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LOCAL SOUND, LOCAL SCENE: KARGA ART, KADIKÖY SCENE CASE

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Abstract

The term, "Local Sound", has generally been used for cities and for 'sub-cultural' areas in the study of the term 'scene'. Local culture, identities and musical creations are cumulative and depend on socialization of communities.

In this study, we will examine Kadıköy Karga Bar and artistic activities of the bar based on the term 'local sound'. We decided to study on local sound after reading Sara Cohen's, 'Scenes' article. She examines, local musical cultures around her Liverpool scene study. Some conditions, which take place in the article are, production, organization, different identifications, communities and sub-cultural factors that affect local cultures and local sounds. We wondered, if it is possible to insert the same sound localization to Istanbul and see if it has a sound in rock culture or any local sound in Kadıköy within this culture. In 90's, Istanbul has been separated in terms of location and sub-cultural groups and today, two areas, Taksim and Kadıköy, are still used by these groups and by industry, actively. For this reason we will analyze local sound of Kadıköy and formed identities around the Karga Art example.

Karga Art can be worth studying since they prepare a program like an art center every month. They have two concepts, bar and live, in the same building. Do these concepts feed the local sound? Do they create a characteristic sound in Kadıköy? We interviewed with seven people from Karga Art, four of them are musicians who play in the bar and two of them are directors in Karga Art. Additionally, We interviewed one more person, a tradesman who lives and works in Kadıköy. Furthermore, We observed performance, schedule, music magazines and festivals of bar.

Our purpose is to show local sound's meaning does not only lie in musical and stylistic unity, but also in living together with communicational socialization and question what terms we should use instead of the term "sound", at the end of this study.

Keywords: Scene, Subculture, Local Scene, Local Sound, Culture Industry, Kadıköy Sound.

Local Sound and Local Scene

According to Sarah Cohen's examination; "the term "scene" is commonly and loosely used by musicians and music fans, music writers and researchers to refer to a group of people who have something in common, such as a shared musical activity or taste" (Cohen, 1999: 239). If we think about the term 'scene', we should consider all social factors, holistically, such as individuals' identities, management policies and consumptions. Additionally, we should look for whether the music is popular or non-popular, industrial or non-industrial in that area. Type of consumption provides a basis of all these factors. Individuals determine characteristics of consumption and their consumption habits create some necessities about music. According to Roy Shuker, "Patterns of consumption complex, involving record buying, video viewing, radio listening, and home taping; along with the various secondary levels of involvement: the music press, dance, clubbing, and concert going" (Shuker, 2005: 53). Today, these patterns of consumptions continue and consuming behaviours are being changed through the music industry. These patterns also vary from place to place. As we will see in the example of Kadıköy, even when we talk about local areas that characteristically reject the industry, power of this system is inevitable where consumption happens. Theodor W. Adorno mentions that culture industry does not chain to counter components, nevertheless they involve in industrial system (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1993). It is possible to see that local areas such as Kadıköy, can alternatively create their own social interactions and social consumptions as opposed to the industry. Besides this, although they reject industrial consumption, their social consumptions can show characteristics like that of the industry. Furthermore, Adorno points out that people are inevitably affected by the industry, since they have experienced industrial products earlier (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1993). Through this effect, local scene can create it's own style, taste and dialect as industry. Even though materiality is not the priority in this specific local scene, communicational effects, frequenter culture and local consumptions resemble the industry.

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Bourdieu's *analyses of taste*, as William Roy's emphasis, tastes can also prove divisive, as groups sometimes use music to define themselves against others (Bourdieu 1984, Roy 2010). Local scenes, like Kadıköy, use music (such as; prepare music fanzines, magazines, local music festivals or live performance) to define themselves as opposed to the industry in similar ways with this system. Pekka Sulkunen also points on Bourdieu's analyses as such; "The historical importance ... is augmented by the pulverization of class-based subcultures, by the atomization of society into Individuals and individual families instead of class communities and neighbourhoods, and by the emergence of the service economy as the demographically dominant segment of society" (Sulkunen, 1982: 106). Industry and economical power feed individualism and communities. As we remember from Adorno, individualisation is a policy of industry with limiting communal scopes. Industry embraces and neutralizes counter elements that are opposed to it as the last stage of this limitation (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1993).

According to Andy Bennett, "The concept of scene has long been used by musicians and music journalists to describe the clusters of musicians, promoters and fans, etc., who grow up around particular genres of music" (Bennett, 2004: 223). Today, in local areas, particular genres of music are performed only in bars. Genre falls into differentiations and variations according to the geographical conditions it is in. Audiences' behaviours and characteristics of places take over locality. Characteristics of musical behaviour and field are important to understand local social musical lives and local scene.

Shuker points out, individuals generally occur as the youth culture and youth culture also could be a part of sub-culture. Besides this, consumption of popular music studies focuses on youth culture areas (Shuker, 2001: 193-216). While Shuker's emphasis is on industrial popular music, this mainstay is invalid for underground music. Individuals' identities and characteristics can shape local areas and local scene. This is because local socialization is not only about sound, but also it is about behaviours. The other description about scene is;

"The Scene, is an inclusive concept that includes everyone related to a cultural phenomenon (e.g., artists, audiences, management, vendors and critics); the ecological location of the phenomenon (e.g., districts, clubs, recording studios, and rehearsal rooms); and the products of this interaction (e.g., advertisements, concerts, recordings, and critical reviews)."

(Kotarba & Vannini, 2009: 148)

Interaction starts in accessible areas that people actively live their social life. These areas can be cities, towns, counties and even streets and bars. In our opinion, industrial populism is the last level of this interaction since interactional production starts in local areas. The locality or underground scenes are related with sub-cultural groups. Sub-cultural attitudes are generally – and also historically – against the industrial music. But at the same time, these groups make an industrial consumption. Underground music feeds local areas with independent behaviour. This behaviour is about youth and sub-culture. Negus points out to Becker's studies and comes to the conclusion that youth subculture studies began to be applied during 60s and 70s. He continues on by explaining how social activities related with music included the active adoption of alternative value systems (Negus, 1997: 14). These musical activities can be identified with economical class and political positions around cultural backgrounds. In addition to these, it is also very important to analyse Dick Hebdige's studies and points of view, since he is one of the key names in subculture studies. His study, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, focuses on Punk in Britain and audiences' style. Hebdige's theoretical approaches benefit Raymond Williams' conception of culture as 'ordinary' (Hebdige, 1997: 15). William focuses on class of culture and their characteristics. Hebdige analyses subculture as combination of social activities, meanings, values, beliefs, institutions, commodities and he relates these factors with his "whole way of life" definition (Negus, 1997: 15; Hebdige, 1979: 84). Culture and social activities are related with each other and these factors bring class-consciousness. Furthermore, culture and class shape individuals' experience and performance of life. Steve Bruce and Steven Yearley also bring out a complementary explanation for subculture;

"Subculture is used very loosely to indicate a package of values, attitudes, beliefs, tastes and behaviour patterns that distinguishes a group sufficiently from the mainstream for it to stand out as different but which do not clash enough to cause major conflict. The most obvious subcultures are those that are also sub-societies, in the sense that the population that supports the subculture is relatively isolated from the main society."

(Bruce & Yearley, 2006: 293)

Bruce and Yearley add examples of USA and England social concepts to explain sub-society. Additionally, it should not be forgotten that Hebdige – and many other theorists – focuses on British subculture groups, behaviours' social and cultural activities, and experiences in British 'culture'. He examines status of youth in this periphery. From this point of view, youth subculture can associate with class of society. Economic and

political reasons procreate social classes. Hebdige's definition demonstrates this;

"Subcultures are, at least in part, representations of these representations, and elements taken from the 'picture' of working-class life (and of the social whole in general) are bound to find some echo in the signifying practices of the various subcultures. ... The typical members of a working-class youth culture in part contest and in part agree with the dominant definitions of who and what they are, and there is a substantial amount of shared ideological ground not only between them and the adult working-class culture (with its muted tradition of resistance) but also between them and the dominant culture (at least in its more 'democratic', accessible forms)."

(Hebdige, 1979: 86)

Hebdige also mentions subculture characteristics in post-war process (Hebdige, 1979: 84-86). After all, the word 'sub-society' and British culture working class theories are important for understanding why we cannot talk about 'sub-cultural' groups in Turkey. Youth culture-usually associated with rock music-developed differently through history in Turkey. Besides all these, it is not possible to talk about subculture since working class or economical classification do not play a role on countermotions or rock music. Late in 1956 Oğuz Alpaçın wrote "Dünya Sarsılıyor – Rock n Roll" (translated as World is Shaken – Rock n Roll) book as a first step of rock culture in Turkey. This book is also the first publication about rock n roll in the world (Erkal, 2013: 55). In here, the author describes rock n roll music as a way of rebellion during these years, though these identifications are not about economical concerns or political insurrections. Today, it is possible to witness that the rebellious nature of rock still exists. In early periods, Turkish musicians, as the phrase is, imitate foreign rock n roll bands mostly by performing cover music during live concerts. İsmet Sıral's Orkestrası (İsmet Sıral Orchestra) is the best example of these imitative bands. After reproduction and cover wave, competitions started and first Turkish Rock Band came from Heybeliada Maritime College in 1957 (Erkal, 2013: 51). First musicians were collegian and connected to middle class or bourgeois, such as: Erkin Koray¹, Cem Karaca² and Barış Manço³ (Erkal, 2013). For these reasons, countermotions and rock music were born in a different direction in Turkey. Uneconomical reasons, countermotions are against the popular culture and popular values today. It has never been about the working class. As from the 1970's music has begun to be produced politically, but in comparison to the universal subculture theory, we cannot exactly see the so-called 'subcultural' elements in Turkey. In time, cultural nourishment habits changed and although rock musicians and audiences were affected from Turkish/Anatolian culture then, today individuals are more impressed by the west or other foreign cultures and their local life styles. Even though these music types are troubled with political powers, they have never acted as a class or political community. They chose or were obliged to choose to become underground or alternative bands. Since local areas' characteristics are quite changeable, we would better use another definition instead of the term 'subculture'.

According to Shuker; "youth subcultures appropriate and innovate musical forms and styles as a basis for their identity, and, in so doing, assert a countercultural politics" (Shuker, 2001: 206). This identical attitude emerges indie music in local areas. Besides, the term indie music is not used as a musical style, but as behaviour. This identical behaviour provides new local un-industrial population in local areas; such as Kadıköy and Taksim.

After Shuker's emphasis, Bennett and Clark point out; "Scene's significance in this respect has resulted partly from the criticism and rejection of prior theoretical frameworks used in research on music, and the local, notably subcultural theory" (Clarke, 1981; Bennett, 1999, quoted by Bennett, 2004: 223). Local music takes place in everyday life of individuals. They shape this musical area with their attitudes and social identities, such as hanging out in a bar or street, making street art or music, organizing concerts or live performances. It is an independent attitude in youth culture. Thus, we can say that youth indie behaviour occurs within a community in local places. Communities liaise in their indie identities as sub-cultural group. Communities support locality, which is around their social life. Bennett mentions two ways for communities to be locally applied to music;

"Community has been applied to music in two main ways. First, as a means of accounting for the way in which locally produced musics become a means through which individuals are able to situate themselves within a particular city, town or region. The second application of community to musical life focuses on the significance of community as a romantic construct, that is, as a means through which individuals who lack the commonality of shared local experience can cast music itself as a 'way of life' and a basis for community."

(Bennett, 2004: 224)

¹He is a Turkish rock musician since 1959. He is still active.

²He was a thetral rock musician, active between 1967-2004. His mother was a famous actress in Turkey.

³ He was a Turkish Rock and Anatolian Rock musician, active between 1958 and 1999.

Romantic constructs and local experiences feed individuals' behaviour and their social life, social identities. Identity is a term that develops with sharing and mutual relationship in social life. Music feeds the identities through industry or through local places. Today, according to the gathered information, unity of sound comprise through communities and mutual communicational attitudes. Furthermore, other meaning of unity of sound, musical style comprise through musical activities in bars or concert halls. Bennett's second suggestion is a suitable examination of attitudes integrity. Cohen defines local scene as such; "a particular life style; a social network and identity outside of work, family, or home; a sense of purpose, status, and prestige; a unique means of communicating emotion and idea; and the lure of artistic and financial success" (Cohen, 1999: 240). Although Cohen emphasises that concepts are defined excluding social entities in her study, this definition shows that social identities and communicational groups take place in terms of local scene. These communities constitute audiences, organization groups and artisans. Kozorog and Stanojević also examines the term scene, with this explanation: "is foremost a cultural space – a set of symbols and signs – shared by members" and he emphasizes on Shank's definition; "a necessary condition for the existence of a scene is a mass of transformative signs and sweating bodies, continually reconstructing the meaning of a communion of individuals" (Shank, 1994: 128, quoted by Kozorog & Stanojević, 2013: 360). In the underground era, unity of attitude is in the foreground rather than unity of musical sound. Although musical sound changes, musical diversity constitutes unity of attitude, communities in underground cultures excepting industrial strategies.

In Other examination about the term local scene is, John Connell and Chris Gibson's explanation; "In one sense the uniqueness of local music scenes is straightforward; music is made in specific geographical, socio-economic and political contexts, and lyrics and styles are always likely to reflect the positions of writers and composers within these contexts" (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 90). As we see in Kadıköy example, there exist some bands that live in Kadıköy since birth and their song lyrics are about this local area and they create their songs around the life in here. Although musical styles are different, musicians and audiences' commonplace is Kadıköy. They are living, creating and performing in this place. Their social background feeds their social and musical identities and also individuals' identities generate a communicational style in Kadıköy. It is the same for bar owners. Some of the bar owners are writers, musicians or art directors and additionally, they live in Kadıköy. The place where individuals live, determines their socio-economic situation and their life styles. Although, Connell and Gibson's definition is more general, we observe same criterion in small eras such as counties and towns.

The Case Study: Kadıköy, Karga Art Example

Kadıköy is one of the musical centers in Istanbul. Especially in 90's, Kadıköy was one of the polarized places. The term, Kadıköy Sound, is used by its' local people. This term is also used in music magazines, books and interviews. Today, they do not accept this term, because of musical diversity and lack of musical organization and places. Besides this, they prefer to use "district music" since there is no musical unity and there are many musical styles. Some special names and musical styles come forward such as Cenk Taner⁴ and Demirhan Baylan⁵, when using the term Kadıköy Sound. According to Sarp Keskiner⁶'s interview with Tayfun Polat, the director of Karga Art, Cenk Taner and Demirhan Baylan were the musicians who used the concept of Kadıköy Sound for the first time (2013). At the same time, Güven Erkin Erkal uses this term in his book, *Türkiye Rock Tarihi 1: Saykodelik Yıllar*. He tells what happened in 40's, Hulki Saner's orchestra and early ages of Kadıköy sound (Erkal, 2013). Furthermore, some events were organized under the usage of this term, such as; "Kadıköy Sound Denen Şey Her Neyseve Hakkında Her Ne Varsa", 'Whatever It Is Called Kadıköy Sound and Everything About It' by Güven Erkin Erkal, in Shaft Bar, Kadıköy. In that night, people who are from Kadıköy met in a bar and they made a party with musicians and music storeowners. Individuals who live in Kadıköy create some symbolic names and places for this local life and music, such as the band Kesme Şeker⁷, Bilge Kösebalaban⁸ and Akmar Passage⁹, and Liman Kültür¹⁰.

Today, radio stations, music stores, bars and street cultures or socializations are important for local attitudes's symbolics. We chose Karga Art since they are related with other organizations and places in Kadıköy. Beside this, Karga Art has an art saloon and a bar. There are programmed events in the art saloon including panels, workshops, concerts, small film festivals and dance performances. We observed their

⁴ Song writer and vocal of Kesme Şeker band. He lives in Kadıköy since he was born. Therefore, he identifies himself, as a frequenter of Kadıköy.

⁵ Song writer, producer, guitarist, sound engineer. He lives in Kadıköy.

⁶ Musician, Radio speaker at Açık Radio and Writer.

⁷ Alternative music band who was found in early 90's in Kadıköy.

⁸ Vocal of band Direc-t who was found in 2000.

⁹ A place that includes music stores, especially in 90's, and book stores.

¹⁰ Gift store and they have their own printing house. They publish poetry books which includes writers from Kadıköy.

programs in April 2014¹¹ and we interviewed band members and directors of Karga Art. We conducted an interview with Tayfun Polat who is a more significant name than any other, for he makes important radio programs named 'Yerli'¹² (translated as 'Local' in English) and "Ana Akımın Dışında Kalanlar" (translated as 'Excluding the Mainstream') in Açık Radio. In this program, Polat presents local bands who do not participate in industrial popular music and who make their own music. They use the term 'indie' for these bands. These bands apply to Karga Art and Tayfun Polat in order to make live performances in Karga Live. According to interviews, bands send their records and Tayfun Polat uses these records in his radio program. This program is important since Tayfun Polat discusses about events in Kadıköy and about new indie bands. It shows that although musical styles are diverse, certain directors and bars create the local Kadıköy scene through radio programs and concerts. This creation does not include industrial elements or mainstream population, but it has a local consumption cycle.

Karga Art and Karga Bar refer to different activities, which is the reason for having two different names. For instance; concert activities are held under Karga Live and Karga Art is the general name of all these activities. Karga Bar is the name of the building that includes three floors. These three floors are used as a bar and the cockloft is used for art performances. A hundred people can fit into this cockloft floor, which has a small stage that is not so high from the ground. Audiences and musicians are close to each other during the performance. The backstage is separated from the front stage through a door. Musicians enter the stage from this door. The stage is vital to see the relationship between audiences and musicians during these performances. This relationship is also important since the mutual relationship and the attitude are shaped and in Kadıköy and in this local area. Unity of attitude or district music was the first point in this field research. Therefore, the question of varying audience profiles in this specific place and other concert halls are asked to musicians in the interviews. These musicians have different musical styles from each other. They are also performing in various places and concert halls. Thus this differentiation can show diverse habits. In the interview, Selim Saraçoğlu¹³ talked about audience profiles as such;

"In time, Kadıköy audience started to understand that listening to live music is not about two sensations. Listening a concert is not a thing that is only about the sense of sight or the sense of hearing. It is about other sensations that we do not use in everyday life. Audiences started to recognize the magic of unused sensations in Kadıköy"

Based on observations, this assertion is argumentative. Kadıköy audience is not so different from that of other places. Frequenter habits stand out in Kadıköy during performances. Other musicians such as Dinçer Tuğmaner¹⁴ and Emre Nalbantoğlu¹⁵ pointed out characteristics of audiences;

"In Kadıköy, people are more of an 'audience' than in Taksim. Taksim is in a circulation and there is diversity in people and styles, but Kadıköy has a certain community, social life that does not change and deteriorate easily."

Frequenter habits prevent changes. Even if other places set a stage, they continue the substantial style of Kadıköy and they choose their live performance styles according to these habits. Murat Seçkin¹⁶ and Tayfun Polat emphasize that Karga Bar has a frequenter culture. Karga Bar/Art's frequenters are also socializing on streets and their socialization creates a Kadıköy attitude or mood in this place. The focus here is on communicational communities and field's unity of attitude since Kadıköy's local scene characteristics are about socialization and social entirety. The interviewees answered questions such as; "What is the meaning of Kadıköy sound?" and "Is there a specific sound in Kadıköy, locally?" Emre Nalbantoğlu, from Ankara, did not prefer to use the term 'sound' like a person who lives in Kadıköy does. He mentioned;

"Not a sound of its own but grievance, yes, I would like to say that. There are lots of musicians, they make music in various styles, but our grievances are common, our rebellion is always the same."

This definition showed that musicians and audiences get together around a certain manner. This manner is an alternative way, which is introverted in its periphery. Dinçer Tuğmaner also discussed this matter;

"Actually, this is also a discussion. Is there any local sound in Kadıköy? Or not? But, for example according to me, although there is no originality as a sound, maybe 'something' is described more differently."

¹¹ See the official page for the bar's program; <http://www.kargabar.org/#/Default>

¹² See broadcast stream; <http://acikradio.com.tr/Yayin_Akisi.pdf //>. Radio Frequency: 94.9

¹³ Indie musician, former member of Korhan Futacı and Kara Orkestra as a guitarist.

¹⁴ He is a harmonica player in band, Sahte Raki, in Istanbul. He was guest musician for Emre Nalbantoğlu when we made this interview.

¹⁵ He is a musician and song writer, from Ankara. A band was found with his name as Emre Nalbantoğlu. They come to Istanbul to make performance from Ankara.

¹⁶ He is coordinator of Karga Art and he is writer at fanzine of Karga Art.

SelimSaraçoğlu, on the other hand, made a comparison between musical styles and places. This comparison shows that there is definitely no integrity of sound. Collectivity of attitude is more in the foreground.

“There is a post-rock¹⁷ interaction in musical sound, in recent years. But I realize that, foreign bands do not enlighten musicians and bands that are making music in Istanbul. In fact, they started to get enlightened by each other. I feel that awareness is created, or maybe this is simply my thought. We create our music by influencing each other. Kara Orkestra, Yasemin Mori¹⁸, Nekizm¹⁹, Dorian²⁰, Direc-t²¹ for example are more industrial bands. There are lots of other bands that I can count. We are a group of people, who are creating our own music. We started to influence each other at the end of ten years, since the beginning of 2000's and Peyote's²² development. I can not categorize anything as Kadıköy Sound or European Side Sound, but generally in Istanbul, I think there is music which is produced and an influential relationship between musicians that we can identify as local”.

Just like TayfunPolat, Murat Seçkin also does not prefer to use term 'sound'. He replied to the question as;

“Actually, there is a sound but I do not call that Kadıköy Sound. I think there is no Kadıköy Sound. Furthermore, 'something' is in here. Kadıköy is so open to variation; for instance, musically there is no polarization. But, music is more indie, alternative, rock and experimental in Kadıköy.”

It is valuable that they identify themselves as indie and alternative, musically and politically, since their identification shows why the term 'scene' is more proper than the term 'sound' for Kadıköy local area. Last reference is from Tayfun Polat's reply, since he is the first person who used the term 'Kadıköy Sound'. He made a comparison between European models of sound, such as Bristol, Seattle and Manchester.

“The Kadıköy sound issue (thinking over) if I tell from the beginning, there is a character in what we call “this” and “that” sound. This can occur in two ways: there is either a sound pattern, a sound unity –like we call it Bristol sound or Seattle sound, Manchester sound- or a style unity. As you see, Seattle sound is a more representative example of the style unity, whereas Bristol sound represents the sound unity issue. There have been a lot of musical production in Kadıköy and still continues to, but we cannot really say that this sound unity was achieved there (Kadıköy). The lyrics of CenkTaner express Kadıköy well. Some lines of Demirhan Baylan's lyrics also do that, but neither Cenk nor Demirhan Baylan deems their music as 'Kadıköy sound'. This is an assumption and an ascriptive approach. If we talk about 90's, with their saying “Manchester sound was very popular and was greatly requested. Grunge was a hit and so was the Seattle sound”... It was an ironic expression, saying; “We are the Kadıköy sound” while sitting in Akdeniz Cafe. Nothing more. There was never a unity as mentioned. Plurality always existed, unity in style occurred from time to time, such as Rashit²³, Radical Noise²⁴ and Nekrosis²⁵ etc. but they were not able to play here. They were performing on the opposite (European) coast's places and they got disappeared among the punk groups coming from everywhere. If we talk about the punk stage... One more thing, there was a style unity in a collective manner amongst the interrelating groups which hang out here in SesApartmanı (Translated as 'Apartment of Sound'), but later on, every single group chose a different path for their own sound evolution and they lost their excitements. There was an exciting collective unity. Does that still exist? Yes. Well, there is at least the Studio B and groups hanging out there such as Ceylan (Ertem) who makes records there. For example, there are quite good names as well. There is a collective unity, but should we call this 'Kadıköy Sound'? No, it could be 'Kadıköy Style'. There had never been a sound of Kadıköy in my opinion. I'm not saying this for the first time. Thanks to Sarp Keskiner, in one of his interviews they wrote it (Kadıköy Sound) as headlines in the newspaper (Sanatatak newspaper²⁶). I have been saying this for years. This was written in other places, but I just did not insist, because these were small issues. If you ask Cem and Demirhan, they would say that this is Kadıköy 'style', and that we cannot call it 'sound'.”

TayfunPolat's portraiture shows that a new discourse can be said for Kadıköy 'style'. 'Unity of attitude' is

¹⁷ Sub-genre of Rock music. Frequently instrumental and music is without vocal.

¹⁸ She is an indie song writer and rock singer in Turkey.

¹⁹ Psychedelic Rock band that was founded in 2006.

²⁰ Turkish Rock band that was founded in 1996 in Istanbul. Their music includes elements of jazz.

²¹ Turkish Rock band that was founded in 1997. They perform various places in Istanbul.

²² A bar in Beyoğlu, Taksim. This bar looks like Karga Bar, conceptually.

²³ Turkish Punk band that was founded in 1993.

²⁴ Turkish Hardcore band that was founded in 1992. And they are from Kadıköy.

²⁵ Turkish Hardcore band that was founded in 1992.

²⁶ See URL: <<http://sanatatak.com/view/Tayfun-Polat-Kadikoy-sound-diye-bir-sey-hic-olmadi/503>>.

suggestible as a term, instead of Kadıköy 'sound'. However, frequenters and directors' identification is based on negating themselves as opposed to the popular and industrial musical market. This negation explains why Kadıköy audience identifies itself with indie and alternative styles, musically and politically. However, Negus's words bring another dimension to this matter, since he quotes from Will Straw who explains that scenes are not necessarily oppositional;

"Straw contends that music scenes are not necessarily oppositional or disruptive subcultures, but neither are practices of the people who make up particular scene simply shaped by the music industry. He suggests that scenes do not spontaneously emerge from a particular group, class or community, but from various 'coalitions' and 'alliances', which have to be actively created and maintained."

(Negus, 1997: 23)

This may be correct, oppositional direction may not be necessary all the time, but since Kadıköy frequenters and musicians negate themselves in this way, we have to take the oppositional approach into consideration in this particular scene study. There is an alternative attitude in Kadıköy, even if it is not a real oppositional, subcultural one. If we take into consideration that Tayfun Polat is a radio reporter on indie styles at Açık Radio, their alternative characteristic of attitude has risen within the industry and as opposed to the industry at the same time. In a way, this makes it a surreal opposition. It is clear that they have a reasonable alliance with the industry to alternatively consume music and social life.

Eventually, we made some interviews with tradesmen since they are also audiences in that area. They accept that there is a unity of sound, but they emphasize that this unity has occurred in recent years. In the light of the observations, Kadıköy audience is generally frequenters in places and bars. Lots of bands come to perform in Karga Art. Other bars are changing in order to be independent and they have conceptual art activities just like Karga Art. Structure of the building is appropriate for planning artwork and organizations in Kadıköy. Generally, buildings are old and multi-story and they can use these buildings as bars and performance halls.

Additionally, we can briefly examine Seattle, Bristol and Manchester Sounds for further classification of local sound and for comparison reasons. Bristol sound includes more indie styles than the others (Epigram, 2012) such as Manchester sound. Manchester sound is named as Madchester Sound. Connell and Gibson mention that; "In the large post-industrial city of Manchester, cultural tourism (including music and other forms of 'lifestyle' consumption) was part of urban regeneration initiatives centred on the city's reputation for dance music and club cultures (growing out of the famous 'Madchester' sound of the late 1980s)" (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 248). Shuker also mentions about this matter;

"Since the late 1970s, Manchester has been associated with several styles of indie/alternative music: in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the post-punk sound of Joy Division, which mutated into New Order; 'bedsit blues' in the mid- 1980s with the Smiths and James; and the tempo and mood was revived around 1988, in the wake of 'Acid House', with the arrival of the club-and-Ecstasy sounds of 'Madchester', led by the Happy Mondays, the Stone Roses and Oldham's Inspiral Carpets. ... The music fed off the association with Manchester: the songs often had included clear geographical references and reflected localized feelings and experiences; record covers and other promotional imagery incorporated place-related references; and a network of alternative record labels (especially Factory Records), venues, and an active local press created a supportive network for the bands and their followers."

(Shuker, 2005: 158)

Madchester Sound also includes indie styles and beside unity of musical sound, we can see the unity of attitude in these examples. Sound is an applicable term for Manchester based on place related experience. Even though there are many songs written about Kadıköy, such as Cenk Taner's music, geographically and emotionally this musical style does not necessarily sprawl from Kadıköy and it does not have a mainstream attitude like Manchester does. Today, as in Tayfun Polat's expression, Kadıköy musicians like Cenk Taner perform in Kadıköy, but since there are many other performers from varying genres and places, musical style is quite diverse. This diversion of performers and styles are again based on the choice of concert hall directors.

The example of Seattle Sound genre of grunge comes forward in local sound issue. Roy Shuker explains that Seattle Sound has changed its characteristics after American College Radio's role;

"The Seattle scene and the grunge music with which it was associated became the most written about phenomenon in contemporary popular music since the birth of punk. Major labels scoured Seattle for unsigned bands or internationally sought out grunge-oriented performers. ... The Seattle sound became a marketing ploy for the music industry, as well as an ideological touchstone for 'Generation X'."

(Shuker, 2005: 241)

These examples of cities are in relation with the global industry. This industry has presented them in a mainstream style and—in the example of Seattle local area for instance—used bands such as Nirvana²⁷, Pearl Jam²⁸ as symbols. Additionally, Roy Shuker uses the term ‘sound’ and the term ‘scene’ in the same meaning, since these local areas have certain mainstream elements related with the industry. Shuker also mentions that local followers distributed their fanzines and music press publications (Shuker, 2001: 240). Kadıköy has similar noticeable properties, such as, Karga Art’s fanzines and annual musical albums, but what makes it distinct from the industry is the voluntary production and the alternative discourses they constitute. This also contributes to why ‘Kadıköy scene’ is a more suitable choice than ‘Kadıköy sound’.

Furthermore, in 90's lots of local music centres were affected from this sound and Kadıköy was one of them. Furthermore, in Istanbul, art and entertainment centres developed some strategies to create a sound in a communicational relationship. For instance, Taksim and Kadıköy focused on some styles that were not industrial, which they still continue to. Istanbul includes lots of different styles as sub-genres of rock music. Bars and directors created a new consumption behaviour through their musical fanzines and general art performances. These places play the roles of art centres through their underground industrial attitudes for individuals' social life, although they do not take place in popular industry and that they are opposed to pop culture and industrial population. We can say that they created their own industry within street culture.

Conclusion

To sum up, we have tried to examine the meaning of the terms 'Scene' and 'Local Scene', while explaining that places and scenes create characteristics and identities in mutual communication. This relationship can be observed in big cities or more small places such as counties and towns. In this study, the most important elements of local scene are mutual relationships and communities.

This case study was specifically on Kadıköy around the example of Karga Art. In this fieldwork, we observed that the term ‘scene’ emerges through individuals' behaviours and directors who determine these behaviours. These habitual behaviours include concert organizations, music magazines -or fanzines- and street arts. Today, with developing new genres of music, diversity can prevent unity of musical scene. On the other hand, it does not mean that there is no sound in Kadıköy. This study aims to show that local sounds do not only lie in the homogeneity of ‘sound’. Therefore, observations focused on finding the homogeneity of musical sound show that there is no homogeneity in musical characteristic. Variety and heterogeneity of musical characteristics, styles are explicable with the term ‘scene’ since this term includes social interaction, musical consumption and social location, communication, collective communities, groups, fans and frequenters in local area. Kadıköy contains this social life and individuals to use music as an attitude. In this case, the term Kadıköy ‘scene’ instead of Kadıköy ‘sound’ is more applicable and besides, it is possible to see that *Local Scene of Kadıköy* emerges through mutual relationships and unity of attitudes, although there is a diversity of musical lives entwined to various meanings and identities.

In this context, it is important to point out that Roland Barthes emphasizes creativity and meaning of art depend on reader or audience. The moment of reading, listening or wondering about art of work gives the real meaning of text. Lots of people read the text and multiple culture and dialogs are in a mutual relationship with art of work (Barthes, 1977: 142-148). Although this study suggests that there is no unity of ‘sound’ in Kadıköy, audiences or other investigators may claim the exact opposite of this study based on their approaches on context. Kadıköy has a favourable archive for research on oral history to further contribute to this fieldwork. Therefore, this study is open to improvements with new formations and additional research.

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²⁷American Grunge Band, active between 1987-1994

²⁸American Grunge Band who is related with Seattle, Washington. Band is active since 1990.

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Murat SEÇKİN, April 29th, 2014. Karga Bar / Kadıköy, İstanbul.

Selim SARAÇOĞLU, April 28th, 2014. Beşiktaş, İstanbul.

Diñer TUĞMANER, April 19th, 2014. Karga Bar / Kadıköy, İstanbul.

Emre NALBANTOĞLU, April 19th, 2014. Karga Bar / Kadıköy, İstanbul.