Y - Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNAware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	O	O	O	+	O	+
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	O	O	+	O	+
Pop Listeners_aware	O	O	X	O	+	O	+
Pop Listeners_UNAware	-	-	-	X	+	O	O
Pop Arabesque	O	O	O	+	X	-	O
Traditionals	O	O	O	O	O	X	+
Light TR Omnivores	-	-	-	O	-	O	X

The tendency of searching via other platforms is basically influential on being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners”. As the tendency increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” against all other classes except “Light Turkish Omnivores” decrease, and the probabilities of being a member of “Light Turkish Omnivores” against all classes except “Pop Arabesque Listeners” and “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” also decrease. As is the case for searching for new music on the internet, Light Turkish Omnivores’ not having a tendency to search for new music on other platforms either can be evaluated as their general disinterestedness in music. For the group Pop Arabesque Listeners, it is not surprising that they do not search for new music on platforms other than the internet because the members of this group are satisfied with mainstream pop and arabesque. What is more surprising is their probability of searching for new music on the internet being more than that of Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives, because both of these groups are constrained with the mainstream genres. One explanation can be the following: even though the arabesque can still be considered as a mainstream genre, the dominance of mainstream pop over arabesque has increased on mainstream radios and music TV in recent years. Thus, what was intended by the members of Pop Arabesque Listeners by declaring that they search for new music on the internet might be their searching for the new examples of arabesque.

For the scope of this dissertation, one of the most important variable groups to investigate with regard to their impact on class membership is the group of mainstream media variables. The evaluations regarding the influence of these variables will contribute to my endeavor to understand whether the arguments I put forth so far on the manipulative power of mainstream media on music preferences can be validated.

Regression analyses show that all the mainstream media variables are significantly influential on class membership. The probability patterns for the celebrity news watching/reading variables are given in Table 5.16, for the Talk Shows and TV series variables are given in Table 5.17, and for the ratio of time

spent on listening to music on radio to the time spent on listening to music via internet are given in Table 5.18.

The cell_{ij} of each table (i representing the row, j representing the column) shows whether the probability of a person being in the class in the ith row rather than being in the class in jth column increases (+), decreases (-) or does not change significantly (O) by each of the variables mentioned.

Table 5.16: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Frequency of Watching/Reading Celebrity News. (Bottom-left triangle for watching celebrity news on TV, upper right triangle for reading celebrity news on newspapers and/or the internet).

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_unaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	+	O	-	-	O	O
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	-	O	-	O	O
Pop Listeners_aware	+	+	X	O	O	O	+
Pop Listeners_UNaware	+	O	O	X	-	O	O
Pop Arabesque	O	O	-	-	X	+	+
Traditionals	O	O	O	O	O	X	O
Light TR Omnivores	O	O	-	-	O	O	X

As the frequency of watching celebrity news programs on TV increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” rather than being any of the classes except “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” and “Traditional Music Listeners” increase. The probabilities of being a member of

“Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” rather than being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners”, “Pop Arabesque Listeners” or “Light Turkish Omnivores” also increase. To summarize, Pop Listeners who are aware or unaware of the alternatives are relatively more interested in celebrity news on TV. This result seems to be reasonable because the celebrities who appear on these TV programs are for the most part the pop stars whose fans are the members of these two groups. It should be noted that the relationship between being a member of one of the two Pop Listeners groups and watching celebrity news might be reciprocal at least in the short run. However, I believe that the repeated appearance of certain performers on these mainstream shows have at least a partial influence on their songs’ being liked by the audience of these shows.

As the frequency of reading celebrity news in newspapers and on the internet increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” against all other classes except “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” increase. The probabilities of being a member of “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” against “Omnivore Listeners” and “Light Turkish Omnivores” increase. The probability of being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” rather than being a member of “Omnivore Listeners” increases but the probabilities of being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” rather than being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” or “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” decrease. In sum, the results show that “Pop Arabesque Listeners” and “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” have a higher tendency to read celebrity news on the internet whereas “Omnivore Listeners” are the ones who read such news with the lowest probability.

As the frequency of watching Talk Shows on mainstream TV channels increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” against all other classes increase. As the frequency of watching Turkish TV series increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Y-Pop Listeners” against all other classes decrease, and the probabilities of being a member of Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” against “Omnivore Listeners”, “Traditionals” and “Y-Pop Listeners” increase.

Table 5.17: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Frequency of Watching Talk Shows and TV Series. (Bottom-left triangle for Talk Shows, upper right triangle for TV series).

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	-	-	-	-	O	-
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	O	-	O	O	O
Pop Listeners_aware	O	O	X	O	O	O	O
Pop Listeners_Unaware	O	O	O	X	O	+	O
Pop Arabesque	+	+	+	+	X	O	O
Traditionals	O	O	O	O	-	X	O
Light TR Omnivores	O	O	O	O	-	O	X

Pop Arabesque Listeners are the ones who watch Talk Shows with the highest probability. This can be explained with the dominance of mainstream pop over arabesque on mainstream radio stations and music TV channels is not valid for Talk Shows. Both mainstream pop and arabesque artists are almost equally represented on these shows. That might be the reason for Pop Arabesque Listeners' being the most loyal audience of them. For the case of TV series, Y-Pop Listeners' being the least interested in these shows can be evaluated as their distaste for not only the mainstream musical forms (pop and arabesque) as shown above, but also for all mainstream cultural forms.

Table 5.18: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by the Ratio of the Time Spent on Listening to Music via Radio to the Time Spent on Listening to Music via Internet.

	Y-Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X						
Omnivore Listeners	O	X					
Pop Listeners_aware	+	+	X				
Pop Listeners_Unaware	+	+	O	X			
Pop Arabesque	+	+	O	O	X		
Traditionals	+	O	O	O	O	X	
Light TR Omnivores	+	+	O	O	-	O	X

As the ratio of time spent on listening to music via radio to the time spent on listening to music via internet increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Y-Pop listeners” against all classes except “Omnivore Listeners” decrease. The probabilities of being a member of “Omnivore Listeners” against all classes except “Y-Pop Listeners” and “Traditional Music Listeners” also decrease as shown in Table 5.18. That is to say, Y-Pop Listeners and Omnivore Listeners are the two groups that are relatively less interested in radio compared to the internet. Y-Pop Listeners’ not being interested in radio is presumably caused by the radio repertoires’ not addressing their musical preferences that are radically different from the Turkish popular forms. For the case of Omnivore Listeners, the relationship between the variables might be reciprocal again. The group members’ being dissatisfied (at least to some extent) with the music on the radio stations might

be the cause of their shifting attention to internet through which they discover and listen to alternatives of pop music, or their tendency to use the internet as a music listening platform and their tendency to actively search for new music might make them aware of the limited repertoires of the radios and to feel dissatisfied with these repertoires as a result. Whichever the case, it should once more be noted that Omnivore Listeners is the only group in which the alternatives are preferred for listening to a certain degree. Alternatives are not listened to in any other Turkish music listening groups (even by the ones in which at least some of these alternatives are known and liked). And in these groups, the ratio of time spent on radio listening to the time spent on listening to music via internet is higher compared to Omnivore Listeners. Thus, it can be argued that the relative dominance of the mainstream radio in one's life is influential on the diversity of music he/she prefers to listen to on his/her own initiative.

The impact of musical capital variables on musical preferences are also very crucial for the scope of this dissertation because these variables are directly related to the familiarity issue which have been discussed in length so far. Validating the influence of familiarity will reinforce my claim that the familiarity generated by the mainstream media through repeated exposure is influential on shaping the music preferences.

Among the musical capital variables, the less influential one is the music education, which makes a difference only between being a member of "Y-Pop Listeners" and of "Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives", and thus can be ignored.

Frequency of taking part in amateur music activities has a significant impact on differentiating the class "Omnivore Listeners" from the classes "Light Turkish Omnivores" and "Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives". Higher frequency of taking part in amateur music activities in the Omnivore Listeners group might be caused by its members' being more interested in music in general compared to the other two groups listed here. On the other hand, getting familiar with different songs and genres during these amateur music activities might be causing a person to be an omnivore listener as well.

Frequency of reading music articles are influential in discriminating the class “Omnivore Listeners” from the classes “Light Turkish Omnivores”, “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” and “Y-Pop Listeners” (probabilities of being a member of “Omnivore Listeners” against these three classes increase as the frequency of reading music articles increases). The alternatives of pop music are introduced to music listeners via music articles most of the time. Thus, increased frequency of reading these articles increases the level of awareness about the alternative artists and probability of listening to their songs.

The impact of the frequency of watching arts and cultural programs on TV can be seen in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by the Frequency of Watching Arts and Culture Programs on TV

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X						
Omnivore Listeners	O	X					
Pop Listeners_aware	O	O	X				
Pop Listeners_Unaware	O	O	O	X			
Pop Arabesque	-	-	O	O	X		
Traditionals	+	O	+	+	+	X	
Light TR Omnivores	O	O	O	O	O	-	X

As the frequency of watching arts and culture programs on TV increases, the probabilities of being a member of “Traditional Music Listeners” against all other classes except “Omnivore Listeners” increase. The probabilities of being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” against “Omnivore Listeners”, “Y-Pop Listeners” as well as “Traditional Music Listeners” decrease. The high probability of being a member of Traditional Music Listeners cannot be explained in relation to musical preferences (because the members of this group merely listen to THM and TSM -and established pop to some extent), but it can be explained in relation to the TV watching behaviors of this group. As mentioned above, Traditional Music Listeners are older in age and watching culture and arts programs (which were more frequent on TV at the times when the members of Traditional Music Listeners were younger) might be an established habit of the members of this group. On the other hand, Pop Arabesque Listeners’ being the ones who watch these programs with the lowest probability validates the positive impact of these programs on the diversity of musical preferences. That is to say, a person who does not watch arts and culture programs (through which he/she could learn about alternative artists) will become a Pop Arabesque Listener with a high probability.

Lastly, the musical genres that were listened to in the house an individual lived until the age 18 is highly influential on the class membership. This is an important variable because it will allow us to understand with accuracy whether repeated exposure to a certain genre increases the probability of preferring that genre on one’s own initiative later on. The results for the genres Pop/Rock and THM/TSM are given in Table 5.20, for the genres Arabesque and *Özgiin* are given in Table 5.21 and for foreign Pop/Rock and classical music are given in Table 5.22.

The cell_{ij} of each table (i representing the row, j representing the column) shows whether the probability of a person being in the class in the ith row rather than being in the class in jth column increases (+), decreases (-) or does not change significantly (O) if the genre under consideration was one of the genres listened to in the house lived until the age of 18.

If Turkish Pop and/or Rock are genres that were listened to in the house lived until the age of 18, then the probabilities of being a member of “Pop

Listeners_aware of alternatives” against all other classes except “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” increase. The probabilities of being a member of “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” against “Pop Arabesque Listeners”, “Y-Pop Listeners” and “Light Turkish Omnivores” increase. In sum, in the case of pop and rock, there is a precise relationship between what the listener was exposed to repeatedly in the past and what he/she chooses to listen today on his/her own initiative. That is to say, an individual who was exposed to Turkish pop and rock in the house he/she lived until the age of 18 presumably becomes a member of one of the groups in which pop is frequently listened to.

Table 5.20: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Whether Turkish Pop/Rock and THM/TSM were One of the Genres Listened to in the House Lived in until the Age 18. (Bottom-left triangle for Pop/Rock, upper right triangle for THM/TSM).

	Y - Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	O	O	O	O	-	O
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	+	+	O	O	O
Pop Listeners_aware	+	+	X	O	-	-	O
Pop Listeners_Unaware	+	O	O	X	-	-	O
Pop Arabesque	O	O	-	-	X	O	O
Traditionals	O	O	-	O	O	X	+
Light TR Omnivores	O	O	-	-	O	O	X

If THM and/or TSM are genres that were listened to in the house lived until the age of 18, then the probabilities of being a member of “Traditional Music

Listeners” against all other classes except “Omnivore Listeners” and “Pop Arabesque Listeners” increase. The probabilities of being a member of “Pop Arabesque” and “Omnivore Listeners” against “Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives” and “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” increase as well. That is to say, if a listener was exposed to the traditional genres in the past, then the probability of his/her becoming a mere pop listener is low. He/she rather becomes a traditional music listener, omnivore listener or pop and arabesque listener.

Table 5.21: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Whether Turkish Arabesque and *Özgün* Music were One of the Genres Listened to in the House Lived in until the Age 18. (Bottom-left triangle for Arabesque, upper right triangle for *Özgün*).

	Y-Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	O	O	O	O	-	O
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	+	+	+	O	+
Pop Listeners_aware	O	O	X	O	O	O	O
Pop Listeners_Unaware	O	O	O	X	+	O	O
Pop Arabesque	+	+	+	+	X	-	O
Traditionals	O	O	O	O	-	X	+
Light TR Omnivores	O	O	O	O	-	O	X

If arabesque is a genre that was listened to in the house lived until the age of 18, then the probabilities of being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” against all other classes increase. That is to say, the positive relationship between

the repeated exposure in the past and preferences of today is once more validated in the case of arabesque.

If *Özgün* music is a genre that was listened to in the house lived until the age of 18, then the probabilities of being a member of “Omnivore Listeners” against all classes except “Traditional Music Listeners” and “Y-Pop Listeners” increase. The probability of being a member of “Traditional Music Listeners” against “Pop Arabesque Listeners”, “Y-Pop Listeners” and “Light Turkish Omnivores” increase. The probability of being a member of “Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives” rather than of being a member of “Pop Arabesque Listeners” increases.

Table 5.22: Probability Patterns of Being a Member of Row Classes Rather than Being a Member of Column Classes by Whether Classical Music and Foreign Pop/Rock Music were One of the Genres Listened to in the House Lived in until the Age 18. (Bottom-left triangle for classical, upper right triangle for foreign Pop/Rock).

	Y- Pop Listeners	Omnivore Listeners	Pop Listeners_aware	Pop Listeners_UNaware	Pop Arabesque	Traditionals	Light TR Omnivores
Y-Pop Listeners	X	+	+	+	O	O	O
Omnivore Listeners	O	X	O	O	O	O	O
Pop Listeners_aware	O	O	X	O	O	O	O
Pop Listeners_Unaware	O	O	O	X	O	O	O
Pop Arabesque	O	O	O	O	X	O	O
Traditionals	O	O	O	O	O	X	O
Light TR Omnivores	-	-	O	O	-	O	X

The influence of the foreign Pop/Rock and classical music on class membership are less in comparison to the influence of the Turkish genres. Classical music's being a genre listened to in the house lived until the age 18 discriminates "Light Turkish Omnivores" from "Y-Pop Listeners", "Omnivore Listeners" and "Pop Arabesque Listeners", and foreign Pop or Rock's being genres listened to in the house lived until the age 18 discriminates "Y-Pop Listeners" from "Omnivore Listeners", "Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives" and "Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives" as indicated in Table 5.22.

So far in this section, the impacts of several variables listed under five categories on musical preferences have been analyzed separately based on the regression results. After evaluating all the categories in detail up to this point, I will now try to make a holistic assessment in association with the principle arguments of this dissertation. In this regard, I will focus on the impact of the explanatory variables on being aware of and having a tendency to listen to a diversified repertoire of music including the alternatives contrary to being limited to the sphere of the mainstream. The points to be emphasized are as follows: personal characteristics such as tendency to like a song after repetition and to actively search for new music are significantly influential on being aware of and listening to the alternatives. Moreover, the ones with these characteristics tend to be more distant from the recent mainstream genres. i.e. the probability of their listening to mainstream genres are relatively low.

Mainstream media exposure also has a significant impact on musical preferences. Being highly exposed to mainstream programs on TV and celebrity news in newspapers and on the internet decrease the probability of being aware of and listening to alternatives and increase the probability of preferring mainstream music genres. The mainstream media programs that are under consideration are promoters/multipliers of the mainstream music directly or indirectly. When a famous artist releases a new album, he/she appears on TV Shows and celebrity news programs, his/her songs are played on TV series, etc. Thus, it can be claimed that the familiarity created by these mainstream programs for the mainstream artists and

their songs is a relevant explanation for the significant impact of these variables put forth by the regression results.

However, it should also be underlined once more that the direction of causality is always questionable in empirical analysis based on surveys. That is to say, one cannot conclude for sure that the familiarity generated by mainstream media is the reason for the musical preferences by looking at the regression results. It might well be the case that the causality goes the other way around, i.e. people's preferring to watch mainstream programs might be caused by their liking of mainstream genres. Nevertheless, the theoretical arguments and empirical studies carried out in the past strengthen the claim that the mainstream media exposure has an impact on the formation of musical preferences.

Moreover, the variable regarding the musical genres listened to in the house lived until the age of 18 is a more accurate evidence (as there is no causality problem with regard to the impact of an explanatory variable whose outcome manifests before the manifestation of the outcome of the dependent variable) for the impact of familiarity and thus further strengthens the argument about the impact of the mainstream media.

In my regression analysis, some of the categories of the variable regarding the music genres listened to in the house lived until the age of 18 were aggregated because of the quasi-complete separation problem as mentioned above. Thus, even though the impact of this variable (in its merged form) on the class membership is significant and stands as an evidence for the relationship between familiarity and musical preferences, it is also possible to make a more detailed evaluation of the impact of this explanatory variable (without aggregating the genres) on the likeability of and tendency to listen to each and every genre listed in the questionnaire, by running separate regressions (taking liking/listening to a single genre as the dependent variable [33 dependent variables -14 listen, 19 like variables] and whether Turkish pop, Turkish rock, arabesque, THM, TSM, Özgün Music, classical, foreign pop, foreign rock and foreign jazz are listened to in the house one lived until the age 18 as binary independent variables [10 independent variables]).

The results of these additional regressions are summarized in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23: Probability Patterns of Liking/Listening to the Genre in Row_i if the Genre in Column_j is a Genre Listened to in the House Lived until the Age of 18.

	The genres listened to in the house	Turkish Pop	Turkish Rock	Arabesque	THM	TSM	Özgün Music	Classical	Foreign Pop	Foreign Rock	Foreign Jazz
Rhythmic/Dance	Listen	+	0	+	0	0	-	0	0	-	0
	Like	+	-	+	0	0	0	-	0	-	0
Slow/Acoustic	Listen	+	0	+	0	0	0	-	0	-	0
	Like	+	0	+	0	0	0	-	0	-	0
Nostalgic Pop	Listen	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	0	+
	Like	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	-	0
2nd Generation Pop	Listen	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0
	Like	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0
Soft Rock	Listen	+	+	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Like	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hard Rock	Listen	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0
	Like	0	+	-	-	0	+	0	0	+	0
Anatolian Rock	Listen	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0
	Like	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	0
Özgün	Listen	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0
	Like	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0
Rap	Listen	0	0	+	0	-	0	0	0	0	0
	Like	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TSM	Listen	-	-	0	0	+	0	0	0	-	0
	Like	-	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0
TSM (Modern)	Like	0	-	+	+	+	0	-	0	0	0
THM	Listen	-	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	-	0
	Like	-	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0
THM (Modern)	Like	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	-	-
Arabesque	Listen	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Like	0	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	0
M-Arabesque	Like	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	-	0	0
Y-Pop/Rock/R&B/Jazz	Listen	+	0	-	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
Y-Pop	Like	+	0	-	-	0	0	0	+	0	0
Y-Rock	Like	0	+	-	-	0	0	+	+	+	0
Y-Jazz	Like	0	0	-	-	+	0	+	+	+	+
Classical	Listen	+	0	-	0	+	0	+	0	0	+
	Like	0	0	-	-	+	0	+	+	0	0

I will explain (for the first few entries) how one should read the results from the table: If Turkish pop was being listened to in the house an individual lived until the age of 18, then the probability of this individual's liking and the probability of his/her listening to rhythmic/pop music increase. If Turkish rock was a genre listened to in the house an individual lived until the age of 18, then the probability that this individual likes rhythmic/dance music decreases, while the variable does not have a significant impact on whether the individual listens to rhythmic/dance music via CD, vinyl, mp3, etc. The other results can be read similarly, looking at the (-), (+) and (O) signs.

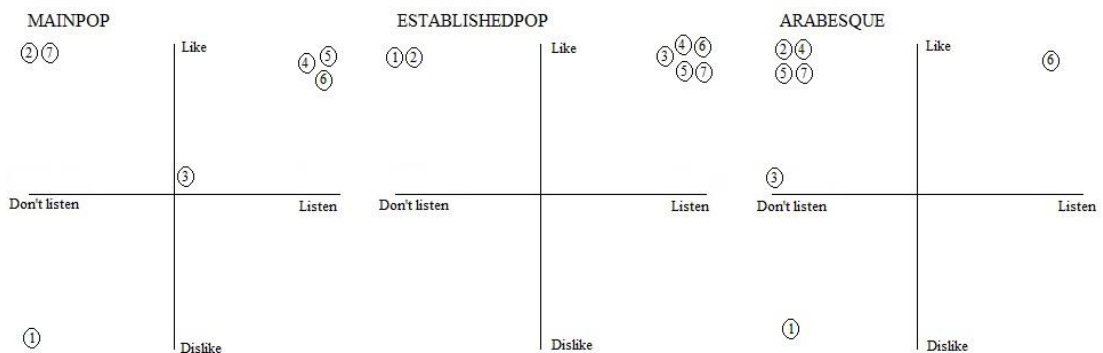
The conclusion is clear for each and every genre: If a person gets familiar with a genre in the house he/she lived until the age 18, then the probabilities of his/her liking and listening to that genre increase significantly. Moreover, the probability of liking (or disliking) a genre that is musically similar to (or radically different from) the genre(s) listened to in the house lived until 18 increases for some of the genre pairs.

5.2.3.3 Summary of findings of the econometric analyses

The LCA results show that there are seven groups in the society in terms of their musical preferences. All of these groups are omnivore in terms liking music, i.e. the members of each group like various types of music. On the other hand, only one of the groups is omnivore in terms of their listening to Turkish music and one other group is omnivore in terms of their listening to foreign music, that is to say the members of only Omnivore Listeners listen to multiple genres of Turkish music (including the alternatives of pop) and the members of Y-Pop Listeners listen to multiple genres of foreign music via CD, vinyl, mp3 and/or internet search. The existence of these two groups validate H1.5, which says that "there are people living in Turkey who are dissatisfied with the music broadcasted in the mainstream music media".

Two of the other groups are partially omnivore in their listening repertoires of Turkish music including only a number of mainstream genres such as pop, arabesque and popular examples of traditional genres (TSM and THM). The rest are all univore (listening to mainstream recent pop only). Thus, regarding the first hypothesis (H1.1), we have come to the conclusion that there exists a large group of people who like and listen to the music promoted on the mainstream music media (see Figure 5.4) and a significant portion of this large group listens to only the music promoted by the mainstream music media.

Figure 5.4: Each of the 7 Group's Liking and Listening to the Mainstream Genres (MAINPOP is a genre promoted by today's mainstream media; ESTABLISHEDPOP is a genre which have been promoted by the mainstream media of 1990's and onwards; ARABESQUE is a genre that was promoted by the mainstream media of the pre-2000s and partially by the mainstream media of 2000s and onwards). The numbers show the groups (1- Y-Pop Listeners, 2- Light Turkish Omnivores, 3- Omnivore Listeners, 4-Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives, 5-Pop Listeners_Unaware of alternatives, 6- Pop Arabesque Listeners, 7- Traditional Music Listeners). The graphs show that 6 groups like and 4 of them listen to MAINPOP, all groups like and 5 of them listen to ESTABLISHEDPOP, 6 groups like and 1 of them listen to ARABESQUE.



In order to check the validity of Bourdieu's theory of distinction I also checked to see if any of the groups display a distaste for some of the genres. I found that Y-Pop Listeners declare that they dislike the mainstream Turkish pop music and arabesque. With the members of the group Pop Arabesque Listeners, who only listen to mainstream pop and arabesque music, there is a clear distaste for foreign

genres. That is to say, the two groups (Y-Pop Listeners and Pop Arabesque Listeners) show distinction for each other by displaying distaste for the favorite genres of the other.

Based on these findings, it can be argued that the theories of homology and omnivore/univore are partially validated for the sample of this study. As mentioned above, two groups in our sample display distaste for the favorite music of the other as it was argued by Bourdieu in his homology theory. Bourdieu additionally argues under the scope of homology theory that the individuals with higher status in the society (in terms of income, education, etc.) have high-brow tastes and the individuals with lower status have low-brow tastes. It has been shown before that the level of education of the Y-Pop Listeners is higher than that of Pop Arabesque Listeners. Thus, if we take the education level as an indicator of social status and if we take that all forms of foreign music are superior over Turkish mainstream pop and arabesque, we can say that the homology theory is validated for these two groups.

For other groups identified throughout this study, the omnivore/univore theory is valid. Omnivore Listeners, who are also among the higher status groups of the society in terms of their level of education, are differentiated from the other groups in the society - in which Turkish music is frequently listened to - in terms of the diversity of their music preferences as argued in the related studies which were overviewed in the beginning.

One of the most important results of this study to be specifically emphasized at this point is the level of awareness of each group identified above about the alternatives, their tendency to like the alternatives and the extent to which the alternatives take place in their listening repertoires. This point is very important because it is directly related to the influence of digital technologies, which have been expected to generate a democratic environment through which the levels of produced and consumed diversity would increase. The findings of this study clearly indicate that the alternatives are only known to a certain extent in three of the seven groups despite their endless availability on the digital platforms, i.e. H1.2, which says that the majority of the mainstream music likers are not aware of the

alternatives, is validated. And only 40% of the members of only one group include alternatives in their listening repertoires. Alternatives are not listened to via CD, vinyl, mp3 or internet search by the members of any other group. On the other hand, it has been found that even though the alternatives are not listened to on the majority of the listeners' own initiative, in all of the groups there is a tendency to like at least some of the alternatives that are known by the members.

Hence, H1.4, which says that the listeners who are not aware of the alternatives are potential likers of the alternatives, is also validated. This is evidence which opposes the claim of the mainstream music and media industry representatives that it is the public who wants what is being aired on the radio and music TV channels and what is being produced by the major record labels. Most of the listeners' not choosing to listen to the alternatives - that they know and like - might be caused by the dominance of the mainstream media in people's daily lives as a result of which the examples of mainstream music are the first ones that come to mind when people decide to listen to music on their own initiative.

After the listeners were grouped in terms of their musical preferences, multivariate regression analyses were conducted to find out which factors determine the group membership – i.e. the musical preferences. The impact of a number of demography variables, status variables, personality variables, mainstream media exposure variables and musical capital variables were checked and it was concluded that age, gender, education, certain personality traits (associated with openness to novelties in music), level of exposure to mainstream media (including frequency of watching different forms of mainstream TV programs and the ratio of time spent on radio listening to the time spent on listening to music via internet), taking part in amateur music activities and the familiarity gained through repeated exposure to certain genres in the house lived until the age of 18 were found to be significantly influential on the preferences of the individuals. Among these variables, the ones related to mainstream media exposure and the one related to the familiarity gained in the early ages are especially important for the scope of this dissertation because the significance of their impact validates the manipulative power of the mainstream media on shaping the musical preferences

of the listeners. That is to say, the hypothesis of this dissertation with regard to the influence of the mainstream (H1.2) cannot be rejected, and if this is the case, it is crucial to understand how the mainstream music media function.

5.3 MAINSTREAM MUSIC MEDIA²²² IN TURKEY

The reason for my focusing on the mainstream media is the intention to evaluate the diversity issue from the perspective and to the benefit of the society. As the majority of the society learns and/or consume music through the mainstream media, it is crucial to understand the functioning of the mainstream media in a study in which the consumers' benefits are of central concern. And the radio is especially analyzed among different forms of mainstream media because it is the basic deliverer of music in today's world. Especially after the establishment of private television channels and radio stations, the radio turned out to be a "jukebox" and its relative importance in delivering music to the audiences increased (Dinç, Çankaya & Ekici, 2000: 38).

5.3.1 The Gatekeeping Role of Radio in the Digital Age

The importance of radio in influencing what is being produced and consumed in culture and specifically in the music industry before the digital era has been emphasized many times in the world academic literature (Adorno, 1945; Hirsch, 1972; Peterson, 1990). Even though radio's relative popularity against the digital platforms in reaching music has started to decrease in the 2000s, it has been argued and shown that especially the mainstream radio stations still have a primary role in promoting the newly released music and hence in orientating the musical

²²² Music media consist principally of radio and music TV. The focus of analysis of this dissertation is on radio, because the survey results show that music listeners in Turkey do not spend as much time for watching music TV as they spend for listening to radio (probably due to the emergence of video streaming as a substitute for music TV) and thus the direct influence of radio is assumed to be significantly higher on music preferences compared to music TV. Music TV is rather analyzed in terms of its impact within the industry. Nevertheless, the evaluations regarding the radio stations are also valid for the mainstream music TV in general.

tastes of the listeners all around the world (Williamson & Cloonan, 2007; Baltzis, 2009).

Table 5.24: Number of Radio Listening Households and Their Share in Total, Turkey .

	Number of radio listening households	Total number of households	Share in total
March 2016	7.600.928	15.679.715	48%
February 2016	7.214.397	15.679.715	46%
January 2016	6.435.264	14.068.922	46%
December 2015	6.451.295	14.068.922	46%
November 2015	6.685.431	14.068.922	47%
October 2015	6.355.802	14.068.922	45%
September 2015	6.011.904	14.068.922	43%
August 2015	5.675.067	14.068.922	40%
July 2015	5.393.649	14.068.922	38%

Source: Nielsen radio listening researches conducted for URYAD.

As shown in the previous section and through the survey conducted for this dissertation, the key role of the mainstream radio on music consumption is also valid for the music industry of Turkey. The majority of the consumers spend a significant amount of time listening to mainstream music media (especially the radio) and mainstream radio is declared to be one of the primary sources of learning about new artists and new song releases for most of the listeners. The majority of the listeners declare that they like (established and/or recent) mainstream music. And the arguments related to repetition together with the examples that have been liked by the majority after shifting from the alternative scene to the mainstream strongly affirm the idea that mainstream media shape the musical preferences of

their listeners. Moreover, the data provided by URYAD and Nielsen also confirms that radio is a prominent medium of music listening: According to the most recent URYAD Radio Listening Research, as of October 2016, 65% of all individuals (with an age of 12 or older) listen to radio (weekly)²²³. The Nielsen monthly reports show that the number of households that listen to radio has increased every month in the last one year period – see Table 5.24. The share of households listening to radio in all households has risen from 38% to 48% from July 2015 to March 2016.

If the dominance of the mainstream radio on the music listening behaviors of the majority cannot be rejected, then it is crucial to analyze the repertoire selection mechanisms of the mainstream radio and to evaluate these repertoires in terms of musical diversity. To do so in the case of Turkey, a research based on in-depth interviews with music media industry representatives was carried out for this dissertation. Before putting forth the results of this research, related academic studies carried out in the world will be reviewed shortly.

5.3.2 Studies on Diversity in Radio Programming

It has been very common in the world literature on the repertoire diversity of the radio stations to relate the level of programming diversity to the level of radio market concentration (Ahlkvist & Fisher, 2000). That is to say, not only the concentration level in the recording industry (as discussed in Chapter 2) but also that in the radio industry has been shown to be influential on diversity. The privatization of the radio broadcasts and certain legal regulations which enabled the ownership of multiple radio stations resulted in consolidation and increased market concentration in the radio industries of the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and other European countries starting from the second half of the 1990s. These developments were shown in several studies to result in decreased amount of musical diversity in radio programming (Ahlkvist & Fisher, 2000). The reasoning behind the decreased amount of diversity under such oligopolistic markets is explained by Chamber

²²³ Source: <http://uryad.org.tr/uryad,-ekim-2016-haftalik-ve-gunluk-radyo-dinleme-oranlarini-acikladi>

(2003), Ahlqvist & Fisher (2000), Rothenbuhler (1987), Rothenbuhler & McCourt (1992): firms are commercially oriented under oligopolistic competition and thus adopt the rationalization strategy in which they try to maximize their audience base by focusing on commonly known and liked examples of the most popular musical genres and eliminating more innovative (and hence risky) musical pieces. The rationalization strategy includes using audience research, following the chart success of the songs, imitating the successful competitors, etc. in opposition to adopting an aesthetic approach in which the most important motivation is to broadcast what is musically superior (Ahlqvist, 2001). These strategies will be critically evaluated for the case of Turkey below.

5.3.3 Dynamics of Mainstream Music Media in Turkey: Research Findings

Table 5.25 shows the most popular radio stations in Turkey, which media group each of them belongs to and the share of the total radio listeners each of them reaches.

As can be seen from the table, a few media groups dominate the radio market in terms of ratings (i.e. the industry is highly concentrated) and most of these groups own more than one mainstream stations (i.e. the industry is consolidated). That is to say, the radio sector in Turkey has an oligopolistic structure. In this study, the level of diversity in the mainstream music media industry in Turkey, which is operating under the oligopoly conditions, is tried to be grasped and evaluated in comparison to the related world literature based on in-depth interviews with radio and music TV programmers/managers. A total of 12 programmers (2 of them have worked only for alternative radio stations, 2 have worked for both alternative and mainstream radio

Table 5.25: Turkish Media Groups that Include at least One Turkish Music Radio Ranking between 1 and 10 on the Radio Rating list of URYAD as of March 2016²²⁴.

GROUP	STATION	FORMAT	RANKING	Reach ²²⁵
Doğuş Media Gr. ²²⁶	Kral FM	Mixed (Arabesque, THM dominant)	1.	19%
	Kral Pop Radio	Pop	7.	6%
	TOTAL			25%
TRT ²²⁷	TRT FM	Mixed	2.	11,5%
Power Media Gr. ²²⁸	PowerTürk	Pop	3.	8%
Karnaval Media. Gr. ²²⁹	Süper FM	Pop	5.	6,7%
	Joy Türk	Pop	10.	5,2%
	Alem FM	Pop	16.	2,7%
	TOTAL			14,6%
Doğan Media Gr. ²³⁰	Slowtürk	Pop	6.	6,2%
	Radyo D	Pop	18.	2,5%
	TOTAL			8,7%
-	Radyo Seymen	THM	8.	5,9%
Best Media	Best FM	Pop	9.	5,4%

²²⁴ Note that the URYAD list includes data on the radio stations that are members of the association only. Hence a number of stations, for instance İstanbul FM, are not included in the list even though they are mainstream radio stations.

²²⁵ Share of listeners of the radio station in all radio listeners.

²²⁶ Owned by Doğuş Inc. also owning 2 mainstream TV channels (Star TV, NTV, NTV Spor), a number of celebrity news (Vogue, GQ, National Geographic Türkiye, National Geographic Kids) and NTV Radio.

²²⁷ Also includes Radyo 1, Radyo 3, TRT Nağme and TRT Türkü.

²²⁸ Owned by Vakko and also includes PowerTürk TV, the foreign music radio stations Power FM (ranking 12th), Power Love (ranking 40th) and a number of web radio stations such as Power Smooth Jazz, Power XL etc. and Power TV.

²²⁹ Also includes foreign music stations Metro FM (ranking 4th), Joy FM (ranking 25th), Virgin Radio (ranking 31st) and a number of web radio stations such as Genç ve Fit Radyo, Ankaralı, Joy Türk Akustik etc.

²³⁰ Also includes CNNTürk Radio and two mainstream TV channels, Kanal D and CNNTürk, and other TV channels such as tv2 and Boomerang.

	Baba Radyo	Arabesque	29.	1%
	TOTAL			6,4%
Show-Viva ²³¹	Show Radyo	Pop	11.	5,2%
	Radyo Viva	Pop	21.	2%
	TOTAL			7,2%

stations and all others have always and exclusively worked only for mainstream radio stations and music TV channels so far) were interviewed in order to understand the process of repertoire selection in the main radio stations. These 12 interviewees have had experience in programming at different levels (programmer, music director, general broadcasting manager) in 14 different radio stations (Kral FM, Kral Pop Radio, PowerTürk Radio, TRT FM, Süper FM, Radyo D, İstanbul FM, JoyTürk Radio, Best FM, Radyo Klas, Kanaltürk Radio, Karadeniz FM, Yön FM, Açık Radyo) 7 of which are among the top 10 radio stations in terms of rating²³², and the following 3 ranking between 10 and 20, and the two top music TV channels, Kral Pop TV and PowerTürk TV.

The in-depth interviews with the professionals were decoded and the texts were content analyzed. Main findings are given and explained in the following subsections.

5.3.3.1 Rise of “Hit Music” Format Among All Mainstream Music Media Channels in the 2000s

Mainstream radio stations have always been interested in broadcasting “what is widely known and liked by the target audience” - that is to say, what is popular²³³ among the target audience - as the main aim of a commercial media outlet

²³¹ Also includes the music TV channel Viva.

²³² Based on Radio Ratings Research conducted by Nielsen on behalf of URYAD (National Radio Broadcasters Association) in December 2015.

²³³ What is mentioned here is the short term demands of the audiences because, as discussed and tried to be shown throughout this dissertation, the preferences are shaped by the mainstream media (including the radio stations) themselves.

is to gain as much advertising revenue as it can through the target audience. For a radio station to choose to broadcast a niche musical genre, its revenues in doing so should be greater than the revenues earned via broadcasting mainstream music. In an oligopolistic radio market (which is the case for Turkey), it is more profitable for a radio station to compete for the mainstream audience (Hendy, 2000) because the share of one out of a handful mainstream radio companies will be significantly high compared to the advertising revenue of a radio which is broadcasting for a niche audience in Turkey (as the share of niche audiences in the society are not high enough to attract sufficient amount of advertising). Nevertheless, before the 2000s, the level of musical standardization, which is a natural outcome of this incentive, never did come to the point it reached in the 2000s and after.

The reason for observing a turning point in terms of an increased level of standardization in the mainstream radio industry in the early 2000s is the introduction of the CHR format by PowerTürk Radio (and PowerTürk TV) starting from the year 2003 when the institution was established.

The CHR format attracted the attention of all other popular radio stations after PowerTürk became financially successful in a very short time. All radio stations who wished to follow the success of PowerTürk started to copy its method in programming and as a result the CHR format became widespread to a great extent²³⁴, confirming Hotelling (1929) who claims that competition leads to standardization because all the radio stations target the ‘mean’ consumer so as to maximize profits and neglect the marginal consumers. It has been shown several times in the literature that copying the success of the rivals is a commonly used strategy in the media industries and it results in a decreased amount of content diversity (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Bielby & Bielby, 1994; Turner, 1993).

The performance in the radio industry is measured not in terms of total ratings but in terms of incomes from advertisements, which is also related to the target audience issue. Kral FM (which is a mix music broadcasting radio station

²³⁴ It should be noted that the CHR format is not applied completely as such in most of the Turkish radios, i.e. songs that are not as popular as the top 40 songs may have some chance to be aired to some extent; yet it is the CHR content that dominates mainstream radio programming in general (this information is confirmed by all the radio programmers consulted).

with a dominance of arabesque, followed by Turkish Folk Music and Turkish Classical Music) and TRT FM (which has been a mix music public radio with the domination of Turkish Classical Music and Turkish Folk Music at similar rates) have always had higher total ratings than PowerTürk. However, as mentioned by the radio representatives interviewed, PowerTürk's audience base is composed of teenagers, university students and women who are the ones that make the highest consumption expenditures and thus constitute the main target for the companies that advertise on radio. That is to say, the quality of the listeners are somehow more important than the quantity of them. That is why even Kral FM and TRT FM started to include pop songs in their playlists after the 2000s. Furthermore, Kral Group recently established a new radio named KralPop and TRT FM decided to position itself as a mainstream radio by increasing the amount of pop music it broadcasts in order to be able to compete with PowerTürk²³⁵.

The CHR format, which started to become widespread in the world after the 1960s (Kuyucu, 2013b), depends on a strategy of airing the most popular 40 songs of the day (that's why another name for the CHR format is Top 40 format), resulting in the reinforcement of their popularity. I should note at this point that the ways in which the top 40 songs are determined are open to debate because even though the top charts might be generated on the basis of objective sales data (which is actually the consequences of the vicious circle created in the music industry most of the time) on some occasions, it is commonly the case that they are generated by the repeated broadcasting carried out by radio/music TV representatives themselves. Mehmet Akbay admits that they sometimes position the songs they want to promote on their top lists without depending on any objective data.

Parallel to this, the automation technology has started to be used in radio programming in the 2000s. Through this technology, weekly playlists are constituted and the frequency of airplay for each song is set by the music directors, and then these lists are broadcasted automatically by the system throughout the week. The music director of a mainstream radio station sets up the system according

²³⁵ Mentioned by Mehmet Akbay, the general broadcasting manager of Kral Group, and Michael Kuyucu, radio programmer in TRT FM.

to the general rules of his/her institution. And there are some common informal rules – that are in conformity with the CHR format - of mainstream radio institutions:

- Check the researches on the popularity of songs (popularity on traditional media and digital platforms) based on charts, number of views of videos, number of likes and comments, etc.
- Check PowerTürk's playlists (as PowerTürk is the leader of the radio sector in terms of advertisement incomes, its playlists attract special attention from other radio stations) and the playlists of other competitor radio stations.
- Check Kral Pop TV and PowerTürk TV. If the song has a video clip and it is broadcasted on Kral Pop TV and PowerTürk TV, then the song has a higher chance to be broadcasted on radio station. (It was stated by the interviewees – such as Michael Kuyucu and Mehmet Yavuzer - that having a music video which is being broadcasted by these two TV channels never guarantees airplay on radios and that having a music video is less influential on radio exposure compared to 10 years ago. The reason for this is that the music TV has lost power as being the initial popularizing medium of newly released music).
- Check the physical and digital sales and digital streaming figures.

In sum, give the listeners what they want the most.

The radio channels argue that they give the listeners what they demand the most by using the hit music format. However, some of the radio programmers admit that this strategy leads to a vicious circle in which the majority of the listeners are only aware of or are bombarded with a limited number of artists and styles that become likeable (and demandable) by them after a certain amount of exposure; then the radios continue to broadcast the same (or similar) types of songs with the rationale that the listeners like them the most.

Michael Kuyucu, who has 15 years of experience in the radio industry as a programmer and music director, and who also conducts academic studies in the area (such as the books “Media Economy in Turkey” and “The Pop Explosion”),

qualifies the stance of the mainstream radio as “free-riding”, i.e. broadcasting what are assumed to be liked by the masses rather than assessing the recently released songs objectively and filtering them according to some musical criteria (like harmonic structure, performance superiority, etc.) and musical diversity, taking risk if needed and trying to bring talented, creative musicians and performers in the sector. Kuyucu and nearly all of the other programmers interviewed admit that shifting to the CHR format in the radio industry increased the level of musical standardization in the mainstream radio playlists in Turkey and it is nearly impossible for a noname artist to be able to have his/her songs taken into circulation in these playlists. The common response to a noname artist by the radio programmers is, “Go and try to become popular somewhere else, then we will air your songs”. This response is imposed from the top to the programmers most of the time. Füsün Alkan, a former radio programmer of Best FM, told me during my interview with her that she asked the permission of her managers several times to air a newly released song and the managers responded as follows: “Wait until the song becomes popular in other radios” (Füsün Alkan, in-depth interview, May 2014). This mentality of ‘backing the right horse’ makes it nearly impossible for an outsider artist to become popular via radio because all radios’ having the same stance puts the progress in a vicious cycle. The only option for the artist is to gain a certain amount of popularity in some other platforms (such as TV series and the internet) first.

5.3.3.1.1 What Does PowerTürk Do?

PowerTürk radio deserves special attention because of being mentioned by almost all other radio programmers to be the leader of the sector. I interviewed two representatives of PowerTürk Group who are the music directors of both PowerTürk Radio and PowerTürk TV and asked them about how the songs are selected to be broadcasted and what factors affect this selection process. Their response was the following:

We use a research method, which can be called “sample auditing”, based on the preferences of our target audience. In the first stage of the system, all the songs that are sent to our radio pass through a preselection process carried out by ourselves. This preselection is necessary because the number of songs that are sent to us is too high²³⁶. (Emre Tankut Karakurt & Miray Acer, in-depth interview, May 2016).

According to the information given by the interviewees, i.e. the radio programmers of PowerTürk, this first stage is conducted depending on the so-called general musical standards of the station and all the songs fulfilling these standards (whether being a song of a star or of a noname artist) can pass, and on the other hand a song that does not fulfill these standards (even if it is a song of a star) is eliminated during the preselection stage.²³⁷ There are several examples to the elimination or delay of airplay of well-known artists such as Ajda Pekkan, Hande Yener, Hakan Peker and Kenan Doğulu in the recent Turkish pop music history²³⁸.

Then in the second stage, a sample of the audience of the radio is subjected to a survey in which they are asked their opinions about the songs (without being informed about the names of the artists)²³⁹.

The programming type of PowerTürk is analogous to what Ahlqvist & Faulkner (2002) categorize as the ‘objective repertoire’ which refers to the type of programmers who determine their repertoires based on audience researches. The system actually sounds like an objective and fair way of preparing the playlists at first glance but, as also argued by Ahlqvist & Fisher (2000), it does not serve diversity (of the musical styles and artists). First of all, the preselection process allows only the songs that fit into the specific standards of pop music – the songs

²³⁶ Compared to the music directors of other radio stations, the music directors of PowerTürk have more musical knowledge based on their education and experience in the sector. Thus, I presume that the preselection process is carried out by paying attention to musical quality even if the alternative styles are directly eliminated.

²³⁷ There is a widespread rumor in the radio and music industries about the filtering mechanisms of PowerTürk. Many of the sector representatives (programmers working in other radio stations, producers, singers, etc.) believe that PowerTürk directly eliminates a song if the arrangements include traces of genres like arabesque, folk music, etc. The representatives of PowerTürk strictly deny these claims and they assert that in the era we are in, the musical genres influence each other a lot and they do not have any negative evaluations about the pop songs that have elements of other genres.

²³⁸ Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/beni-test-edemezsiniz-27578062>

²³⁹ The programmers didn’t want to give the methodological details of this stage.

which are usually defined as ‘radio-friendly’ - to be included in the sample auditing stage. Secondly, even though the music directors of the radio declare that each and every artist has equal chances of exposure, they also underline the fact that PowerTürk is a “hit radio” and they cannot air a totally unknown artist. Moreover, the results of the sample auditing are nearly always parallel to the popularity of an artist and a song; hence, they do not put the music directors in a puzzle. One reason for the auditing results being parallel to the general popularity of a song is that they not only ask the sample audience whether they liked the song or not, but also whether the song sounded familiar to them or not. As a result, the songs that are already known to the sample get higher scores compared to the ones that are totally new.

In some exceptional cases²⁴⁰ the songs of noname artists get high scores in the sample auditing in spite of their songs’ being relatively less familiar, and additionally the music directors have a strong foresight about the future success of the artist. In such rare occasions the radio takes the risk in return for the possibility of being the forerunner in discovering a new star. In such cases, the programmers shift to the “populist repertoire” category of Ahlqvist & Faulkner (2002) which is attributed by the authors to programmers who try to foresee which songs will be liked by the listeners without asking the listeners themselves. Even in those cases, they put the song in a slow rotation in the radio (i.e. they broadcast it with a low frequency) and wait until it becomes popular somewhere else (internet, TV, etc.) before increasing the frequency of its airplay.

The importance of the ability to foresee the future popularity of an artist for the mainstream radio stations was emphasized by not only PowerTürk Radio but also a number of other stations such as İstanbul FM²⁴¹. Mehmet Yavuzer, radio programmer at İstanbul FM, says: “The ability to foresee the success of a new song potentially carries our radio to a leading position in the sector and adds value to our brand value” (Mehmet Yavuzer, in-depth interview, November 2015).

²⁴⁰ Music directors mentioned Can Bonomo and Aydilge as examples.

²⁴¹ İstanbul FM was established in 1994 as part of the Oflaz Media Group (which also includes İstanbul FM Slow, Radyo 35 and İstanbul TV).

The reason for PowerTürk's keeping the leadership position is its ability to test the pulse of the audience week by week without excluding the low score songs from the pool of songs used during the surveys, keeping in mind the possibility of some of the songs' becoming popular a certain period of time after its first release.

In sum, what PowerTürk does is to filter the songs that are musically acceptable for the radio standards at first, then select the most popular songs among the popular songs through sample auditing stage, and hence create the 'mainstream of the mainstream' by reinforcing the popularity of these songs. That is why the level of standardization has increased after PowerTürk entered the radio market and every other mainstream radio stations started to imitate PowerTürk because of the financial success of its CHR strategy. The increase in the level of musical standardization as a result of PowerTürk's research-based strategy confirms for the case of Turkey what is shown to be true for the world in Chapter 2: technological advancements which have made it easier to determine the actual preferences of the individuals via internet-based research led to the increase of the popularity of the most popular songs resulting in a decreased level of diversity.

The radios other than PowerTürk do not use the sample auditing system but their strategies are similar to PowerTürk's in the following sense: they eliminate the songs which are not radio-friendly, i.e. outside certain musical limits (these limits may only be bended for the most popular artist to some extent – for instance, the songs from the TSM album recently released by Tarkan are being aired on the mainstream pop radios with certain frequencies even though TSM is an excluded genre in general) and try to accommodate the taste of the majority in one way or the other. Moreover, they follow the Nielsen music reports in order to detect the success of each song on the charts and the rating success of their rivals in relation to which songs they air, i.e. all radio stations use somehow similar research-based approach even if they don't conduct a comprehensive audience research.

5.3.3.2 Connections Between Major Radio Companies and Major Record Labels/Major Artists

One of the primary criteria for nearly all of the mainstream radio stations to consider when putting a song into high or medium rotation in their playlists is the name of the record label by which the song was released. If the song is not released by a major (or at least a medium-size) record label, then it either goes to waste without even being listened to and evaluated by the music director, or listened to but evaluated negatively because of the priority given to more popular artists and newly released artists of popular record labels. That is to say, a noname artist only has a chance to be aired in a mainstream radio station if his/her album is released by a major record company most of the time. This is partly because of the credibility of the major record companies over the radio station because of the established stars they work with, and partly the huge budgets they share for the marketing of their noname artist covering multiple outlets (TV, printed press, etc.) and hence providing a decent level of popularity for the artist, which is usually (but not all of the time) enough for the radio stations to include the song of the artist in their playlists (at least with a low level of exposure in the beginning). Besides, direct promotion budgets that record companies spend on radio – as claimed by Ahlqvist & Faulkner (2002) - and the bribe (which is known as *payola*) - as mentioned by Rothenbuhler & McCourt (2004) - paid to record companies' (or the promoters representing them) – are also influential on which artists' songs will be played more on some of the radio stations. One of the radio programmers declared that some of her colleagues and even one of the managers she worked with requested to be paid in order to include the songs of new artists in the playlist of the radio they work for. Such unofficial mechanisms in mainstream radio stations put the music media sector in an unfair environment especially for the independent artists trying to survive in the sector with low promotion budgets (Ayşe Güler Alaca, in-depth interview, November 2015).

It is the common opinion of the radio programmers that major record labels rarely invest in an album project of a totally unknown artist in the 2000s and 2010s

because of the decreased sales of physical albums and increased risk of not being able to have radio exposure for the songs as a consequence of the CHR format. Major record labels accept work only with the artists who proceed to a certain extent in terms of popularity by his/her own means using the internet, live music performances, etc.

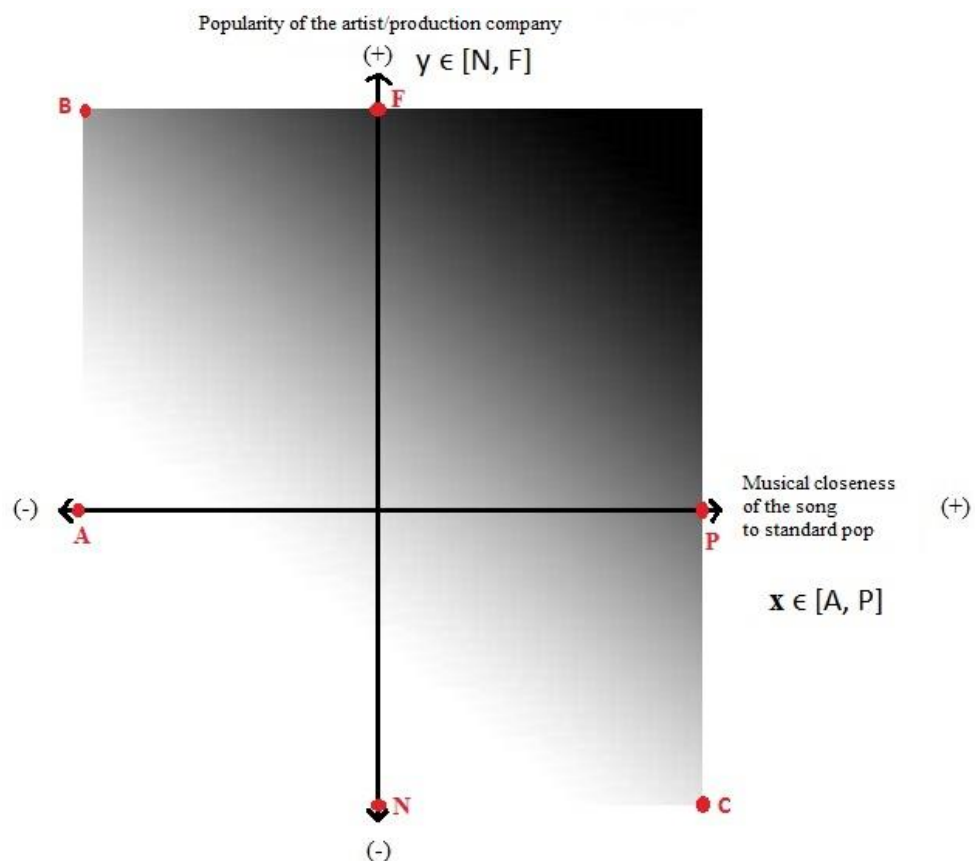
Moreover, an independent noname artist who has even a promotion budget as high as a major record label cannot get the same outcomes in terms of radio exposure, not only because of his/her inability to use this budget in a systematic and effective way, but also because the major record labels and major artists occasionally intervene in the playlists of the radios and try to prevent the entrance of new competitors to the market (mentioned by Mehmet Akbay, the general director of KRAL Group).

I would also like to mention the exceptional case of PowerTürk in terms of its relationships with the record labels and famous artists. PowerTürk keeps a certain distance from all the companies and stars (or at least declares to do so) because of their unwillingness to go out of their established system. Emre Tankut Karakurt says: “We don’t attend the launching events of the record labels or artists”, and Miray Acer adds: “Even when the artists call us to ask our opinions about their newly released songs, we don’t even make any comments” (Emre Tankut Karakurt & Miray Acer, in-depth interview, May 2016). The representatives of the radio station explain their reasoning as follows: Even though their strategy adds up to the same results as that of the other radio stations on the whole, the short term expectations of some of the major labels and/or artists for specific songs might be contradictory to their methods and they do not want to go into a discussion with the music sector representatives during the process.

To sum up, both the radio sector and the music industry function in an oligopolistic nature in Turkey, i.e. these industries are dominated by a small number of major firms. And based on their mutual interests, these dominant radio stations and record labels are in intimate relationships with each other. Hence, it is nearly impossible for a noname artist (whether he/she makes alternative music or standard pop music) to enter the playlists of the mainstream radios.

The 1st and the 2nd findings of the interviews set forth the criteria - which are summarized in Figure 5.5 - for a song to be aired in a mainstream radio station.

Figure 5.5: Probability of a Song to Get Mainstream Radio Airplay, Based on the Popularity of the Artist and/or the Production Company and the Musical Standards



If $y=F$, the singer is known by everyone, the production company is a major one
 If $y=N$, the singer is unknown to everyone, the production company is unknown in the sector
 If $x=P$, the song exactly corresponds to standard pop
 If $x=A$, the song is totally different from standard pop

The probability of a song's being broadcasted on mainstream radio increases as the colour intensity increases

NOTE: The influence of y on the probability of mainstream radio airplay is higher than the influence of x . (Probability that a song on point B will have a mainstream exposure is greater than the probability that a song on point C will have a mainstream exposure.)

The reason for the probability of a song at point C having frequent airplay in a mainstream radio station being smaller than the probability of a song at point

B having frequent airplay is most of the music directors' not even listening to the songs of a noname artist or their giving priority to the artists of the major companies (and in the PowerTurk case, noname artists' songs not getting sufficiently high scores in sample auditing). It should be noted that this is not a mathematical analysis that puts forth the exact probabilities but a qualitative trend analysis of the in-depth interviews conducted.

5.3.3.2 Popular Artists Feel Forced to Stay within Standard Music

In consequence of the increasingly narrowed musical standards (and high entry barriers as a consequence) of the mainstream radio, not only is the consumption diversity of the audience negatively affected but the producers of music are also forced to create and release less diversified songs (Negus, 1993). In Turkey, especially after the beginning of the 2000s, artists and music production companies started to "poppify" all other styles (such as arabesque, THM and TSM). That is to say, the strict boundaries that existed between the examples of different styles before the 2000s started to blur in the last decade. Today it is nearly impossible to assign most of the songs to specific musical genres. Mixing of genres can be evaluated positively in the sense that it is a creative way of producing new songs. However, if most of the productions end up with the dominance of the characteristics of pop in the compositions, as is the case for the music industry of Turkey today, the mixing method becomes a tool for poppification in return for an increased chance of media exposure and the pure forms of other genres tend to be gradually forgotten.

It is true that some of the artists are only capable of producing and singing standard pop songs. Nevertheless, popification of their styles or producing pure pop music from scratch is not always the only thing an artist is capable of, nor is it always preferred by the popular artists and major record companies, but they are in a sense forced to do so due to the fear of losing popularity (and income) otherwise. Imitating and reproducing what is already proved to be likeable by the majority is a safe way of maintaining one's position as a star in the sector.

The desire of some of the existing stars might be to make completely alternative musical productions and deliver these productions to their fans and other potential listeners. However, whenever a popular artist experiments in doing so, his/her new songs are not aired on radio as frequently as their old (standard pop) songs. These new songs are not given the chance and time for the audience to digest and start to like them in the fast circulation of the music industry. One of the most prominent example is Hande Yener's (one of the most popular artists of Turkey) attempt to shift to electronic music from standard pop music in 2007-2009. As mentioned by Ayşe Güler Alaca, the songs of Hande Yener were not completely excluded from the playlists of the mainstream radio stations but the frequency of their airplays were lower compared to the previous albums of the artists (Ayşe Güler Alaca, in-depth interview, November 2015). As a result, Yener decided to turn back to the production of standard pop music. Tuna Velibaşoğlu, the vocal and songwriter of Group 84 (a well-known pop-rock group) stated that their desire was to make heavy-metal music; however, because of the filtering mechanisms of the radio stations and music TV channels, they feel forced to create and perform examples of soft rock (and even arabesque-rock in some of their songs) (Tuna Velibaşoğlu, in-depth interview, February 2014).

Consequently, most of the artists lose the courage to make experimental productions. This was not the case before the 2000s; the stars of the time (who continue to be stars today as well), especially the rock stars, were much more radical musically in their creations compared to today because those were the years in which the filtering mechanisms of mainstream music media were not as strict as they are today, partly because of the relatively higher advertisement revenues and partly because of their inability to effectively capture what is being liked the most in the short run.

One other reason for all the artists' meeting at a musically common denominator is the overall decrease in the physical album sales which created the need for higher profits from live performances. That is to say, the artists who are not able to earn satisfactory income from the sales of their niche productions,

standardized their musical styles to some extent in order to attract more people to their concerts and to compensate for their loss.

Another point emphasized during the interviews regarding the influence of the radio programmers on the musical productions of the artists is that some of the radio programmers make negative comments about the compositions of some of the songs of the popular artists. These comments, which should be evaluated as the baseless musical criticisms of non-musical people flattering the common public taste, could sometimes be taken into consideration in the following productions of the artists.

5.3.3.4 Radio Programmers Not Having the Right to Take Initiatives

Before the 2000s, radio programmers in Turkey had a certain level of flexibility in choosing which songs to broadcast during their own programming hours. Moreover, they were allowed to make comments and evaluations regarding the songs during their live presentations. Silva & Silva (2008) and Baltzis (2009) indicate that these evaluations of the radio programmers have a significant influence on the likeability of a song by the listeners, which is validated by the interviews I carried out as well. Whether the radio programmers of the 1990s were sufficiently competent in assessing the musical characteristics of a song or not, and whether they misemployed their ability to influence the audience to the benefit of certain record companies and/or artists or not are questions of another debate.

The object at stake here regarding the role of the programmers in the promotion of songs is that they actually do not have any significant role. As mentioned by Michael Kuyucu, the centralization of the programming decisions in parallel to the employment of CHR format turned radio programmers into simple disc jockeys who play the songs dictated by the music director with short announcements that are not allowed to include any subjective comments. Mehmet Akbay also declared: “I don’t allow the programmers I manage to make comments during their radio programs” (Mehmet Akbay, in-depth interview, December 2013). This is also the case for other national radio industries such as the US and is shown

to have a negative impact on programming diversity (Lee, 2004; Ahlkvist & Fisher, 2000).

The exceptions are the mostly show-based radio stations such as Best FM and Alem FM and radio stations that share a certain amount of time for show programs. Such programs are prepared and presented by popular personalities who are allowed to have some sort of flexibility in choosing the songs they air and make comments about these songs. However, they are still limited to the pool of songs determined by the music director of the stations and they usually are show persons who are not interested in making musical evaluations.

5.3.3.5 Other Media are Also Influential on the Popularization of a New Song

As mentioned above, it is nearly impossible for a noname artist to become famous via radio stations because each radio channel waits for the others to broadcast the artist first. The only exception is the artist's being released by a major record label with a multifaceted promotion campaign.

Most of the interviewees accept that in our day, the most effective way to popularize a song is to have it broadcasted as a soundtrack during an episode of a TV series with a certain amount of rating (or during a TV show less commonly). If the song is liked by a certain number of people watching the TV program, some of these people search the song on the internet to listen to it again and share it on the social media (92% of the survey participants declared that they search and re-listen to the songs they hear on TV, radio, etc. on the internet). Derya Koroğlu, the soloist of the famous group Yeni Türkü, declared in an interview that one of their songs was broadcasted during the teaser of a well-known TV series (Kuzey Güney, broadcasted on Kanal D), and the number of views of the video of that song tripled in one day (Kuyucu, 2015). In such cases, internet turns out to be an in-between trigger which blows up the initial spark fired by a mainstream medium. Only the songs that reach a satisfactory amount of popularity after these two stages are then

included in the playlists of the mainstream radios²⁴². Radio's most important role here is to provide a long-term popularity for a song gained in another platform. Parallel to this process, a major record company may decide to sign a contract with the popularized artist generally and the complete integration of the artist to the mainstream music industry is ensured.

There have been cases in which an independent artist became famous in Turkey using only the internet as a platform for promotion and then entered the mainstream radio playlists. But this kind of a popularization only happens few and far between, and when an artist becomes popular in this way, he/she then signs a contract with a major record label which includes a risk of facing an interference to his/her musical style by the company so as to achieve a perfect fit to the mainstream musical standards.

The impact of internet as a primary promotion platform is much less than its impact as an in-between trigger because in the former case the artist tries to disseminate his/her song starting from a single node while in the latter there are so many different nodes from which the dissemination process starts. As demonstrated in Section 5.2.3.1, even though the vast majority of the music listeners in Turkey use the internet for music listening, only a small number of people are aware of the alternative artists and their songs that are not available on the mainstream radio (i.e. majority of the music listeners listened to the music that is already being played on mainstream media). And an even smaller number of people listen to the alternative music genres (although the tendency to like the known alternatives is high for all types of music listeners) via CDs, vinyls, mp3s or by searching on the internet themselves.

²⁴² The artist named Kalben is one of the most recent examples of this kind. She was an artist performing on alternative platforms such as Sofar, who gained a decent popularity among the listeners of the alternative pop music. She then signed a contract with DMC and the record company promoted her songs on a number of well known TV series and she started to gain a significant popularity among the masses, which in turn triggered the shares of her videos on the internet, improved her position on the sales charts and finally increased the amount of mainstream radio exposure her songs get. There are also other major record companies – such as Kalan Music – which intentionally use TV series as the main platform for promoting their music.

It should still be admitted that the internet is one of the most important platforms for the independent artists (Baltzis, 2009). However, one shouldn't fail to notice the fact that this platform has been abused by the major record labels and a virtual mainstream is generated as a result. The algorithms of the music streaming sites such as YouTube and social media platforms such as Facebook also support this virtual mainstream by driving the most popular videos/posts forward (Bucher, 2012; Airoldi & Beraldo & Gandini, 2016). That is why it is difficult for an independent artist to reach a wide popularity through internet. But it still provides the independents with the opportunity to generate and reach their small communities and make a living out of music.

One of the beliefs of the radio programmers related to the internet is that there is so much manipulation of the number of downloads, streamings and likes an artist gets. That is to say, they presume that some of the artists use internet advertisement and work with hackers to pretend to be more successful than they really are. But today radio stations like PowerTürk have their own research mechanisms or they work with digital agencies in order to track the real figures regarding the digital music consumption.

As it can be understood from the above observations, radio has lost the initiator position it had in the 1990s in the popularization processes of new artists and became the passive implementer of the system. The most important reason for this is radio's not having as large a room for manoeuvre as it had in the past because of the decreased share radio gets from the total media advertisement expenditures. (Advertisement share of radio was 4% in the beginning of the 2000s, whereas it decreased to 2% in the 2010s [Çelikcan, 2014]). For radio to increase the level of diversity they convey to the listeners, financial support mechanisms that give them the incentive to do so are needed (see Conclusion for more detailed suggestions).

5.3.3.6 Repetition has a (Limited) Positive Impact on the Likeability of New Songs and New Genres

The programmers I interviewed with believe that if the mainstream radio stations could ignore the risk of losing ratings and be able to act in a more flexible manner, they would generate likeability for (some of) the songs that are out of the mainstream musical standards of the 2000s. Thus, it seems possible to increase the level of diversity (both the musical diversity and diversity in terms of the number of artists) in the popular music circle by developing an industrial policy that will give incentive to the mainstream radio stations to diversify their playlists. However, they also emphasize that radio would not have unlimited power in doing so, that is to say, only the songs and styles with some elements that match the existing preferences of the majority to a certain degree can be made likeable as a result of continuous repetition, but the songs that sound totally alternative cannot, no matter how many times they are broadcasted – at least in the short run. Miray Acer says: “We sometimes give a chance to totally new songs of unknown artists at least by airing them as teasers; however, we do not get any positive response for these songs from our audience” (Emre Tankut Karakurt & Miray Acer, in-depth interview, May 2016). The programmers put forth the nonexistence of positive responses from the audience as an excuse for their not airing the songs of the noname artists. However, this is presumably caused by their not giving time needed for the audience’s getting familiar with these songs.

Consequently, a strategy inclusive of the repetition of not radically but incrementally alternative songs yield positive results in terms of the diversity of the musical preferences of the majority. A significant role falls on public service broadcasting regarding this issue. However, it should also be kept in mind that this strategy would work only if it involves all mainstream radios stations²⁴³ because if

²⁴³ I do not ignore the importance of alternative media (including alternative radios and TVs specialized in genres other than mainstream pop, internet and live music venues) in promoting the alternative music; however, I give special importance to mainstream media because the majority of the audience finds and listens to music via mainstream (as confirmed by the survey results). I will make a separate analysis regarding the alternative platforms and develop cultural policies inclusive of both the mainstream and alternative media in the next sections.

only one or a few radios implement this gradual diversification of its/their repertoire, there is the risk of losing a significant amount of its/their listeners as it usually takes time for the audience to adopt novelty in music. However, if all the mainstream radios apply the same method, then there will be no station for the listeners to shift to instantaneously in order to listen to only the standardized versions of pop music. My detailed policy recommendations on this will follow in Conclusion.

5.3.3.7 The Audience is Not Completely Passive

The first thing to mention regarding the influence of the listeners on the playlists of the mainstream radio stations is the fact that they do not have any direct influence (Tufan & Rengin, 2009). That is to say, the phone calls, e-mails, messages received from the listeners are not taken into consideration while preparing the playlists of these radio stations because these feedback methods of communication are not accurate ways to understand the overall tastes of the masses. Rather, they are only the endeavors of a number of fans who are charged up in creating a superficial image for the artist in most cases. Ayşe Güler Alaca says: “Fans of some noname artists are extremely well organized. They systematically send messages to the radio stations to request the airplay of the songs of these artists” (Ayşe Güler Alaca, in-depth interview, November 2015). As explained above, it is the indirect impact of the musical preferences of the majority on the filtering mechanisms used in the mainstream radio sector.

There are two opposing views in the literature, one of which claims that the mass audience is passive while the other claims that it is active in terms of their music preferences (as explained in Chapter 1). According to the ‘passive audience’ thesis, musical preferences are not actually ‘preferences’ but the outcomes of manipulative impositions from the top (the culture industry as a whole). According to the “active audience” thesis, individuals choose what to listen depending on their free will.

Interviews I conducted so far indicate that the majority of the listeners are not completely passive. Evidence to this claim is that different songs (even if they are the songs of the same artist) that are being promoted using the same tools and platforms do not reach an equivalent level of popularity, which means that regardless of the processes the songs are passing through in the whole system, the final say is of the audience's. That is not to ignore the influence of the familiarity created by the mainstream media on this final say, but to accept the fact that whatever the major record labels and the major radio stations do to promote a song might fail in the last stage depending on the existing tastes of the majority.

The sample auditing conducted by PowerTürk and the opinion polls carried out by other radio stations from time to time, and social media analyses are all for identifying the songs that will fail and eliminating them from the playlists as soon as possible.

Taking the common preferences of the target audience so much into consideration does not lead to optimal results in terms of diversity because they are already shaped by culture industries. Instead, the only musical styles that pass through the filtering mechanisms and end up with a certain level of radio exposure are the ones that are found in the intersection of the preference sets of the people who make up this target audience, that is to say, the most popular examples of the most popular genres, namely the disco pop and acoustic pop, are the only genres that are played frequently on radio.

As shown in Section 5.2.3.1 there are categories of music listeners in Turkey who like the songs they listen to on TV and radio (some of which also share these songs on social media) and are satisfied with these songs so they do not look for alternatives. On the other hand, there is another category of listeners who do not like and do not listen to the music aired on the mainstream radio and who actively look for the genres they like on internet, at live music venues, etc.

Increased level of accessibility of all genres and all songs provided by the internet is only to the advantage of those who are dissatisfied with the mainstream music and actively look for the alternatives. Thus, the extent of the benefits of the internet – for the public - in terms of the musical diversity depends on the size of

this category (which is shown to be small in section 5.2.3.1). On the other side, the existing diversity on the internet should be evaluated as useless for the share of the population constituting the other categories.

5.3.3.8 Mainstream Radio Stations are Aware of the Alternatives

The programmers seem to be aware of the fact that there are artists who create and perform alternative examples of pop music. Even though they cannot include the songs of these artists in their playlists, some of these programmers (and some of the radio stations as institutions) put some effort to support the promotion of them. The most prominent way of providing support is to be the media sponsors of the alternative artists for their live performances²⁴⁴. Media sponsorship schemes include the spots of the events and concerts on the radio and on the social media accounts of the radios.

5.3.3.9 Web Radio: A Hope for the Future of Musical Diversity?

Some of the radio programmers interviewed have an expectation that listening to radio on the web and via mobile devices will rise as a trend especially among the new generations. They foresee web radio to be more popular than the traditional radio in the future. However, they also indicate that the quantitative figures do not support this idea so far. Nevertheless, depending on this presumption, especially the major media groups have already started to get prepared for the web radio era by setting up various (musical variety) internet radio channels (for instance, internet radios of Karnaval Media group such as *Genç ve Fit*, *Süper FM 2*, *Ankaralı*, *Retrotürk*, *Maydonose Türk*, etc. and internet radios of Doğu Group such as *Kral Rap*, *Kral 45'lik*, *Kral Aşk*, *Kral Dance*, etc.). Time will tell whether the expectations about web radio will turn into reality or not, and if so, whether the musically diversified web radio channels will attract a significant

²⁴⁴ Representatives of PowerTürk media especially mentioned this.

amount of interest from the public or will continue to be marginalized outlets being visited only by minorities. Common ownership of multiple radio channels may not lead to an increased consumed diversity, but to an increase in the similarity between the main radio stations of different media groups. This is because the multi-radio ownership enables the owner to capture the small audiences with more or less differentiated demands, thanks to the small radio stations owned (and hence to increase the total audience base of the media group and consequently the advertisement revenues), whereas it can increase its competitive advantage over the mainstream rivals by homogenizing the content of its main radio station (Sweeting, 2006; Sweeting, 2010), keeping the audience of the mainstream music in their own small musical world.

5.4 THE RECORD INDUSTRY AND ALTERNATIVES

As mentioned above, there exists an alternative pop music market in Turkey the productions of which are not consumed too much. The musicians, media and music industry representatives I interviewed with have confirmed that the productions of this market are musically more diversified compared to the mainstream pop market. I will make an analysis of the music industry from the perspective of the alternatives in this section based on the views of artists. However, it should also be noted that most of the problems that will be discussed here are also valid for the artists who are producing standard examples of pop music but still excluded from the mainstream media as they are not working with major record labels.

The reasons for focusing on the alternative pop music scene, which have been discussed in detail up to this point, can be summarized as follows: First of all, the alternative music scene is the source of musical diversity in pop music. Secondly, there is a tendency in each of the seven classes identified in Section 5.2.3.1 to like (at least some of) the alternatives. That is to say, the public seems to be generally open to the diversity offered by the alternatives. However, despite this tendency, only a small portion of the society is aware of the alternatives and even a

smaller portion include them in their daily music listening routines (H1.5 is validated). Hence, it won't be wrong to conclude that there are severe institutional problems related to alternatives' reaching to and being adopted by the majority of the listeners. The intention in this part of the research is to develop a profound understanding regarding these problems, i.e. the functioning of the music industry for alternative artists, in order to be able to generate policy recommendations that might improve the level of consumed diversity.

The analyses conducted in this section are based on a total of 24 in-depth interviews carried out with 8 Producers, 2 live music event organizers, 2 venue managers and 12 independent performers, in addition to a total of 13 press interviews, 4 of which are with Producers (other than the ones I interviewed) and 9 of which are with performers (other than the ones I interviewed), and the results of a survey conducted by *Bağımsız Müzik Oluşumu*²⁴⁵ on 30 independent artists. The interviews were decoded and texts were content analyzed together with the secondary data. The phrases and statements used in the interviews were coded so as to determine the common problems and deficiencies of the industry with respect to diversity. Relevant studies are also taken into consideration while evaluating the research findings. The music producers whose views are evaluated here include the owners (or general managers) of both the major record labels and small/medium scale record labels. The performers were chosen among the ones who have music albums officially released not by major record labels but by small or medium size music production companies (the performer's own company in some cases) and whose songs are not aired on mainstream radios and music TV channels.

5.4.1 Music Production Process of the Alternatives

The process of music production described in Section 2.1 – in which the financial responsibility of the whole process is taken by the record label - was the common way of how albums were being produced and released in Turkey as well

²⁴⁵ An informal network of independent artists who are organized as a closed group on Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1065604900156980/>

as in the world before the 2000s. The 1960s to 1990s were the decades in which music production was a relatively more profitable business for record companies because of the satisfactory amount of physical album sales.

However, starting from the beginning of the 2000s, the music industry has experienced a disorganization led by multi-platform technological developments (including both the new ways of consumption and production). As a result of this disorganization, the profits of the major record labels fell dramatically (Cvetkovski, 2007) in the world and in Turkey (as discussed in Section 2.1 for the world and in Section 4.1 in the case of Turkey). Hence, the music production process is carried out as it should be – as detailed in Section 2.1 - only for a very small number of performers (actually the “stars”) in the music industry of Turkey. For the rest of the performers, the things to be done in each phase of the production are the same but the actors who take on the responsibilities, and the functioning of the system are totally different and problematic in each phase.

As explained in Chapter 2 above, the normal procedure of an album production process starts with an agreement between the music production company and the artist. First of all, after a noname performer decides to make an album, he/she usually knocks on the doors of a number of major Producers because investment costs are too high, but most of the time he/she faces a negative response. The basic reason for the refusal is majors’ being uninterested in making songs or albums for totally unknown performers most of the time as it is much more risky to invest in new talents compared to what it was like before the digital era as the physical CD sales decreased dramatically in this era and the digital sales haven’t climbed to the desired profitable levels yet. Then the performer either gives up on the idea of making an album or he/she decides to finance and manage the whole process himself/herself (most of the time with the financial support of family, a relative or a friend). Hazal, a performer whose career started in the 1990s and continued up to today, explains the changing structure of the industry in terms of financing of an album as follows:

I didn't experience any difficulties in the production phase in the 1990s, because the production companies were undertaking the financial burden and managing the process as it should be. But as a result of the rise of the internet as a music listening platform, the Producers began to lose profits and almost all artists started to finance the production costs of their own albums. (Hazal Özlem Yerşen, in-depth interview, April 2016).

The biggest problem is that the album production is a costly business; hence, it is difficult for a performer to afford the whole process. Many talented performers cannot even initiate the process just because of the monetary concerns. Moreover, even if he/she decides to undertake the financial burden, the performer wastes some (or all) of his/her limited budget on unnecessary services when he/she is not being led by an experienced Producer.

If a new artist is lucky enough to sign a contract with a major label, the usual procedure continues with the designation of a music producer by the company, as it was mentioned in Chapter 2. The problem at this stage, as emphasized by Bülent Forta²⁴⁶ during my interview with him, is that the profession of 'music producer' does not have the recognition it deserves in Turkey. The distinction between a Producer (the financier/'the boss') and a music producer is not known or deliberately ignored by most of the professionals working in the music sector. Even in the production of the stars' albums, the production companies do not work with music producers most of the time. According to some of the performers I interviewed, this relates to the self-confidence of the producers who are eager to intervene in not only the financial but also the musical aspects of the production, with the belief that they are the ones who are more experienced than anybody else in foreseeing the future success of the musical productions. But on the other hand, Ahmet Çelenk²⁴⁷ explains the reason for the scarcity of music producers in the music industry is the lack of interest of the musicians and arrangers (who are the candidates for being music producers) in becoming a music producer.

In the case of the independent performers (the ones who decide to make the production without the help of a Producer), most of them do not work with a music

²⁴⁶ Owner of Ada Music and former president of MÜ-YAP.

²⁴⁷ Owner of Dokuz Sekiz Music.

producer partly due to budget constraints and partly because they believe that they are capable of managing the musical production process themselves in collaboration with the arranger(s) and/or musicians they will work with. Jehan Barbur expresses her involvement in the production process as follows: “I am involved in each and every phase. I interfere persistently because I have undertaken the music production of all my albums released so far” (Jehan Barbur, in-depth interview, April 2016).

In case of a performer’s being a non-musician and totally inexperienced in the music sector, he/she gives a bulk amount of money to a music producer (or an arranger) to manage the whole process on his/her behalf. Mert Türkmen, an experienced record and stage musician in Turkish pop music sector, said that Atiye, who is a popular performer today, paid 100,000 Euros to İskender Paydaş, one of the most popular music producers and arrangers in Turkey, for the production of her second album in 2009.

Although the performers do not mention any problems related to not working with a music producer in their album production processes; however the difficulties they experience in all other phases of production listed below (i.e. finding songs, arrangers and musicians, and in making all the musical decisions) are actually related to not having an experienced music producer working with them throughout the process.

In the song selection stage, the performer is left alone most of the time. If he/she is a songwriter himself/herself, then he/she chooses from his/her own songs (sometimes asking for the opinions of his/her friends); if he/she needs one or more songs written by other songwriters, then he/she tries to get directly in contact with some of them. The problem at this stage is that most of the time he/she is not able to listen to a wide variety of alternatives as there is not a systematic way of reaching the songwriters in the music sector²⁴⁸. The accessibility of new songs are based on friendship networks. Hence, especially the new entrants, who are presumably the

²⁴⁸ There exist edition firms that register the unreleased songs that can be listened to and selected by singers to be recorded in their albums. However, registering songs to an edition firm is not a common way followed by songwriters in Turkey; they rather prefer to disseminate their songs through their personal networks.

outsiders to these networks, experience difficulties in finding songs that fit their music styles and their vocal ranges. Not only finding an adequate number of potential songs, but also deciding on the songs in terms of the potential likeability they will receive from listeners is a challenging process. Being left alone is a problem for the performer at this stage as well.

After the selection of the songs, there comes the time of choosing an arranger to work with. The performer is still alone in searching for the right arranger(s). Finding an experienced and/or talented arranger is a network issue again. Given that the performer is decisive in entering the music market (especially if he/she is a musician himself/herself), he/she certainly reaches a number of arrangers in the sector but most of the time these are the ones that are more affordable than the famous arrangers (who are also mainstream) and thus their musical skills might be questionable. If the performer is lucky enough (or his/her own musical proficiency is enough to discriminate between good and bad arrangers), he/she encounters a talented arranger with a satisfactory amount of musical expertise, ready to work on small budgets because of being at the beginning of his/her career or any other reason (Bolsu, 2008). Otherwise, the performer might fall into the trap of an unqualified arranger and end up with an album that is musically unsatisfactory.

After a deal is made with an arranger (or arrangers), the production phases coming after proceed technically in the same way explained in Chapter 2. The arranger takes the responsibility of writing the arrangements, choosing the musicians and the studio to work with when making the recordings, editing the recorded channels and choosing the engineer(s) to conduct the mix and mastering. As mentioned above, there exists the risk of choosing an unqualified arranger especially for the performers who are not musicians themselves, i.e. who do not have the capability of keeping control on the performance of the arranger. Leaving the selection of musicians and other technical staff to this arranger might result in unqualified musicians and personnel working for the project as well. Moreover, there are arrangers (and musicians) in the sector who are unreliable not only in the musical sense but also in financial relations. For instance, the arranger might make

a budgetary plan in the beginning of the project and start working. But then, he might ask for additional cash throughout the process. This might be a result of dishonesty or lack of planning abilities of the arranger.

Another common problem in these stages is the difficulty experienced in terms of timing. In general, the arrangers and the mix and mastering engineers do not hand in the completed works at the time they promise. And this problem is more severe for independent performers because they do not have as much power and credibility over the arrangers as the record labels have. Burak Sarıkahya, an independent singer/songwriter, has said during my interview with him that he usually had to wait for the musicians' availability because working for the albums of more popular artists is always a priority of these musicians.

Even though there are various problems faced by the performers in these phases which are directly related to the music production, most of the performers think that these problems are much more tolerable and manageable - especially if you have a strict control on what you are doing - compared to the problems encountered in the following phases, i.e. the phases that come after the performer has the master CD in hand. The performers I interviewed underline the fact that the music production is the joyous part of the whole process despite all the challenges. Ultimately, 'music making' is what these independent performers decide to enter the music sector for.

5.4.2 Release of an Album

The challenges encountered in the music production stage presumably cause many skilled artists to stay out of the music industry. Thus, all these challenges can be evaluated as barriers hindering the manifestation of a greater amount of produced diversity. The stages coming after are only valid for the artists who can manage to produce a song/album by overcoming the issues mentioned above in one way or another.

After the preparation of the master CD, the performer needs to make a deal with a production company because it is a legal requirement to release an album

with the barcode of a production company that has a production license for the album to be marketed (physically or digitally) and for the radio and TV channels to be able to broadcast the songs in the album. In the best case scenario, he/she finds a major label that agrees to invest in the later stages of the process. If this is the case, the problem is that these companies often insist on a long term contract. After all, the performer can only come to an agreement usually with a small or medium record company, and this company alone carries out the official release of the album without actively participating in any other stages coming after the release (such as the distribution, music video production, promotion, etc.) most of the time. In most cases, the Producer requests a certain amount of money from the performer rather than making the investment himself/herself. In other cases, the artist is rejected even by the small/medium companies or he/she prefers not to work with them, and he/she establishes his/her own production label to release his/her own albums and faces the burdens of running a company. In any case, the artist undertakes the costs of the release (he/she pays the fees for getting the necessary permissions, he/she deals with the reproduction company and pays for the reproduction costs, etc.) and he/she tries to survive as an artist outside the borders of the mainstream music industry.

Then comes the reproduction phase. In the case of mainstream artists, this stage is always financed by the record company. However, for the new artists it is probable that the performer pays for the reproduction and printing costs himself/herself even if he/she is a signed artist of a major record company.

5.4.3 Physical Distribution of the Album

In the physical distribution phase, finding a distributor is normally under the responsibility of the record company. Major record companies usually have deals with major distribution companies (unless they are distributing themselves) who have the power to carry out the most efficient distribution of the reproduced copies – depending on the number of reproduction - to physical outlets all around Turkey. For the major artists, and for some of the noname (or less popular) artists of the major record companies, the distribution fees are paid for by the record company.

In some other cases, the record company requests money from the performer for the distribution costs.

As expressed by Metin Özülkü, a well-known performer, music producer and Producer, if it is a small/medium record label who released the album and even if this label has a deal with one of the large scale distribution companies, the latter gives priority to the distribution of the major performers and delays the delivery of the CDs of the noname performers. If the performer works with a small or medium scale distributor (via a small/medium record label or as an independent producer himself/herself), some of the retailers (such as D&R stores) do not accept delivery from small (and sometimes from medium) scale distributors (Metin Özülkü, in-depth interview, March 2014). The response of a representative of D&R to my e-mail about the issue has confirmed the fact that they accept deliveries from some distributors only. Moreover, the distribution companies do not sign a contract with small record companies and do not pay them even after a certain amount of CD sales takes place.

Another problem regarding the distribution is that the albums of the major artists are always much more visible on the shelves of the major outlets and are played inside the stores as a promotion strategy, even if the CDs of a relatively less known artist exist in these outlets. The physical distribution and in-store visibility of an album is much more problematic for noname (or relatively less popular) artists if their albums are not released by a major label.

5.4.4 Digital Outlets as Extensions of the Mainstream Media

In the digital era, the songs can also be distributed via digital distributors to digital outlets for sale and/or streaming and it is an option to only use this type of distribution (without physically reproducing and distributing the albums) as mentioned in Chapter 2 above. The cost reduction offered in this phase is beneficial for independent artists as they can make their songs available on the internet with zero (or a small amount of) cost, decreasing their dependency on record labels.

There are international platforms such as Tunecore, CD Baby, etc. that distribute an artist's songs to famous outlets such as iTunes, Spotify, etc. at a slight cost even if his/her songs are not officially released in Turkey (i.e. even if he/she hasn't conformed to the official procedure via MESAM, MSG, MÜYAP and the Copyright Directorate). Publishing on streaming sites such as Youtube, Dailymotion, etc. is yet easier even for amateur performers. As explained by Hasan Saltık, the owner of Kalan Music, the two digital distributors Orchard and Believe which have offices in Turkey and distribute to local digital outlets such as Türk Telekom Music and Fizy as well as the international ones such as iTunes and Spotify, make deals with not only major record companies but also small and medium scale record companies.

A number of platforms which serve as discoverers and promoters of new music in the digital environment are worth mentioning. One of them is Sofar (stands for Songs from a Room), which is a multinational live music platform essentially, with three branches in Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara and Eskişehir). The venues of Sofar are small rooms (of an apartment most of the time) in which new entrants and established artists of the alternative scene perform their songs and meet with a small audience who are active seekers of new music. What is more influential about Sofar (besides what it offers as a live music venue) is the certain amount of visibility it provides for emerging artists on the internet through its Youtube channel along with other more established alternative artists. Other similar initiatives which have helped artists promote their songs on the internet by shooting performance videos for them and uploading and sharing these videos on digital platforms are Evden Uzakta, Pürtelaş 3+1, B!P Akustik, Biz Geldik, Ehvenişer etc. some of which have given up creating content recently (Yapıcı, n.d.).

Even if these opportunities offered by the internet make it possible for all the alternative performers to be available on multiple digital outlets, this does not mean that the gatekeeping in the industry is eliminated and the music has become fully democratized on both the production and consumption sides (Hendy, 2000). In the flood of musical works available on the internet, there is almost no way of sorting out what style and quality of music suits each consumer's taste (Hull &

Hutchison & Strasser, 2011). The major record labels turn this disorderliness into opportunity as follows: They can easily get engaged with the existing fan bases of their established artists on digital platforms and create networks through which they can also promote their newly released artists and albums. Moreover, they share high amounts of budget for digital advertisements, which reinforce their promotion campaigns on traditional media and increase the relative popularity of their artists on the internet against the independents. That is to say, there is a dominance of the major record labels on the internet in terms of visibility. On the other hand, an independent performer needs to start from scratch in audience development on the internet and work with a limited budget. As a result, a virtual mainstream is created on the internet which functions as an extension of the mainstream of the traditional media. The algorithms of the platforms such as Facebook, Youtube and other video sites support this new kind of mainstream by driving the most viewed videos and posts forward.²⁴⁹ All these negativities are the factors that marginalize the independent performers even in this seemingly most democratic medium.

5.4.5 Venues and Festivals as Promotion Platforms

Live performances are one of the most important occasions that an independent performer can make use of in introducing himself/herself and his/her songs to the listeners. Together with the internet, live music venues and festivals provide a space for independent performers – especially for the ones who have an advantage on stage with their superior vocal techniques. The independent performers I interviewed value the live performances as slow but sound steps towards a successful music career.

There exist a number of popular event venues in the big cities of Turkey (such as the branches of *Hayal Kahvesi*, *Babylon*, branches of *Jolly Joker*, *Küçükçiftlik Park*, etc.) and an increasing number of festivals (such as *Byzantion Fest*, *Paradisos Sessions*, *Demonation Festival*, *Zeytinli Rock*, *Bağımsız!*

²⁴⁹ Moreover, there is always the rumor of fake likes and fake clicks of some of the videos by famous artists on the internet

Festival, Reggae Fest, *Beton Orman Sessions*, 100% *Açık Sahne* and Mix Festival by Zorlu PSM) which support alternative versions of pop music. The problem is that these venues and festivals are limited in number to be able to host all the active performers in the alternative music scene and they accept only the performers who already have a fan base large enough to crowd the venue during each live performance of the performer, which is a fact confirmed by Tuncay Tunalı, the former general manager of Hayal Kahvesi Beyoğlu and Hayal Kahvesi Bistro.

The performers who appear on the mainstream media – at least occasionally - and who have a significantly crowded virtual community naturally have a better chance of having their places in these venues because of the more than enough demand for their performances. The main cause of these limitations on the supply side is the dramatically low amount of live music demand in Turkey in general. As confirmed by the survey results, the majority of the people living in Turkey never or rarely listen to music live, and the mainstream artists are the ones who are mostly preferred for those who listen to live music with a certain frequency. The audience of the alternative artists is limited, with a minority of people repeatedly attending the performances of the mostly known artists of the alternative scene (Yapıcı, n.d.).

A common complaint of the artists regarding the venues is the payment mechanism they offer. Most of the venues do not pay a fixed amount of money but rather leave the revenues from the ticket sales to the artists/groups so as to share the risk. As a result, the nightly income earned by the artist does not cover the costs of the performance (such as the payments of the musicians who request fixed amounts most of the time) in most cases.

On the other hand, there are stages (especially the ones run by the public bodies such as municipalities) who are seeking but are unable to reach available artists because of the lack of communication within the sector (YEKON, 2014). Another prominent problem related to these stages is their insufficient technical infrastructure and the disorderly environment they offer for especially the noname artists. As mentioned by Jehan Barbur, the primitive conditions offered by the venues especially in Eastern parts of Turkey make it difficult to carry out their performances. Thus, improving the technical and other conditions where needed

and then networking among those concerned might enhance the supply and diversity of live music performances in Turkey.

Another complaint of the artists is about ‘the managers’ who are in charge of the organization of live performances for the performers in return for a certain share of the revenues. Most of the independent performers mention the lack of responsible and honest managers working in the sector is a common problem (exceptions aside). As a result, some of the independent performers do not work with a professional manager; rather, they either organize their concerts by themselves or they ask a friend or a relative to undertake the organizational work, which results in an unprofessional and inefficient functioning of the booking side of the live music scene.

5.4.6 Other Mainstream/Alternative Outlets for Music Promotion

The platforms through which new music can be promoted are not limited to what has been mentioned above. As discussed in the previous section, especially TV series’ being one of the most influential media for music promotion is also confirmed by Hasan Saltık. Once a song is used as a soundtrack during an episode of a TV series, it is liked by the followers of the series with a high probability as it is perceived as an integral part of the story. That is to say, TV series offer a crucial opportunity for presenting a new song to masses instantly. However, even though TV series are open to musically alternative examples of pop music (and also of other genres such as THM and TSM), there still exists a gatekeeping process going on not in terms of musicality but in terms of the closed circle relationships. Most of the time, the TV series Producers prefer to use the songs released by major record companies (because of their inter-industry connections) rather than those of independent artists (unless these independent artists incidentally get in contact and manage to persuade the TV Producers to broadcast their music – which happens only occasionally).

Talk Shows on TV are other platforms for the promotion of new music. However, as expressed by many of the artists I interviewed, it is nearly impossible

for a new artist to be able to appear on one of the most famous shows as the guest selection mechanisms of these programs are highly based on ratings. Thus, the luckiest of the alternative artists are only able to attend less known shows of the mainstream TV which are not very effective in presenting their music or they are contented with appearing on alternative TV channels only.

As for the printed press, the most common complaint of the independent artists is their not even responding to the press releases. Not only the mainstream newspapers and celebrity news, but also the alternative press and even the internet bloggers are not receptive of undiscovered but talented artists. They usually wait until a certain amount of visibility is achieved by the artist through outstanding alternative platforms (such as the venues and Youtube channels listed above). As it is shown in Section 5.2.3.2, music articles are influential on the awareness of the alternatives and inclusion of these alternatives in one's music listening repertoire, which loads the editors and authors of alternative press (traditional and digital) with a charge to be more vigilant in looking for new music and discovering the talented artists.

Despite all the downsides of the alternative music scene and insufficiency of the endeavors to increase the level of consumed diversity, research conducted for this dissertation has shown that the music industry in Turkey seems to be in the beginning of at least a partial transformation in terms of both the produced and consumed diversity. That is to say, a number of major Producers have mentioned that they started to invest in alternatives and the survey results show that a segment of the listeners (even if it is a minor portion for now) are aware of and listen to the alternatives. Thus, it can be argued that the opportunities offered by the digital technologies might lead to an increased amount of consumed as well as produced diversity for a greater portion of the society in the long run. However, it is too early to predict the extent of this transformation.

This kind of a transformation process had started earlier in the world music industry. The record labels in the world are no longer competing only for the creation of new blockbusters but they are also investing in many different styles and genres, and consequently, specialized niche markets are also growing alongside

the mainstream markets (Peter & Scott, 2004). “Brands are no longer looking to only work with the Beyoncés and Lady Gagas of the World” (Next Big Sound, 2015: 1).

A similar situation is also valid in Turkey, hints of which have been found in the interviews conducted with the major Producers. Even though the niche music market is much smaller for now in Turkey compared to developed countries such as the US, the UK and Germany, these Producers see a potential in this niche market which might generate as much satisfactory profits with the help of relevant marketing strategies. A number of major labels, such as DMC and DSM, have started to use their financial capabilities, the power-established relationships, and their fan bases in hand to promote new artists (whose works are musically alternative to the standard pop and hence excluded from the repertoires of the mainstream music media) based on a comprehensive alternative promotion system (via internet, TV series, etc.), alongside their existing artists. Ahmet Çelenk states that the reliance on the potential profits that can be earned from the alternative artists in the future is not the only motivation for his tendency to invest in the alternatives, but he is also concerned with the ever-increasing standardization in the mainstream music media and wishes to put an effort to break the vicious cycle in order to have a more diversified music industry in the near future.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I tried to explore how the level of consumed diversity differs from the level of produced diversity in today's music industry of Turkey, and how the mainstream media are responsible for the gap between these two levels. That is to say, even though the digital technologies have made each and every genre and piece of music produced available and accessible, the majority of the listeners cannot become aware of those pieces that are out of the coverage of the mainstream media. Thus, digital outlets are only platforms for re-listening the mainstream music for the majority of the society (i.e. the process is a vicious circle for the majority), rather than being avenues where the traditional gatekeepers are weaker, leading to an increased level of consumed diversity as it was idealized by a number of authors (e.g. Bergmann [2004] and Dolfsma [2005]) in the beginning of the 2000s. As a result, it can well be argued that even though the consumers' right to access to every piece of music is satisfied, the right to know (i.e. the right to be informed about these pieces) is not.

On the other hand, the opportunities provided by the internet for the creators of music (singers, songwriters, etc.) cannot be ignored. Today it is possible to produce songs/albums and make them available on digital outlets at very low cost without the need for the support of the traditional gatekeepers. And independent artists are able to generate small fan bases, even if the majority of the public is not informed about their music. These small communities of fans support these artists by purchasing their songs or attending their concerts in small/medium scale venues, which are sufficient to earn them a living from music. Moreover, the alternatives, who are part of the aforementioned independent artists, constitute an established niche market in Turkey. The music of these alternatives are known, liked, listened to and purchased by a group of listeners, and as a result, these artists, who are the creators of musical diversity in pop music, can survive in the industry in one way or another.

If the main focus of this dissertation was to evaluate the diversity issue from the perspective of the creators of the diversity (i.e. the alternatives), it would have

been enough to recommend ways to improve the conditions of the alternative market (such as the improvement of the physical infrastructure of the venues, setting up online networks to facilitate the matching of venues and artists) and to increase the profitability of the alternative artists who continue to serve a niche market, i.e. without being concerned about reaching significantly larger audiences (such as carrying out promotion campaigns which would encourage the existing likers of alternatives to attend their concerts more frequently, extending the market base by promoting the alternatives abroad, etc.) with the help of appropriate cultural policy measures directly related to these alternative artists and their creations.

However, the main purpose of the dissertation has been to assess the issue from the perspective of and benefit to the society, rather than focusing on the interests of the creators only. That's why the primary focus was chosen to be the consumed diversity (which refers to the diversity consumed by the majority) and the mainstream music media (through which the majority of the listeners discover new music). The suggestions I will put forth in the end of this section are formulized accordingly. Even though the improvement of the alternative scene as a niche market is also important, dealing with this aspect alone would mean to prioritize the interests of a minority of the population and to ignore the (knowing and consuming) rights of the majority - who are stuck in the vicious circle of the mainstream music industry - in terms of the expressions of cultural diversity in music.

The details of the above mentioned arguments have been discussed throughout this dissertation by putting forth relevant research questions and trying to look for possible answers to these questions. But before doing so, I first tried to justify the theoretical and political significance of the cultural diversity issue in the first chapters, based on the prominent arguments of theorists like Adorno, Benjamin, Bourdieu and many others, and on the cultural policy debates and documents which were initiated and produced by international organizations such as UNESCO and CoE and which have been carried out at the international, national and regional level for a couple of decades.

Secondly, I analyzed the level of cultural diversity in the world music industry based on statistical data, and I especially investigated the impact of the digital revolution on the level of produced and consumed diversity because it was strongly claimed that the internet was going to provide an extreme opportunity for diversity to emanate in all areas. My comprehensive analyses indicated that the outcomes of the digital revolution have been far from doing so. In fact, the diversity in music production and consumption declined in the world during the digital age. It was also shown that this progress has been going hand in hand with the increased level of concentration and consolidation in the global music industry.

The continuing threat over cultural diversity in the digital era is presumably the reason why special decisions regarding the protection of the cultural diversity in the digital age have been taken in the recent Intergovernmental Committee meeting of UNESCO that took place in December 2016. Operational guidelines on the implementation of the convention in the digital environment was published during the tenth ordinary session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2016). In the decisions, it was first of all highlighted that "the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values and meaning does not change in the digital environment" (p. 5). "The explosion of data, the complexity of distribution models, and the proliferation of connected multimedia devices in the hands of the users have had a huge impact on the creative sector" including the music industry (p.6). These technological developments "provide new challenges and opportunities to promote the diversity of cultural expressions and, in particular, to design relevant public policies" (p. 6).

After my analysis of the World music industry, I also analyzed the Turkish music industry in figures and showed that the revenues from physical sales are concentrated in the hands of a small number of record labels in today's Turkish music industry. Furthermore, both the songs broadcasted on radio stations and the songs listened to on digital platforms with the highest frequency are extremely standardized in a musical sense. These findings indicate that the challenges mentioned in UNESCO (2016) regarding the cultural diversity in the digital era are

also valid in Turkey.

Afterwards, I examined the progress of cultural diversity in the music industry of Turkey throughout history starting from the establishment of the Republic. Based on in-depth interviews with authors of music history and a desk research, it has been shown that the level of diversity among the most popular musical pieces of Turkey had fluctuated until the first half of 2000s. However, it won't be incorrect to argue that the level of consumed diversity was higher in general than that of the period coming after the 2000s.

The following two reasons are commonly put forth in the world literature to explain the decline in the level of consumed diversity in the digital era: First of all, the consumers might be overwhelmed with the unlimited number of choices and thus might have a tendency to continue to rely on the selection of the gatekeepers (such as the mainstream media, major record labels and the mainstream digital outlets). This reasoning can be evaluated as an example to the (negative) impacts of “explosion of data, the complexity of distribution models, and the proliferation of connected multimedia devices in the hands of the users” (UNESCO, 2016: 6) on the music industry. Additionally, as the competition among these traditional gatekeepers over advertisement revenues is more severe and as the new technologies allow them to identify which songs are liked the most in the short run, their playlists are much more filtered/constrained compared to the pre-digital era. Secondly, the algorithms of the digital platforms are such that the listeners encounter only the types of music they are already familiar with, even if they are interested in listening to new music. That is to say, there is no escape for the average listener.

In Chapter 5 of this dissertation, I have shared the results of my first hand research, which is a combination of a quantitative survey with 1,200 citizens and qualitative in-depth interviews with representatives of the music industry, with the intention of providing answers to my research questions and verification for my hypotheses. The first research question of this dissertation was on the music preferences of listeners living in Turkey and the determinants of these preferences. In order to look for the answer to this research question, I carried out LCA which

was followed by multivariate regression analyses. The LCA results indicated the existence of seven distinct groups in the society in terms of musical preferences. As claimed in my first hypothesis, it has been found that in five of these seven groups, the genres promoted by the mainstream music media are liked and listened to, and moreover the members of three of these five groups (Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives, Pop Listeners_UNaware of alternatives, Pop Arabesque Listeners) listen to only the music promoted on today's mainstream music media. Only one of the groups (Omnivore Listeners) has been found to be 'omnivore' in their listening to Turkish music genres (including the alternatives), i.e. in this group not only the music broadcasted on mainstream music media but also other Turkish genres are preferred. This finding validates the hypothesis that there exist (a small group of) people in Turkey who are dissatisfied with the mainstream music of today and who actively look for the examples of other genres.

The above-mentioned findings validate the omnivore/univore theory which argues that a population is stratified according to cultural (musical) preferences of its members as follows: there exist groups, members of which like/consume multiple genres, and other groups, the members of which like/consume only a certain genre.

Bourdieu's theory of distinction is only validated for two of the groups; Y-Pop Listeners and Pop Arabesque Listeners. That is to say, the members of Y-Pop Listeners dislike the favorite genre(s) of the members of Pop Arabesque Listeners and vice versa.

With regard to the awareness of the alternatives, the basic finding of this dissertation has been the fact that the alternatives are known only to a certain extent by the members of three groups (Y-Pop Listeners, Omnivore Listeners, Pop Listeners_aware of alternatives). This finding validates my hypothesis that the majority of the listeners living in Turkey are unaware of the alternatives.

On the other hand, LCA analysis also suggests that there is a tendency to like the alternatives in almost all of the seven groups and hence the hypothesis that the people who are unaware of the alternatives are actually potential likers of these alternatives has also been validated. That is to say, the alternatives miss the target

because of being excluded from the mainstream media as a result of which the majority of the listeners stay unaware of them.

After identifying the above-mentioned groups, I carried out multivariate regressions analyses and found that the variables which had a significant impact on musical preferences were: age, gender, education, personality traits such as openness to novelties in music, level of exposure to mainstream music media, taking part in amateur music activities and the familiarity gained through repeated exposure.

The second focus of my research was on the mainstream music media based on the finding that the majority of the music listeners in Turkey are only aware of and listen to the musical genres promoted by these media. The basic findings were as follows: The growing dominance of internationally recognized CHR format in Turkey starting from the first half of the 2000s increased the level of standardization in the repertoires of the mainstream music media. Radio stations follow the steps of their closest rivals which result in repertoires being very similar - unless copies of each other. The decline in radio's share of total media advertisement revenues and increased ability to capture the recent preferences of the audiences via research techniques provided by advanced technologies are decisive on this end result. Radio stations' filtering mechanisms allow only the songs released by major record labels and/or well-known artists which at the same time fit certain musical standards to be broadcasted. These mechanisms sometimes put invisible pressure on even the most popular artists and their creations are inevitably stuck within the musical limits imposed by the music media. Repetition, on the other hand, has a positive influence on people liking a new song/genre only if the song/genre is not radically different than the songs/genres the listeners are already familiar with. One other important finding is that other mainstream media such as TV series and TV shows are also influential on the popularizing of a new song.

The findings about the mainstream media combined with the findings regarding the consumption side show that the arguments of the critical theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer and their followers regarding the standardizing impact of mass media are still valid in our era.

The last focus of my research was on the alternative music scene. It was shown from the perspective of the alternative artists that each and every phase of album production and distribution is problematic for these artists. Even though they are able to generate small communities of fans with the help of the digital platforms and certain live music venues, they cannot reach the majority of the music listeners and hence the society in general cannot benefit from the diversity offered by these artists. It should also be noted that some of the major record labels have begun to show interest in some of the alternative artists and this might be assessed as a ray of hope for the transformation of the industry to the benefit of the alternatives; yet it is too early to predict that the end result will be a significant increase in the level of consumed diversity.

To summarize the findings of my research, in today's music industry of Turkey there are the major record labels and major artists on the one hand, whose songs/albums are broadcasted on the mainstream media and are available on the digital platforms as well, and small/medium scale labels and independent artists on the other hand, whose music are excluded from the coverage of the mainstream media but are found on the digital outlets. Despite the existence of all types of music on the digital platforms, the majority of the listeners prefer to listen to only the music of the mainstream media not only on traditional platforms but also on the internet, i.e. the preferences of the majority of the music listeners in Turkey are manipulated by the mainstream media channels in which the repertoires are generated based on the established relationships with major record labels and artists, the competition with other radio stations and research about the short term responses of the audiences. Moreover, increased concentration and integration (vertical and horizontal) in the media industry, which further increased the power of major media companies (Enlil et. al., 2011), has had a negative impact on the level of mainstream diversity.

As mentioned above, the digital revolution has not increased the level of consumed diversity – and even decreased it to a certain extent - whether in Turkey or in the world. The impact of the digital revolution has only been its leading the way to the establishment of a niche alternative pop music market – which is still

good but not enough benefits from the viewpoint of the majority of the population. Alternatives can only reach a limited number of listeners with the help of the digital platforms and a number of live music venues. Therefore, in order to improve the level of consumed diversity among the majority of the population – i.e. to overcome “the challenge of providing the broadest possible public access to [awareness about] musical diversity” (Letts, 2006: 162) - I will offer two methods: the ‘diversification of the mainstream’ and generation of an ‘alternative mainstream’. The details of these methods are explained below.

For the ‘diversification of the mainstream’, the first thing that comes to mind is the concept of Public Service Broadcasting (PSB). In the cultural policy debates of today, it is mostly argued that the cultural expressions that are being excluded from the programs of the commercial media should be covered by the public (mainstream) media. According to this approach, the commercial media cannot (and should not) be questioned in terms of their filtering mechanisms, and it is only the PSB’s duty to provide cultural diversity. The important role of PSB as a cornerstone of democracy (in all areas including culture) has been emphasized in a number of documents published by UNESCO (and the ones published with its collaboration). General Conferences of UNESCO organized in 1993 and 1995 adopted resolutions directly addressing the need for support of PSB for the fulfillment of its educational and cultural functions (Mansell & Raboy, 2011). UNESCO (2005a) exclusively emphasized the role of PSB in promoting cultural diversity. UNESCO (2005b) stated that public benefits could not be served by profit seeking private media entrepreneurs and thus pluralism, programming diversity, editorial independence, appropriate funding, accountability and transparency should be guaranteed by PSB. Smith (2012) also underlined the duty of PSB in ensuring pluralism and programming diversity in a report prepared for Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union with the support of UNESCO.

However, for such a PSB-based strategy to be effective in a country in which the mainstream media sphere is dominated by commercial media channels, the audiences should be fully aware of what they would and wouldn’t like. Only the ones with that kind of an awareness would eventually quit watching/listening to the

programs of dominant commercial media channels and turn their attention to PSB (and to the internet as well) in order to experience more diversified cultural forms. We have seen throughout this dissertation - in the case of music - that majority of people living in Turkey do not have such an awareness about their potential likeability of new genres/songs; thus they do not deliberately seek diversified forms of music. Hence, it won't be wrong to argue that a diversified PSB will not be enough to improve the level of consumed diversity in Turkey. (But of course it would surely be appropriate to initiate the process of diversification via PSB.)

Therefore, the principal suggestion of this dissertation is that in order to increase the level of diversity consumed by the majority of the society, the musical repertoires of the mainstream (commercial) media must be diversified. However, the strategy should not be a radical but a gradual transformation of the repertoires. As discussed throughout this study, offering the audiences - who are already familiar with certain musical genres - totally new types of songs will not work in diversifying the preferences of the public as it will be difficult for them to digest these brand new materials. The potential failure of such a (radical transformation) strategy can be foreseen by looking at the attempt of TRT in history to ban the genres that were already liked by the majority and to substitute them with totally different genres, which eventually caused the attention of the audience to shift away from TRT. The strategy should rather be a gradual diversification of the musical repertoire of the mainstream music media. That is to say, a new song which includes novelties together with familiar structures will attract audiences because of its familiar sounding parts in the first place, and later the new parts will eventually be liked with the help of repetition. This will also satisfy the seemingly contradictory needs of familiarity and novelty of the listeners at the same time. Selection process of such a gradually diversifying repertoire should be carried out by broadcasting managers with certain musical qualifications or advice should be taken from a committee of experts. (Note that these are necessary but not sufficient to guarantee the desired outcome as it might be the case that the qualified managers and/or the committee members may also act according to relationships based on self-interest.)

It is obvious that the commercial media will never adopt the strategy proposed above if they are left alone. Therefore, the applicability of the strategy is only possible if it is adopted as a cultural policy and the government implements regulations and/or incentives accordingly. In this direction, UNESCO (2016) encourages the Parties to the 2005 Convention to “update their legislative and regulatory frameworks” for not only public service but also private media (p. 7). Regulations might be in the form of quota requirements for the music media, that is to say all the media stations might be required to share a certain amount of airplay time for the alternatives through cultural policy. UNESCO (2002) mentioned quotas as a form of State action which could be “a way of resisting excessive liberalization and its threats to cultural diversity” (p. 57). Letts (2006) also suggested quota requirements as a public policy in order to increase diversity in radio broadcasting based on good practices in a number of South African countries and New Zealand.

The incentives, on the other hand, might be in the form of direct subsidies to the media stations or indirect incentives in which the advertising companies are allowed to make use of tax reduction whenever they support the media channels with diversified repertoires. These incentives will certainly motivate the media channels to include the alternatives in their playlists as the payoffs for doing so will be higher than the payoffs for having standardized repertoires. And as a result, “the challenge of creating in the private sector the broadest possible access to musical diversity” (Letts, 2006: 156) will be overcome to a certain extent.

In parallel to these regulations and/or incentives, increasing awareness among the radio stations about the need for their taking responsibility to increase diversity to the benefit of the public might also be effective.

It should be noted at this point that the ideal of this dissertation is not to suggest a repertoire of the music media (and hence a listening repertoire of the majority of the consumers) which totally excludes the mainstream pop music of today. I totally disagree with the idea that there exists a hierarchy between musical genres. i.e. I neither believe that the examples of ‘high art’ are superior to those of popular culture – as it was argued by the leaders of Frankfurt School – nor celebrate folk culture against the elite culture – as it was done by a number of representatives

of the British Cultural Studies. Aesthetic hierarchy is illusive and arbitrary, which is imposed by the dominant classes and taken for granted by the dominated classes, as argued by Bourdieu (1984). I agree with the idea of post-aesthetic cultural policy which equally values the tastes of all the groups in the society as offered by Bennett (cited in Pratt & Hesmondhalgh 2005) instead of a policy which favors any kind of music (or other forms of artistic creation) over the others.

My secondary suggestion is the organization of the small and scattered endeavors of the independent artists to form a collective among themselves which might well result in an 'alternative mainstream'. Recall that the music industry is made up of a small number of major record labels and a huge number of small and independent labels and artists. It has been shown in this dissertation that the 9 major labels constitute around 40% of the recording market in Turkey. That is to say, the total of others are actually higher than the total of these majors. However, the power of the medium/small scale labels and independent artists are not consolidated but scattered. If these small labels and independent artists can come together to join forces and/or the existing professional associations such as MÜYORBİR, MESAM and MSG take initiative for the advocacy of the rights of these artists, then they might well increase the awareness of the public about them. These organized movements should target the mainstream outlets other than radio and music TV (such as TV series, popular TV shows, songs contests, etc.) first because these outlets are more open to diversity as their getting high ratings are less dependent on the musical content. That is to say, the focus of attention in a TV series is the storyline, not the soundtrack accompanying it. Similarly, what makes the audience watch a song contest on TV are the deliberations between the jury members, the entertaining environment, etc. Popular culture can be utilized to the benefit of diversity by deliberately generating strategies in collaboration with these kind of mainstream outlets. Secondly, the level of digital competencies of the alternative musicians should be strengthened (UNESCO, 2016) and digital mainstreams for the alternatives should be created. For instance, digital initiatives (such as the Netd and Vevo platforms) which will systematically and inclusively promote the alternatives might well generate an increased visibility of the music of these artists. Another

step to be taken by especially the existing associations might be to create projects – such as compilation albums - in which mainstream artists and alternative artists come together so that the alternatives make use of the popularity of the mainstream artists to reach larger audiences. This kind of “artistic and cultural collaboration, co-production and co-distribution agreements” are also offered by UNESCO (2016: 9).

A number of attempts to initiate some sorts of organized actions among the alternative artists and/or independent labels have already taken place so far in the music industry of Turkey. For instance, 30 independent labels decided to initiate a collaboration with regard to digital distribution under the umbrella of IMM Music in 2009²⁵⁰. However, it seems like this collaboration did not have a satisfactory level of impact on the diversity of music consumption so far.

Another example is the formation of an informal organization by independent musicians, which is named “*Bağımsız Müzik Oluşumu*”, in order to come together periodically, discuss the issues concerning the alternative scene and try to look for solutions in a collaborative manner. The organization has a Facebook group of around 500 members; however, the group is now inactive and they are no longer organizing any meetings.

For the suggestion regarding the creation of an ‘alternative mainstream’ to be implementable, an appropriate cultural policy should be adopted at the administrative level first – as it must be the case for the diversification of the mainstream media as mentioned above – and corresponding direct and indirect support mechanisms should be generated. For instance, direct financial support to the artists (Enlil et. al., 2011) - aimed at not only the creation and production phases but also the distribution and promotion phases – and to the networking projects which have the potential to empower the alternatives and to counter-balance the dominance of majors in the industry could be provided by central/local public institutions. In this way “the challenge to building financially successful local music sectors” (Letts, 2006: 150) might be overcome for the case of the alternative market

²⁵⁰ Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/30-sirket-dijital-pazar-icin-bagimsiz-muzik-catisi-kurdu-14738658>

in Turkey.

Besides the duties of the public authorities, civil society should also participate in the policy making processes and take their part in the implementation of the adopted policies. The importance of civil society participation for the implementation of the UNESCO (2005a) was exclusively mentioned in the Convention (Article 11), in the 2015 monitoring report and the latest (tenth) intergovernmental meeting (December 2016) decisions. Especially in the digital era, the civil society contribution might be in the following forms as offered in the tenth ordinary session of the Intergovernmental Committee: raising "awareness of the potential of the digital environment", "efforts to consult actors in the cultural sector on digital matters, and to share the results with the governing bodies", "providing relevant information on the opportunities and challenges for artists and other cultural professionals and practitioners arising from digital technologies" (UNESCO, 2016: 11).

Despite the globally accepted significance of the cultural diversity issue as part of international cultural policies (reflected via instruments such as UNESCO 2001 Declaration and UNESCO 2005 Convention), and the increasing number of measures being taken at national and regional levels in order to protect and promote the diversity in all artistic fields (as stated in the 2015 monitoring report which was prepared based on the quadrennial reports of Parties to the Convention), it can well be argued that Turkey has a long way to go in this regard. Even though the National Cultural Policy Report of Turkey (CoE, 2013) refers to the importance of cultural diversity issue a number of times, it does not include any statements about diversity being under threat in the context discussed throughout this dissertation, and it does not put forth any strategies in order to improve the level of consumed diversity in music industry or in any other culture industries (Ada, 2013).

On the other hand, the following more recent developments in Turkey with regard to cultural diversity policies can be evaluated to be promising for the future. The cultural policy section of the 3rd National Culture Council Final Report includes statements about the intention to take into consideration the civil society reports during cultural policy making processes and to provide opportunities and

platforms for the enhancement of collaboration that would improve cultural diversity (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2017). Furthermore, Turkey has ratified the 2005 Convention on 1st of March 2017²⁵¹. However, time is needed to see whether the commitments of the Ministry's report will be actualized and whether the adoption of the Convention will lead to effective implementations in artistic areas and culture industries including the music industry. My suggestions with regard to the implementation of the Convention are as follows: Turkey should benefit from the 2015 monitoring report of UNESCO and the quadrennial reports of other Parties as guiding documents from the very beginning of the implementation process so that it won't waste time on replicating the mistakes/deficiencies experienced by the prior signatories. Furthermore, both the public authorities and civil society should inform the representatives of the culture sector about the International Fund for Cultural Diversity to which they can apply to get financial support for their projects.

To sum up, national and/or local cultural policies together with funding mechanisms that will provide direct support to artists and other cultural professionals, will contribute to the "fair remuneration of creators and performers," support "cultural entrepreneurs, civil society organizations, local production companies or incubators wishing to expand their activities in the digital environment" and collaboration and cooperation through networking activities, ensure "the visibility and discoverability" of diversified cultural content and "promote dialogue between private operators and public authorities in order to [...] encourage the creation of algorithms that ensure greater diversity of cultural expressions in the digital environment and promote the presence and availability" and consumption of local/ alternative cultural works (UNESCO, 2016: 8), "promote cooperation between online platforms in order to improve the online distribution of cultural goods and services and to better find the content being disseminated" and ensure that the digital mechanisms (recommendation algorithms), determining the content available to the users, provide a wide range of diverse cultural expressions

²⁵¹ Published in the official Gazette on 25th of March with the law number 6892.

in the digital environment" (p. 9). Adoption of such policies will eventually narrow the gap between produced and consumed diversity in the music industry of Turkey.



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APPENDIX 1

The survey questions²⁵² were as follows.

Please select the choice from the list that best fits your opinion about each of the specified Turkish music genres.

(A number of the most prominent artists of each genre are given so as to make sure that you understand the musical content of each genre.)

	Have no idea	Hate	Don't like	Neutral	Like some examples only	Like
Turkish Pop - Rhythmic/Dance (Demet Akalın, Gülşen, Hande Yener, Murat Boz, Serdar Ortaç)						
Turkish Pop – Acoustic/Slow (Fettah Can, İrem Derici, Mustafa Ceceli, Sıla)						
Turkish Pop – Classics (Kayahan, Nilüfer, Sezen Aksu)						
Turkish Pop – Second Generation (Aşkın Nur Yengi, Candan Erçetin,						

²⁵² The questions were asked in Turkish.

Levent Yüksel, Sertab Erener, Tarkan)						
Turkish Soft Rock (Emre Aydın, Model, Şebnem Ferah, Teoman, Zakkum)						
Turkish Hard Rock /Hayko Cepkin, Mavi Sakal, Pentagram)						
Anadolu Rock (Barış Manço, Cem Karaca, Moğollar)						
Turkish Rap (Ayben, Ceza, Sagapo Kajmer, Allame)						
Arabesque (Ebru Gündeş, Ferdi Tayfur, İbrahim Tatlıses, Kibariye, Orhan Gencebay)						
Modern versions of Arabesque (Işın Karaca arabesque albums, İstanbul Arabesque Project)						
TSM - original versions (Hamiyet Yüceses, Müzeyyen Senar, Zeki Müren, Ziya Taşkent)						

THM - original versions (Bedia Akartürk, Neşet Ertaş, Nida Tüfekçi, Özay Gönlüm, Ruhi Su)						
TSM - modern versions (Bülent Ersoy, Muazzez Ersoy, Sibel Can)						
THM – Modern versions (Kubat, Volkan Konak, Zara)						
Özgün music (Ahmet Kaya, Selda Bağcan, Zülfü Livaneli)						
Tasavvuf music						

Please select the choice from the list that best fits your opinion about each of the specified foreign music genres.

	Have no idea	Hate	Don't like	Neutral	Like some examples only	Like
Foreign Pop						
Foreign Jazz/Blues/Soul/R&B						
Foreign Rock						
Foreign Heavy Metal						
Foreign Electronic						
Classical Music						
Opera						
Foreign Ethnic						

Please select a choice from the list based on your awareness about and liking each of the specified Turkish artists.

	Have never heard about this artist	Have heard about the artist but never listened to his/her songs	Have listened to the songs but didn't like	Neutral	Didn't like during the first listening, but liked after a no of listenings	Liked since the first listening
Birsen Tezer						
Can Bonomo						
Ceylan Ertem						
Elif Çağlar						
Güntaç Özdemir						
Güvenç Dağüstün						
Halil Sezai						
Jehan Barbur						
Jülide Özçelik						
Mabel Matiz						
Melis Danişmend						

Please select a choice from the list based on your awareness about and liking each of the specified Turkish bands.

	Have never heard about this band	Have heard about the band but never listened to its songs	Have listened to the songs but didn't like	Neutral	Didn't like during the first listening, but liked after a no of listenings	Liked since the first listening
Asfalt Dünya						
Baba Zula						
Bajar						
Büyük Ev Ablukada						
Gevende						
Güvenç Dağüstün						
Grup Yorum						
Kardeş Türküler						
Luxus						
Son Feci Bisiklet						
Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz						

Consider the total amount of time you spend for music listening. Which of the following choices is correct for you?

- a) I spend most of my time on listening to Turkish music
- b) I spend most of my time on listening to foreign music
- c) The amount of time I spend on listening to Turkish music and the amount of time I spend on listening to foreign music are almost equivalent.

What is your frequency of listening to music on radio?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-4 hours a week
- d) Everyday, less than 2 hours a day
- e) More than 2 hours a day

What is your frequency of watching music TV?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-4 hours a week
- d) Everyday, less than 2 hours a day
- e) More than 2 hours a day

Please select the most suitable choice based on your preference of Turkish vs. foreign music on radio.

- a) I only listen to the radio stations that broadcast Turkish music.
- b) I listen to the radio stations that broadcast Turkish music more frequently than the radio stations that broadcast foreign music.
- c) I only listen to the radio stations that broadcast foreign music.
- d) I listen to the radio stations that broadcast foreign music more frequently than the radio stations that broadcast Turkish music.
- e) I listen to the radio stations that broadcast Turkish music and the radio stations that broadcast foreign music with equivalent frequencies.

Please select your favorite types of Turkish music radio.

(Select at most 3).

- a) Stations that broadcast pop-rock predominantly. (Such as Super FM, Best FM, PowerTurk, Radio D, Radio Viva).
- b) Stations that broadcast only acoustic/slow pop. (Such as Joy Turk, Slow Turk, Slow Time).
- c) Stations that broadcast arabesque predominantly. (Such as Kral FM, Baba Radio).
- d) Stations with multiple genre playlists. (Such as TRT FM, Police Radio).
- e) Stations that broadcast THM predominantly. (YÖN FM, Karadeniz FM).
- f) Stations that broadcast TSM predominantly. (Such as Radio Alaturka).
- g) Stations that broadcast nostalgic pop. (Such as Kent FM).
- h) Stations that broadcast Turkish rock music. (Including web radio).
- i) Stations that broadcast Turkish jazz music. (Including web radio).
- j) Açık Radio.
- k) Other.

Please select your favorite types of music TV. (Select at most 3).

- a) TV channels that broadcast Turkish pop predominantly.
- b) TV channels that broadcast THM predominantly.
- c) TV channels that broadcast TSM predominantly.
- d) TV channels that broadcast arabesque predominantly.
- e) TV channels with multiple genre playlists.
- f) TV channels that broadcast foreign music predominantly.

What is your frequency of listening to music on the internet and or/mobile applications?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-4 hours a week
- d) Everyday, less than 2 hours a day
- e) More than 2 hours a day

Which one of the following best describes your music listening habits on the internet?

- a) In general, I prefer to manually search for the songs that I want to listen to.
- b) In general, I prefer to listen to the songs offered by the web site/mobile application.
- c) I use both of the above mentioned methods in an equivalent manner.

Which of the following choices is valid regarding the songs that you manually search on the internet.

- a) In general, the songs that I manually search on the internet are the same songs that I hear on the mainstream media.
- b) In general, the songs that I manually search on the internet are different than the songs that I hear on the mainstream media.
- c) I search both the songs that I hear on the mainstream media and songs that I don't hear on the mainstream media.

What is your frequency of listening to music via CDs, LPs, mp3s you own?

- a) I do not own any CDs, LP or mp3s
- b) Never
- c) Occasionally
- d) 1-4 hours a week
- e) Everyday, less than 2 hours a day
- f) More than 2 hours a day

Consider the genres you listen to via the CDs, LPs, mp3s you own and/or streaming.

Which of the followings are the genres you listen to with the highest frequency?

(Select at most 5 genres).

- a) Popular Turkish rhythmic/dance
- b) Popular Turkish acoustic/slow
- c) Alternative Turkish pop (Birsen Tezer, Jehan Barbur, Ceylan Ertem etc.)
- d) Classical Turkish pop
- e) Second generation Turkish pop

- f) Turkish soft rock
- g) Turkish hard rock
- h) Anatolian rock
- i) Özgün music
- j) Turkish rap
- k) TSM
- l) THM
- m) Arabesque
- n) Tasavvuf music
- o) Foreign pop/rock/R&B/jazz
- p) Western Classical
- q) Other

What is your frequency of listening to live music?

- a) Never
- b) Less than once a year
- c) 1-4 times a year
- d) More than 4 times a year

What is your frequency of watching celebrity news on mainstream TV channels?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

What is your frequency of watching TV shows (with musical content) on mainstream channels?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

What is your frequency of watching TV shows (with a musical content) on alternative channels?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

What is your frequency of watching culture and art programs on TV?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

What is your frequency of watching Turkish TV series?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

What is your frequency of reading music articles on newspapers, magazines, internet blogs, etc.?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

What is your frequency of reading celebrity news on newspapers or the internet?

- a) Never
- b) Occasionally
- c) 1-3 hours a week
- d) More than 3 hours a week

In what ways do you discover new music? (Select at most 3).

- a) Internet sites such as Youtube, Vimeo, Dailymotion, etc.
- b) TV shows
- c) Music articles

- d) Live music venues
- e) Recommendations of my friends
- f) P2P music sharing programmes
- g) Social media
- h) TV series and/or movies
- i) Radio and/or music TV
- j) Recommendations of family members
- k) I haven't discovered anything new recently.

Which of the followings are valid for you with regard to your music sharing habits?

- a) I do not share the music I newly discover with anyone.
- b) I share the music I newly discover on social media
- c) I share the music I newly discover in ways other than social media
- d)

Please select the choice from the list that best represents your opinion with regard to each of the statements.

	Never	Occasionally	Usually	Always
I like a song that I didn't like in the first listening after a number of repetitions.				
I like discovering new genres and songs that are musically different than the mainstream music				
I deliberately search for new music on the internet				
When I hear a songs on the radio or Tv and like, I manually search it on the internet to listen again				

I would deliberately search for new music even if the internet didn't exist				
When I hear an unknown song on the radio, I switch the station				
When I hear an unknown song on a TV series, I switch the channel				

Have you ever participated in any amateur music activities?

- a) No
- b) Yes, for less than a year
- c) Yes, for 1-3 years
- d) Yes, for more than 3 years

Have you ever participated in music courses (other than the mandatory courses at school)?

- a) No
- b) Yes, for less than a year
- c) Yes, for 1-3 years
- d) Yes, for more than 3 years

In which genres have you taken music courses?

- a) Pop/Rock
- b) Rap/R&B
- c) Jazz/Blues/Soul
- d) Western Classical
- e) Opera
- f) Musical
- g) TSM
- h) THM
- i) Other

Which of the following genres were being listened to frequently in the home you lived until the age of 18?

(Select at most 3)

- a) Turkish pop
- b) Turkish rock
- c) Arabesque
- d) THM
- e) TSM
- f) Özgün music
- g) Western Classical
- h) Foreign pop
- i) Foreign rock
- j) Jazz

What is your age?

What is your gender?

What is your occupation?

What is the level of your mounthly income?

- a) Less than 1,000 TL
- b) 1,000-3.000 TL
- c) 3,000-7,000 TL
- d) More than 7,000 TL

What is your level of education?

- a) Illiterate
- b) Literate but do not have any degree
- c) Primary school
- d) Secondary school
- e) High school
- f) College
- g) Master's degree
- h) PhD

Please write the name of the city where you have spent the longest period of your life.



APPENDIX 2

Table A2.1: Multinomial Logit Results with the Reference Category “Pop Listeners_aware of Alternatives.”

Note: The missing categories for each independent variable are the reference categories.

*p<0,05 **p<0,01

	Light- TR vs.	Pop (excl.Alt)	Omnivore- Listeners	Pop (excl.Alt)	Pop- vs. Arabesque	Pop (excl.Alt)
	Est.		vs		Est.	
	Coeff.	s.e	Est. Coeff.	s.e	Est. Coeff.	s.e
Intercept	1,411	0,932	-2,526*	1,027	-1,191	1,647
Age	0,021	0,014	0,000	0,013	-0,021	0,019
Gender-1	0,112	0,308	0,760**	0,265	-0,426	0,438
Region-East	0,721	0,474	0,290	0,477	-0,523	0,542
Region-West	-0,329	0,387	-0,109	0,333	-0,513	0,489
Income-1	0,415	0,388	0,100	0,336	0,339	0,475
Income-2	-0,158	0,532	0,251	0,444	-0,778	0,770
Income-3	-0,622	0,696	-0,393	0,593	-0,646	1,256
Education-1	-0,741	0,421	0,256	0,375	-0,565	0,541
Education-2	-0,561	0,427	0,633	0,391	-1,203	0,716
Education-3	-1,432	0,718	0,322	0,541	-1,348	1,300
Like after repetition-1	0,831	0,477	2,650**	0,628	0,872	0,939
Like after repetition-2	-0,091	0,529	2,085**	0,642	0,828	0,984
Like discovering alternatives-1	-0,626	0,592	-1,212	0,637	-1,249	0,842
Like discovering alternatives-2	-0,724	0,612	-0,583	0,627	-1,230	0,893
Actively search through int.-1	-0,095	0,363	0,720*	0,330	1,084*	0,514
Actively search through int.-2	-0,254	0,506	0,958*	0,392	1,029	0,692
Actively search thr. other-1	-0,066	0,346	0,575	0,328	-0,506	0,493
Actively search thr. other-2	-0,868	0,484	0,712	0,366	-1,653*	0,732
Celebrity news on TV-1	-0,820*	0,384	-0,407	0,327	-1,275*	0,551

Celebrity news						
on TV-2	-1,010	0,614	-0,928	0,521	-0,995	0,733
Talk Shows-1	-0,103	0,417	-0,487	0,359	1,844*	0,818
Talk Shows-2	-0,520	0,551	-0,897	0,471	1,855*	0,906
TV-Series-1	-0,330	0,416	-0,084	0,350	0,003	0,720
TV-Series-2	-0,514	0,422	-0,717*	0,356	0,109	0,717
Celebrity news						
News-1	0,522	0,357	-0,294	0,322	1,421**	0,486
Celebrity news						
News-2	-0,468	0,419	0,075	0,329	1,365**	0,477
Radio/Internet	-0,121	0,156	-0,450**	0,158	0,224	0,189
Arts-Culture						
Programs-1	-0,144	0,363	0,432	0,344	-0,800	0,499
Arts-Culture						
Programs-2	-0,112	0,430	0,498	0,398	-1,183	0,668
Music Articles-1	-0,314	0,376	0,640*	0,309	-0,128	0,600
Music Articles-2	0,354	0,460	0,777*	0,352	-0,492	0,693
Amateur Music -						
1	0,010	0,451	0,234	0,361	-0,700	0,821
Amateur Music -						
2	0,249	0,509	1,195**	0,377	0,128	0,754
Music Edu.-1	-0,382	0,551	0,107	0,399	-1,303	1,228
Music Edu.-2	-1,065	0,585	-0,698	0,387	-0,258	0,865
TR Pop/Rock	-					
until 18-1	0,800**	0,306	-0,515	0,264	-0,947*	0,412
Traditional						
until 18-1	0,437	0,325	0,603*	0,271	0,950*	0,458
Arabesque						
until 18-1	0,381	0,344	-0,075	0,346	2,926**	0,473
Özgün						
until 18-1	-0,341	0,389	0,652*	0,322	-1,102*	0,546
Classical						
until 18-1	-1,769	1,214	0,514	0,557	1,511	1,260
Foreign						
Pop/Rock/Jazz						
until 18-1	0,159	0,383	0,305	0,293	0,000	0,000

	Pop (inc. Alt) vs.	Pop (exc. Alt)	Traditionals vs.	Pop (exc. Alt)	Y-Pop Listeners vs.	Pop (exc. Alt)
Intercept	-0,617	1,006	-1,407	1,268	0,691	0,917
	-					
Age	0,044**	0,016	0,025	0,015	-0,009	0,014
Gender-1	0,626*	0,297	-0,557	0,339	0,550*	0,270
Region-East	0,270	0,524	-0,244	0,627	-0,030	0,511
Region-West	-0,038	0,383	0,003	0,433	-0,159	0,341
Income-1	0,381	0,359	-0,202	0,470	-0,054	0,343
Income-2	0,518	0,505	-0,013	0,568	0,338	0,453
Income-3	0,329	0,675	-0,280	0,698	-0,194	0,586
Education-1	-0,217	0,379	0,867	0,512	1,049*	0,419
Education-2	-0,064	0,399	0,737	0,536	1,234**	0,437
Education-3	-0,669	0,635	-0,533	0,786	1,130*	0,576
Like after repetition-1	1,133*	0,544	0,965	0,523	0,774	0,445
Like after repetition-2	0,678	0,559	-0,013	0,572	0,379	0,468
Like discovering alternatives-1	-1,204	0,642	-1,641**	0,622	-0,947	0,622
Like discovering alternatives-2	-1,245	0,641	-1,788**	0,642	-0,747	0,616
Actively search through int.-1	0,884*	0,360	0,105	0,407	0,507	0,338
Actively search through int.-2	0,884*	0,430	0,215	0,515	1,017**	0,399
Actively search thr. other-1	0,365	0,349	0,705	0,402	0,273	0,333
Actively search thr. other-2	0,350	0,396	0,543	0,478	0,185	0,370
Celebrity news on TV-1	0,432	0,386	-0,237	0,421	-0,722*	0,339
Celebrity news on TV-2	0,589	0,542	-0,122	0,643	-0,720	0,555
Talk Shows-1	-0,192	0,430	-0,408	0,462	-0,645	0,361
Talk Shows-2	-0,814	0,528	-0,576	0,596	-0,737	0,491
TV-Series-1	0,435	0,413	-0,159	0,431	-0,549	0,351
TV-Series-2	-0,224	0,420	-0,922*	0,445	-1,541**	0,371
Celebrity news News-1	0,497	0,361	-0,120	0,423	0,201	0,327

Celebrity news						
News-2	0,697	0,363	-0,027	0,434	0,159	0,344
Radio/Internet	-0,047	0,163	-0,074	0,179	-0,638**	0,173
Arts-Culture						
Programs-1	-0,100	0,374	0,551	0,498	0,332	0,341
Arts-Culture						
Programs-2	0,098	0,420	1,513**	0,536	-0,028	0,412
Music Articles-1	0,486	0,334	0,377	0,402	-0,020	0,315
Music Articles-2	0,251	0,389	0,692	0,455	0,306	0,360
Amateur Music-						
1	0,605	0,385	0,101	0,460	0,210	0,370
Amateur Music-						
2	0,585	0,439	0,717	0,462	0,846*	0,387
Music Edu.-1	-0,081	0,454	-0,029	0,514	0,248	0,403
Music Edu.-2	-0,734	0,447	-0,878	0,520	-0,791*	0,394
Turkish						
Pop/Rock until						
18-1	0,101	0,305	-0,628	0,329	-0,700**	0,271
Traditional						
until 18-1	-0,152	0,296	1,645**	0,399	0,349	0,277
Arabesque						
until 18-1	0,431	0,347	0,457	0,418	-0,059	0,366
Özgün until 18-1	-0,154	0,371	0,586	0,398	-0,187	0,356
Classical						
until 18-1	0,556	0,641	0,000	0,000	1,048	0,550
Foreign						
Pop/Rock/Jazz						
until 18-1	0,140	0,320	-0,174	0,440	0,810**	0,294

Table A2.2: Multinomial Logit Results with the Reference Category “Pop Arabesque Listeners.”

Note: The missing categories for each independent variable are the reference categories.

*p<0,05 **p<0,01

	Light- TR vs.	Pop Arabesque	Omni. Listen. vs.	Pop Arabesque	Pop (inc. Alt) vs.	Pop Arabesque
	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.
Intercept	2,898	1,499	-1,039	1,629	0,870	1,608
Age	0,042*	0,018	0,021	0,020	-0,023	0,021
Gender-1	0,538	0,433	1,186**	0,436	1,052*	0,449
Region-East	1,244**	0,449	0,813	0,547	0,794	0,578
Region-West	0,184	0,459	0,405	0,481	0,475	0,506
Income-1	0,076	0,450	-0,239	0,479	0,042	0,490
Income-2	0,620	0,737	1,029	0,766	1,296	0,797
Income-3	0,024	1,294	0,253	1,271	0,976	1,287
Education-1	-0,176	0,558	0,821	0,551	0,347	0,551
Education-2	0,642	0,715	1,836**	0,715	1,139	0,720
Education-3	-0,084	1,351	1,671	1,298	0,679	1,338
Like after repetition-1	-0,041	0,917	1,779	1,049	0,261	1,001
Like after repetition-2	-0,919	0,979	1,257	1,093	-0,150	1,045
Like discovering alternatives-1	0,623	0,728	0,037	0,842	0,046	0,844
Like discovering alternatives-2	0,506	0,806	0,647	0,879	-0,015	0,889
Actively search through int.-1	-1,178*	0,510	-0,364	0,530	-0,199	0,538
Actively search through int.-2	-1,283	0,729	-0,071	0,691	-0,145	0,700
Actively search thr. other-1	0,439	0,491	1,081*	0,503	0,871	0,507
Actively search thr. other-2	0,785	0,781	2,364**	0,729	2,003**	0,737
Celebrity news on TV-1	0,455	0,509	0,867	0,532	1,707**	0,568
Celebrity news on TV-2	-0,015	0,725	0,067	0,758	1,583*	0,760

Talk Shows-1	-1,948**	0,784	-2,331**	0,797	-2,037*	0,830
Talk Shows-2	-2,376**	0,872	-2,753**	0,902	-2,670**	0,928
TV-Series-1	-0,333	0,694	-0,087	0,692	0,432	0,722
TV-Series-2	-0,623	0,705	-0,826	0,700	-0,333	0,728
Celebrity news						
News-1	-0,900*	0,443	-1,716**	0,484	-0,925	0,505
Celebrity news						
News-2	-1,833**	0,482	-1,290**	0,484	-0,668	0,498
Radio/Internet	-0,344*	0,167	-0,674**	0,204	-0,271	0,205
Arts-Culture						
Programs-1	0,655	0,492	1,232*	0,507	0,699	0,522
Arts-Culture						
Programs-2	1,071	0,677	1,681*	0,673	1,281	0,677
Music Articles-1	-0,185	0,619	0,768	0,593	0,614	0,601
Music Articles-2	0,846	0,726	1,269	0,683	0,744	0,692
Amateur Music-						
1	0,710	0,840	0,933	0,811	1,304	0,812
Amateur Music-						
2	0,121	0,794	1,067	0,729	0,457	0,757
Music Edu.-1	0,921	1,257	1,411	1,216	1,223	1,227
Music Edu.-2	-0,807	0,952	-0,440	0,852	-0,476	0,877
Turkish						
Pop/Rock until						
18-1	0,146	0,412	0,431	0,409	1,047*	0,426
Traditional						
until 18-1	-0,513	0,470	-0,347	0,460	-1,102*	0,468
Arabesque						
until 18-1	-2,545**	0,476	-3,001**	0,489	-2,495**	0,486
Özgün until 18-1	0,761	0,529	1,753**	0,538	0,948	0,561
Classical						
until 18-1	-3,280*	1,593	-0,997	1,197	-0,955	1,236
Foreign						
Pop/Rock/Jazz						
until 18-1	-0,137	0,673	0,009	0,638	-0,157	0,644

	Tradi- tionals vs.	Pop Arabesque	Y-Pop List. vs.	Pop Arabesque
Intercept	-1,431	2,066	2,178	1,559
Age	0,046*	0,021	0,012	0,020
Gender-1	-0,131	0,482	0,977*	0,440
Region-East	0,279	0,667	0,493	0,577
Region-West	0,517	0,546	0,354	0,487
Income-1	-0,541	0,573	-0,393	0,485
Income-2	0,765	0,834	1,116	0,771
Income-3	0,366	1,314	0,452	1,269
Education-1	1,432*	0,640	1,614**	0,581
Education-2	1,940*	0,795	2,437**	0,739
Education-3	0,815	1,406	2,478	1,310
Like after repetition-1	0,093	0,973	-0,098	0,950
Like after repetition-2	-0,841	1,038	-0,448	1,000
Like discovering alternatives-1	-0,392	0,825	0,303	0,831
Like discovering alternatives-2	-0,558	0,889	0,483	0,874
Actively search through internet-1	-0,978	0,576	-0,576	0,536
Actively search through internet-2	-0,814	0,762	-0,012	0,695
Actively search through other-1	1,211*	0,553	0,779	0,508
Actively search through other-2	2,196**	0,788	1,838**	0,733
Celebrity news on TV-1	1,038	0,588	0,553	0,541
Celebrity news on TV-2	0,873	0,839	0,275	0,784
Talk Shows-1	-2,252**	0,839	-2,489**	0,798
Talk Shows-2	-2,431**	0,960	-2,593**	0,913
TV-Series-1	-0,162	0,731	-0,552	0,694

TV-Series-2	-1,031	0,746	-1,650*	0,708
Celebrity news				
News-1	-1,542**	0,550	-1,220*	0,488
Celebrity news				
News-2	-1,391**	0,553	-1,206*	0,494
Radio/internet	-0,297	0,216	-0,862**	0,217
Arts-Culture				
Programs-1	1,351	0,615	1,132*	0,508
Arts-Culture				
Programs-2	2,696**	0,756	1,155	0,683
Music Articles-1	0,505	0,643	0,108	0,597
Music Articles-2	1,184	0,739	0,799	0,689
Amateur Music				
Activities-1	0,801	0,854	0,910	0,815
Amateur Music				
Activities-2	0,589	0,774	0,718	0,735
Music Education-1	1,275	1,254	1,552	1,219
Music Education-2	-0,620	0,922	-0,533	0,854
Turkish Pop/Rock				
until 18-1	0,319	0,452	0,247	0,414
Trad. until 18-1	0,695	0,542	-0,601	0,464
Arabes. until 18-1	-2,470**	0,540	-2,986**	0,505
Özgün until 18-1	1,688**	0,582	0,915	0,559
Classical until 18-1	0,000	0,000	-0,463	1,194
Foreign				
Pop/Rock/Jazz				
until 18-1	-0,470	0,716	0,513	0,638

Table A2.3: Multinomial Logit Results with the Reference Category “Omnivore Listeners.”

Note: The missing categories for each independent variable are the reference categories.

*p<0,05 **p<0,01

	Light-TR Omnivores vs.	Omnivore Listeners	Pop (inc. Alt) vs.	Omnivore Listeners
	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.
Intercept	3,937**	1,036	1,909	1,076
Age	0,021	0,014	-0,044**	0,015
Gender-1	-0,648*	0,295	-0,134	0,274
Region-East	0,431	0,455	-0,019	0,479
Region-West	-0,220	0,354	0,071	0,329
Income-1	0,315	0,378	0,282	0,325
Income-2	-0,410	0,509	0,267	0,456
Income-3	-0,229	0,705	0,723	0,665
Education-1	-0,997*	0,416	-0,474	0,360
Education-2	-1,194**	0,417	-0,697	0,378
Education-3	-1,755*	0,695	-0,991	0,587
Like after repetition-1	-1,820**	0,655	-1,518*	0,702
Like after repetition-2	-2,176**	0,697	-1,407*	0,718
Like discovering alternatives-1	0,586	0,585	0,008	0,615
Like discovering alternatives-2	-0,140	0,586	-0,662	0,598
Actively search through int.-1	-0,814*	0,361	0,164	0,359
Actively search through int.-2	-1,212*	0,485	-0,074	0,407
Actively search thr. other -1	-0,641	0,343	-0,210	0,347
Actively search thr. other-2	-1,580**	0,462	-0,362	0,371
Celebrity news on TV-1	-0,413	0,351	0,840**	0,329
Celebrity news on TV-2	-0,082	0,638	1,516**	0,516
Talk Shows-1	0,384	0,370	0,295	0,360

Talk Shows-2	0,377	0,537	0,083	0,472
TV-Series-1	-0,246	0,360	0,519	0,340
TV-Series-2	0,203	0,386	0,493	0,364
Celebrity news				
News-1	0,816*	0,339	0,791*	0,327
Celebrity news				
News-2	-0,543	0,406	0,622	0,326
Radio/Internet	0,330*	0,167	0,403*	0,165
Arts-Culture				
Programs-1	-0,576	0,354	-0,532	0,354
Arts-Culture				
Programs-2	-0,610	0,424	-0,400	0,400
Music Articles-1	-0,954**	0,356	-0,154	0,308
Music Articles-2	-0,423	0,424	-0,525	0,346
Amateur Music-1	-0,223	0,404	0,371	0,324
Amateur Music-2	-0,947*	0,454	-0,610	0,367
Music Edu.-1	-0,490	0,499	-0,188	0,377
Music Edu.-2	-0,367	0,553	-0,036	0,396
Turkish				
Pop/Rock until				
18-1	-0,285	0,288	0,616*	0,265
Tradit. until 18-1	-0,166	0,314	-0,755**	0,268
Arabes. until 18-				
1	0,456	0,355	0,506	0,340
Özgün until 18-1	-0,992**	0,356	-0,805**	0,314
Classical				
until 18-1	-2,283*	1,142	0,042	0,482
Foreign				
Pop/Rock/Jazz				
until 18-1	-0,146	0,361	-0,166	0,280

	Tradi- tionals vs.	Omnivore Listeners	Y-Pop List. vs.	Omnivore Listeners
Intercept	0,606	1,238	3,217**	0,918
Age	0,025	0,013	-0,009	0,011
Gender-1	-1,317**	0,310	-0,209	0,206
Region-East	-0,534	0,579	-0,320	0,412
Region-West	0,112	0,377	-0,050	0,239
Income-1	-0,301	0,428	-0,153	0,259
Income-2	-0,264	0,505	0,087	0,331

Income-3	0,113	0,665	0,199	0,492
Education-1	0,611	0,490	0,793*	0,368
Education-2	0,104	0,511	0,601	0,382
Education-3	-0,855	0,740	0,808	0,467
Like after repetition-1	-1,686*	0,669	-1,877**	0,579
Like after repetition-2	-2,098**	0,709	-1,705**	0,596
Like discovering alternatives-1	-0,429	0,590	0,266	0,544
Like discovering alternatives-2	-1,204*	0,589	-0,163	0,519
Actively search through int.-1	-0,615	0,386	-0,213	0,305
Actively search through int.-2	-0,743	0,471	0,059	0,331
Actively search thr. other-1	0,130	0,388	-0,302	0,297
Actively search thr. other-2	-0,168	0,440	-0,527	0,303
Celebrity news on TV-1	0,170	0,370	-0,315	0,250
Celebrity news on TV-2	0,806	0,609	0,208	0,494
Talk Shows-1	0,080	0,396	-0,157	0,250
Talk Shows-2	0,321	0,541	0,160	0,399
TV-Series-1	-0,075	0,358	-0,465*	0,234
TV-Series-2	-0,205	0,392	-0,824**	0,289
Celebrity news News-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Celebrity news News-2	0,174	0,384	0,496*	0,246
Radio/Internet	-0,102	0,391	0,084	0,259
Arts-Culture Programs-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Arts-Culture Programs-2	0,119	0,469	-0,099	0,255
Music Articles-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Music Articles-2	-0,263	0,371	-0,660*	0,255
Amateur Music Activities-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000

Amateur Music				
Activities-2	-0,133	0,398	-0,023	0,270
Music Edu.-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Music Edu.-2	-0,136	0,438	0,141	0,268
Turkish				
Pop/Rock until				
18-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Trad. until 18-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Arabes. until 18-				
1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Özgün until 18-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Classical				
until 18-1	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Foreign				
Pop/Rock/Jazz				
until 18-1	-0,479	0,405	0,504*	0,214

Table A2.4: Multinomial Logit Results with the Reference Category “Y-Pop Listeners.”

Note: The missing categories for each independent variable are the reference categories.

*p<0,05 **p<0,01

	Light-TR		Y-Pop		Pop (incl.		Y-Pop		Traditi-		Y-Pop	
	Omni. vs.		Listeners		Alt) vs.		Listeners		Onals vs.		Listeners	
	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.	Est. Coeff.	s.e.
Intercept	0,720	0,911	-1,800	1,085	-2,801**	1,060						
Age	0,030*	0,014	-0,035*	0,016	0,034*	0,014						
Gender-1	-0,439	0,298	0,075	0,280	-1,107**	0,320						
Region-East	0,751	0,488	0,301	0,520	-0,214	0,611						
Region-West	-0,170	0,361	0,121	0,341	0,162	0,389						
Income-1	0,468	0,384	0,435	0,338	-0,148	0,438						
Income-2	-0,497	0,516	0,180	0,469	-0,351	0,519						
Income-3	-0,428	0,694	0,523	0,668	-0,086	0,668						
Education-1	-1,790**	0,454	-1,267**	0,409	-0,182	0,528						
Education-2	-1,795**	0,458	-1,298**	0,431	-0,496	0,551						
Education-3	-2,562**	0,715	-1,799**	0,625	-1,663*	0,772						
Like after												
repetition-1	0,057	0,477	0,359	0,554	0,191	0,507						
Like after												
repetition-2	-0,471	0,537	0,298	0,576	-0,393	0,562						

Like discovering alternatives-1	0,320	0,563	-0,257	0,611	-0,695	0,588
Like discovering alternatives-2	0,023	0,571	-0,499	0,598	-1,041	0,593
Actively search through int.-1	-0,602	0,369	0,377	0,369	-0,402	0,403
Actively search through int.-2	-1,271**	0,490	-0,133	0,418	-0,802	0,486
Actively search thr. other-1	-0,339	0,349	0,092	0,355	0,432	0,398
Actively search thr. other-2	-1,053*	0,466	0,165	0,380	0,359	0,453
Celebrity news on TV-1	-0,098	0,365	1,154**	0,344	0,485	0,387
Celebrity news on TV-2	-0,290	0,669	1,308*	0,557	0,598	0,648
Talk Shows-1	0,541	0,373	0,452	0,368	0,237	0,405
Talk Shows-2	0,217	0,556	-0,077	0,502	0,161	0,566
TV-Series-1	0,219	0,363	0,984**	0,344	0,390	0,366
TV-Series-2	1,027**	0,401	1,318**	0,384	0,619	0,414
Celebrity news News-1	0,321	0,344	0,295	0,335	-0,321	0,393
Celebrity news News-2	-0,627	0,417	0,538	0,345	-0,186	0,408
Radio/Internet Arts-Culture Programs-1	0,518**	0,183	0,591**	0,182	0,564**	0,195
Arts-Culture Programs-2	-0,477	0,351	-0,433	0,355	0,219	0,467
Arts-Culture Music Articles-1	-0,084	0,437	0,126	0,419	1,541**	0,516
Music Articles-2	-0,294	0,361	0,505	0,317	0,397	0,381
Amateur Music-1	0,048	0,430	-0,055	0,357	0,385	0,415
Amateur Music-2	-0,200	0,411	0,394	0,340	-0,109	0,412
Music Edu.-1	-0,597	0,462	-0,260	0,380	-0,129	0,405
Music Edu.-2	-0,631	0,501	-0,329	0,385	-0,277	0,448
Turkish Pop/Rock until 18-1	-0,274	0,556	0,057	0,407	-0,087	0,476
Trad. until 18-1	-0,101	0,293	0,800**	0,275	0,072	0,302
Arabe. until 18-1	0,089	0,317	-0,501	0,279	1,297**	0,379
Özgün until 18-1	0,440	0,373	0,491	0,363	0,516	0,423
	-0,154	0,385	0,033	0,352	0,772*	0,375

Classical until 18-1	-2,817*	1,136	0,000	0,000	-0,344	0,515
Foreign Pop/Rock/Jazz until 18-1	-0,650	0,360	-0,670*	0,286	-0,984	0,407

Table A2.5: Multinomial Logit Results with the Reference Category

“Pop Listeners_aware of Alternatives.”

Note: The missing categories for each independent variable are the reference categories.

*p<0,05 **p<0,01

	Light-TR Omni. vs.	Pop (inc. Alt)	Traditi- onals vs.	Pop (inc. Alt)
Intercept	2,028	1,039	-1,346	1,318
Age	0,065**	0,016	0,069**	0,017
Gender-1	-0,514	0,328	-1,183**	0,353
Region-East	0,451	0,512	-0,515	0,648
Region-West	-0,291	0,406	0,041	0,441
Income-1	0,034	0,407	-0,583	0,472
Income-2	-0,676	0,575	-0,531	0,594
Income-3	-0,951	0,796	-0,609	0,782
Education-1	-0,523	0,435	1,085*	0,514
Education-2	-0,497	0,444	0,801	0,541
Education-3	-0,763	0,788	0,136	0,839
Like after repetition-1	-0,302	0,597	-0,168	0,629
Llike after repetition-2	-0,769	0,644	-0,691	0,675
Like discovering alternatives-1	0,578	0,606	-0,437	0,631
Like discovering alternatives-2	0,522	0,619	-0,542	0,642
Actively search through int.-1	-0,979*	0,396	-0,779	0,436
Actively search through int.-2	-1,138*	0,526	-0,669	0,531
Actively search thr. other-1	-0,431	0,375	0,340	0,429
Actively search	-1,218*	0,499	0,193	0,491

thr. other-2				
Celebrity news on				
TV-1	-1,252**	0,409	-0,669	0,438
Celebrity news on				
TV-2	-1,598*	0,652	-0,711	0,655
Talk Shows-1	0,089	0,445	-0,215	0,479
Talk Shows-2	0,294	0,589	0,238	0,617
TV-Series-1	-0,765	0,429	-0,594	0,437
TV-Series-2	-0,291	0,451	-0,699	0,467
Celebrity news				
News-1	0,025	0,382	-0,617	0,439
Celebrity news				
News-2	-1,165**	0,438	-0,723	0,446
Radio/Internet	-0,073	0,176	-0,026	0,194
Arts-Culture				
Programs-1	-0,044	0,394	0,651	0,516
Arts-Culture				
Programs-2	-0,210	0,458	1,415**	0,552
Music Articles-1	-0,799	0,388	-0,109	0,412
Music Articles-2	0,102	0,465	0,440	0,462
Amateur Music				
Activities-1	-0,594	0,437	-0,504	0,441
Amateur Music				
Activities-2	-0,337	0,516	0,132	0,467
Music Edu.-1	-0,301	0,551	0,052	0,510
Music Edu.-2	-0,331	0,611	-0,144	0,542
Turkish Pop/Rock				
until 18-1	-0,901**	0,326	-0,729*	0,342
Trad. until 18-1	0,589	0,341	1,797**	0,404
Arabes. until 18-1	-0,050	0,365	0,025	0,425
Özgün until 18-1	-0,187	0,407	0,739	0,408
Classical until 18-1	-2,325	1,197	0,000	0,000
Foreign				
Pop/Rock/Jazz				
until 18-1	0,020	0,389	-0,314	0,441

Table A2.6: Multinomial Logit Results with the Reference Category “Light Turkish Omnivores.”

Note: The missing categories for each independent variable are the reference categories.

*p<0,05 **p<0,01

	Traditi- onal vs.	Light- TR Omnivores
	Est.	
	Coeff.	s.e.
Intercept	-1,049	1,568
Age	0,004	0,015
Gender-1	-0,669	0,356
Region-East	-0,965	0,592
Region-West	0,332	0,434
Income-1	-0,616	0,492
Income-2	0,146	0,602
Income-3	0,342	0,769
Education-1	1,608**	0,522
Education-2	1,299*	0,532
Education-3	0,899	0,879
Like after repetition- 1	0,134	0,531
Like after repetition- 2	0,078	0,613
Like discovering alternatives-1	-1,015	0,555
Like discovering alternatives-2	-1,064	0,593
Actively search through internet-1	0,200	0,423
Actively search through internet-2	0,469	0,583
Actively search through other-1	0,772	0,402
Actively search through other-2	1,412**	0,548
Celebrity news on TV-1	0,583	0,427
Celebrity news on TV-2	0,888	0,730
Talk Shows-1	-0,304	0,449

Talk Shows-2	-0,056	0,627
TV-Series-1	0,171	0,421
TV-Series-2	-0,408	0,450
Celebrity news		
News-1	-0,642	0,425
Celebrity news		
News-2	0,442	0,484
Radio/Internet	0,047	0,180
Arts-Culture		
Programs-1	0,695	0,490
Arts-Culture		
Programs-2	1,625**	0,539
Music Articles-1	0,691	0,428
Music Articles-2	0,338	0,502
Amateur Music-1	0,090	0,483
Amateur Music-2	0,469	0,516
Music Education-1	0,353	0,589
Music Education-2	0,187	0,648
Turkish Pop/Rock		
until 18-1	0,172	0,345
Traditional until 18-1	1,208**	0,424
Arabesque until 18-1	0,076	0,411
Özgün until 18-1	0,926*	0,411
Classical until 18-1	0,000	0,000
Foreign		
Pop/Rock/Jazz		
until 18-1	-0,333	0,484

**ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY
THE ETHICS COMMITTEE**

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından
doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research
on Humans)


Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Funda Lena

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Cultural Diversity in the Music Industry of Turkey

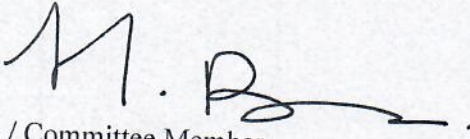
Proje No. / Project Number: 2015-30813-045

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

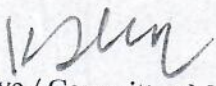
Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 12 Mayıs 2015


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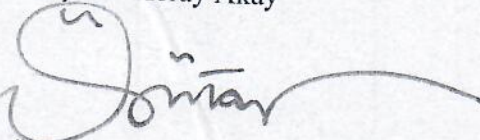
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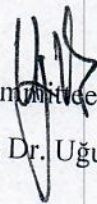
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