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Social Capital, Relations and Music World: Networks in New Media

Sosyal Sermaye, İlişkiler ve Müzik Dünyası: Yeni Medyada Ağlar

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relations between the music and entertainment world by considering the social capital theory. A great number of actors such as musicians, singers, record labels, managers, radio programmers, formal institutions, and sponsors, collaborate with each other in the music business. How do relations develop in music and media sectors, in which many different actors are involved? This paper specifically aims to present the form of relations between musician, audience and industry. In doing so, changes in the new media era have been reinterpreted.

Approximately 50 artists, employers, and employees of music and media industries have been interviewed. 200 followers were surveyed to understand their usage of social media. Some of the audiences have been interviewed and participant observation has been made on social networking websites. The role and importance of trust, reciprocity, and socialization, as norms of social capital, has been indicated. The effects of social capital on the music world has been explained via examples in terms of sociological and economic aspects. How has new media changed the relations between these actors?

Keywords: Social capital, music industry, new media

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ÖZ

Bu çalışma müzik ve eğlence dünyasındaki ilişkileri sosyal sermaye teorisi ışığ altında ele almıştır. Müzik endüstrisinde müzisyen, şarkıcı, plak şirketi, menejer, radyo programcısı, resmi kurumlar ve sponsorlar gibi çok sayıda aktör işbirliği yapmaktadır. Çok sayıda farklı aktörün birlikte çalıştığı müzik ve medya sektöründe, ilişkiler nasıl gelişir? Özellikle bu çalışma, müzisyen, endüstri ve dinleyici arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koymayı amaçlar. Bunu yaparken yeni medya dönemindeki değişiklikler, sosyal sermaye ilkelerine göre yeniden yorumlanmıştır.

50'ye yakın sanatçı ve müzik- medya endüstrisi çalışanı ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. 200 dinleyiciyle yeni medya kullanım alışkanlıklarını anlamak için anket yapılmıştır. Ayrıca dinleyicilerin bir kısmı ile yapılandırılmamış

röportaj gerçekleştirilmiştir, sosyal medya sitelerinde kullanıcı hesapları oluşturularak katılımcı gözlem sağlanmıştır. Çalışmada sosyal sermaye normlarından güven, karşılıklılık ve sosyalleşmenin müzik dünyasındaki rolü ve önemi incelenmiştir. Sosyal sermayenin müzik dünyasındaki sosyolojik ve ekonomik etkisi örnekler aracılığıyla açıklanmıştır. Yeni medyanın bu aktörlerin arasındaki ilişkileri nasıl değiştirdiği sorgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal sermaye, müzik endüstrisi, yeni medya

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on social capital in the music world. The music and entertainment industry have different actors, who work together collaboratively. The necessity of social and financial capital can be found in both local and global music businesses. The actions and decisions of the actors affect each other because of the network and its ties. This paper seeks to address the following questions: Do actors such as musicians, programmers, managers and sponsors trust each other and their way of doing business? Are social credits important for actors? Can we mention a professional network? What is the meaning of the relations between actors of the music business?

I mostly did my research on music and the media world in Turkey. Social capital as a topic has been underrepresented in musicology. In the music world, however, many different actors and institutions produce together and they need to trust each other to maintain their relations. I would like to present a perspective about networks in the music world by using results of interviews and survey.

I took advantage of the approaches to social capital and network theories of Coleman, Bourdieu, and Granovetter mostly. Especially, Bourdieu's critical and comprehensive analysis on economical inequalities and opportunities affected the approach of this paper.

The norms of social capital can be observed and interpreted in the music industry easily. The reason is that music is a social fact and it affects a different part of the cultural world in everyday life. Music makes people build interpersonal and collective works. In this research, the relations between musician, audience and music/ media industry have been viewed via social capital principles.

First of all, the reason and necessity of the choice of this subject have been explained. Afterwards, I've gathered the theories of musicology and sociology together. The dynamics between musician and music industry have been explained. The opinions of musicians and employers/ employees of music companies, radio and TV channels have been analysed and compared. I have interviewed professional and independent musicians and more generally people in creative industries. In doing so, the reader can recognize the importance of social capital in the cultural world.

Secondly, I focused on the relations between audience and musician. The audience is accepted as a social capital source in this article, although reaching out to the audience is one of the main aims for producers. The study showed the significance of a loyal audience for a musician. Artists have an opportunity to make a living thanks to their audience. On the other hand, I found that the differences between audience/ fan or follower of social media, which take the research to the next level. What has changed after digital technologies and new media?

I made surveys with users of social media. They follow different official social media accounts of artists. This study claims that the relations have changed after digital media era, therefore, we need to define the principles of social capital again. While audiences or fans of an artist tend to consume artist' music products, followers don't buy albums, singles or go to the concert of an artist, who they follow most of the time. Overproduction creates overconsumption in new media era and the relations are getting more flexible. This research indicated that followers don't have to be an audience necessarily. The norms of social capital have been interpreted by comparing the differences between traditional and new media. Socialisation, social credits, unequal economic conditions, reciprocity, and trust, as the most important aspects of social capital, have been indicated in terms of music and media industries.

1. Introduction

Social capital refers to the importance of relations. The music world, as a cultural and socio-economic area, has many different actors and needs their collaborations. The main idea of this research is based on the 'Art Worlds' of Becker's (1982) well-known study. All relations in the art world consists of cooperation of people. These relationships can be between artists, media and music industry employers/ employees and audiences.

Although the social capital theory is mostly used in sociology, economics and politics; musicology, as an academic field, needs to take advantage of these theories to understand relations between actors in the music and cultural world. Musicians produce music works and audiences reach the music via traditional and new media. Record labels, media and technology companies collaborate with each other to make profit. On the other hand, the music business has changed since the end of the 1990's, because of the digital music revolution and social media recently (The International Federation of the Phonographic Industry [IFPI], 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016). This research also aims to compare the relations between industry, musician and audience in the digital era and rethink on the principals of social capital such as trust, reciprocity or sociability.

The social capital theory is basically interested in the ties and networks between people, companies, organisations and so on. It has a potential for people to reach economic opportunities thanks to their relations. Therefore, they need to make an effort to have it and maintain the relationships.

The term has been more popular in social sciences after the 1960's, even though relations between people and community have always been important to academic researchers. Schultz (1961) and Becker (1984) approached the topic in the view of economics. In the social capital literature, Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam have a great impact on the area and they affected the researchers from the different social sciences and disciplines.

Coleman (1988, 1990) explains the significance of social capital in family and education systems and he accepts social capital as a valuable source. He explains the term of social cohesion and indicates the importance of trust. Bourdieu (1986, 1992) critics the social capital and determines that only people, who are lucky in the economic situation, can use it effectively. He thinks it causes inequality in social life. Putnam (1995, 2000) examines the collective social capital and thinks that social relations and trust between people, companies or states make a positive effect on society.

Burt (2000) views structural holes as social capital and these holes provide a bridge between actors, who have no relations each other. It gives people more ability to reach more information and opportunity. Burt stated that social capital is a metaphor for advantage. On the other hand, Granovetter (1973, 1985) explains the topic with the context of embeddedness and the strength of weak ties. He argues that the analysis of processes in interpersonal networks provide the most fruitful micro-macro bridge (Granovetter, 1973, 1360). Weak ties are more effective for people to find a job according to his study. He also specifies the relations between economical behaviours and interpersonal relations. 'Most behaviour is closely embedded in networks of interpersonal relations' (Granovetter, 1985, p. 504).

Lin (2001) determines the importance of both weak and strong ties and gathers different approaches to social capital theory together. The study also shows that both different forms of relations are important for the cultural world and for artist to find jobs. But personal relations and strong ties can be more effective for the music business. Because when people work together

more, they may be more familiar to each other. Fukuyama (1995) indicates the trust, as a principle of social capital. Trust is the most important factor for creating economic welfare in society and professions.

These main social capital theories can be used in analysing different social facts and fields. This research focuses on relations and networks in the music business. The recorded music industry has always collaborated with media and technology companies since the beginning of the 20th century. Many actors such as composer, musician, technician, media, sponsors and so on, have a role to produce and consume music in local and global markets. If a musician works with the major record labels, well-known people in the media and music worlds, he has a chance to be in the centre. Having a central position in a network can explain the fact of popularity. Popular culture effects on relations in the music industry (Attali, 2009; Lull, 1992; Negus, 1992).

This study aims to compare the contents of relations in both traditional and new media age. The information age has changed the network of society (Anttiroiko, 2015; Castells, 1998). Relations are being more unpredictable, flexible and global economy is less secure (Sennett, 2007). Production and consumption have also increased in the art world; however, it causes an overconsumption in everyday life (Baudrillard, 1998). Although amateur or independent musicians produce much more music and release them in digital music services or social media, new media is still dominated by mainstream companies, musicians and technology initiatives. There are recent critical studies on relations in the music industry and new media, as well (Celma, 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Meier, 2017; Marshall, 2015).

In this study, the music world and networks are examined by considering relations between musician and media/ music industry and musician and audiences. What is the importance of social capital in the music world? Can relations provide an advantage to economic opportunities? How should we interpret the social capital principles in the music business? And finally, how have the relations changed after new media?

2. Methodology

In this research, literature review and field work have been done. The music industry and media reports have been collected and analysed. 20 independent and professional artists, 20 employers and employees in media and music sectors have been interviewed. I contacted producers, radio and TV programmers, music directors, owners of record labels, managers and employees of music organisation companies. 200 social media users have been involved in a survey to understand their usage of digital media and technology habits. They are mostly the followers of some musicians on different social networking websites. Participants are between 15 and 60 years old and they have different educational and socio-economic backgrounds. They mostly live in big cities in Turkey. I also interviewed almost 20 audiences and these interviews were unstructured. The profiles of a certain number of musicians on Facebook and Instagram, as chosen social media, have been investigated in the view of relations between followers and musicians. The results of interviews and observation in social media were analysed by considering trust, social credibility, reciprocity and inequality principles.

3. The Context of Social Capital in the Music World

Social capital has a potential to reach economic sources, connections and cooperation. Music is an economic profession as well as a cultural and sociological fact. Who are the people in the music world and do they need to be related to each other? We can briefly describe people who

work in music, media, technology, entertainment and creative industries, as actors of this network. There is a global music business, which impacts on most of the music world financially. On the one hand, we need to define local music markets, because of the cultural and socio-economical differences. The music industry of Turkey is affected on the global market but it also has its own unique features.

Networks between producers of music have a significant incentive to continue to create new works. Amateur, professional and independent musicians, record labels, local media and social media have different roles in this network. There is also a correlation between having financial and social capital. Being close to the popular people and collaborating with a large number of different actors provide musicians an advantage. Centrality is a critical factor in a network.

Media, technology and music sectors have cooperated for almost ten decades. There are a certain number of powerful mainstream record labels, TV and radio channels and technology companies. They have a chance to dominate the global music and entertainment business. There are also a great number of small and medium scaled local music, media and technology companies and they have a network of local markets. We can collect data and analyse the ties and content of relationship via social capital and network theories, or if we want to figure out the relations in a concert, festival, Top 40 list of a small radio station.

This study targets to understand the main structure of the music market in Turkey via social capital norms. Therefore, the section of findings and discussion consists of three basic approaches. These sections put together after interpreting results of fieldwork, interviews, survey and participant observation. In the first part, relations between musician and employers/employees of the media and music industry will be explained with examples. Do people in the music world trust each other? What is the significance of socialisation and social credibility between people in creative industries? Does social capital have a potential to get financial capital? Do relations cause inequality in terms of economics?

Secondly, the term of fan or audience will be explained via popular culture theory. Networks between musician and audience will be discussed. In this part, results of the survey, which conducted 200 audiences, will be interpreted in the light of social capital theory and its principals. Do audiences have an impact on the success of a musician? And lastly, I'll focus the concept of relations in new media era. One of the most important hypotheses of this research is that relations changes in an age of technology. Social media and new technological developments provide an opportunity for musicians to show themselves. The audience can reach almost every product of an artist. Do the relations change in the music world in a more flexible and less secure environment?

4. The Network of Musician and the Music Industry

Developments of recorded music industry started in Istanbul and in the big cities of the country since beginning of the last century. Music productions have been supported by media such as newspaper, magazines, TV and radio channels (Ozturk, 2015). Therefore, they have an impact on audiences' taste and consumption habit. Moreover, the music industry, as a profession, has worked with different actors by considering requests of the audience, media and sponsors. A network between all these actors can be interpreted via theories. In this part, I'd like to demonstrate the relations between musicians and industry by using the results of the analysis.

Actors in the music world want to work with familiar colleagues, according to interviews. Music work is not a profession in which people work in the same workplace for week'sdays. They don't always have a chance to work with each other regularly. Networking skills are getting more

important for musicians to collaborate. On the other hand, they can suggest each other to other musicians or employers. Thus, social creditability is very crucial in the creative industries. For instance, when an owner of a venue needs to find musicians, technicians or an organisation company, he/she directly communicates with people, who have already worked before. People in music/ media business make reference to their friends or colleagues to one another.

Social networking and music websites make contributions for musicians to gather and recognise each other's work. Social media type relations provide opportunities about new connections different than old style or traditional networks. People work in creative industries may find each other's work online. They can share their music professionally, even if they live in another place in the world. Musicians, on the other hand, don't need to make contracts with record labels to release a single or an album because they can publish their work on their websites, their social media account, music video platforms much cheaper or freely. They also become aware of other musicians and their music. However, connections in real life still have a crucial significance.

Musicians have some concerns about trusting the industry structure. Most of the participants determined that they could not thoroughly trust media channel's decisions. They also indicated that there are uncertainties in the system of the music business. Unclear rules and uncertainty create an insecure environment for employees. 'Social relations, rather than institutional arrangements or generalised morality, are mainly responsible for the production of trust in economic life' (Granovetter, 1985, p. 491). Artists and employees want to feel secure themselves in a professional industry, even though social relations consist of trust and sociability. Record labels, radio and TV channels, media and technology companies, music employee associations are expected to be more transparent and have certain rules for everyone. Creative industries, as an institution, can be perceived to be more trustworthy.

'Music video channels mostly demand money for broadcasting videos. But, it is difficult to understand whether the criterion to broadcast a song is or not. Personal benefits or tastes can be a different matter' (Traditional Music Performer, Personal Interview).

When musicians have suspicions about criterion and personal decisions, trust, as an important principle of social capital, should be reconsidered. Musicians expect legal arrangements to be more broadly professional in this case. 'Without a high degree of trustworthiness among the members of a group, the institution couldn't exist' (Coleman, 1988, p. 103).

When actors in the media and music industry socialise in the same networks, the chance of working together is increased. Social media presents an opportunity for people to get to socialise, as well. Being a member of the same music association, working in the same studio, record labels, media channels or becoming a student in same music college/ conservatory can be a reason for actors to collaborate and produce together. These networks provide privileged relations for the artists to get jobs more easily in the music industry.

Socialisation is an important norm of the social capital. People in creative industries can prefer to socialise and work with familiar people. 'Working with acquaintances is preferred rather than collaborating with unknown actors in any economic processes' (Döğerlioglu, 2005, p. 36). On the other hand, employers tend to cooperate with famous representatives of media and industry. The fact of popularity has enormous influence in music and the cultural world. Thus, it causes an inequality between famous and unknown musicians or employees of creative industry.

'People want to work with you if you are a famous artist. The fact of being popular is still very important in music sector... If a musician' songs or music videos are played on radio and TV programmes, employers invite a musician to the concerts and activities' (Artist/ Talent Manager,

Personal Interview).

Well-known artists and companies have social credits for media as well as the audience. Mainstream record labels, popular singers, songwriters or producers have a chance for people to take their work more seriously. Musicians release an album and send it to media channels to advertise their products. If he/she is not recognised by music directors or programmers, they look for whom he/she collaborated with. Employers of media stated that a great number of single or music albums reach them almost every day. For this reason, they can't find time to listen to all music albums. However, when they see familiar names of an artist or record company on the album, this familiarity provides a social credibility. The artist is also aware of the importance of this reference value.

'I prefer to work with people, who have brand value and popularity. Because they know the way to success and they have an ability and experience to control this way. In normal circumstances, you can't reach people easily. But, if your songs are recorded by professionals and these people advertise your works, the importance of their brand value arises' (Professional Rock Musician).

Although artists know the necessity of relations, they're also worried about the opportunities for independent artists and small-scale record companies. Having social capital is related to having financial opportunities. If an artist doesn't have a chance to work with mainstream companies or musicians, it would be difficult to say that there is an equal opportunity for actors, who are in a different socioeconomic class and are not in a central position in a network of the music business. This is the critical aspect of the social capital theory.

'Unfortunately, broadcasting of a song is related to network, which is built by radio programmers or music directors. I agree that there are really talented programmers all around the country. But the success is still based on relations and friendships' (Professional Musician).

Popular or mainstream artists and companies have high social credits and this causes inequality of opportunity. While the amateur, independent or local musicians try to penetrate the music market difficulty, they are also damaged financially. Social capital is an important source for actors of creative industry to exist. However, it is not adequate in itself and it should support financial sources.

5. The Network of Musician and Audience

There is a network of musician, audience and music industry. Musicians produce music and want to reach the audience. Industry commercialises and distributes the artworks. The aim is to produce and consume in the same network and audience is one of the most effective actors of culture world. The audience can be defined as people, who listen, watch, buy the products, encourage the artist and share their own taste with other people. There is also a difference between audience and fan in terms of the culture industry. Fan culture has been studied in the context of cultural economy and relations between power and popularity. Fiske stated that fandom is a common feature of popular culture in industrial societies (Lewis, 1992, p. 30).

The entertainment industry was based on stardom and fandom facts in a financial market. The star can be an actor, actress, musician, sports player, chef, programmer or so on. These actors present some products by media and technology and they are represented by the culture world. The concept of musician and music are rapidly changing, and effects of this upon the operation of stardom and marketing may be considerable (Lull, 1992, p. 77). Especially, popular examples of these industries have an impact on consumption of art/culture.

Sennett (1997) indicates the fact of inaccessibility of the artist. The industry should invest in few stars. These stars can be more successful if they perform in front of a lot of audiences at fewer times. The stardom system was designed with this perspective from the beginning of recorded music history. However, relations and their content have started to change after the era of new media.

Audience or fans can be a source of social capital for artists. They may have a chance to be successful thanks to their audience, even if the aim of artists is to reach the audience. In doing so, an artist can maintain and produce new works and sell them in the market. When we mentioned about relations between artist and audience in view of social capital, we need to consider the principles of trust, reciprocity and socialisation. These principles are getting more important in the local music world, according to interviews.

An artist performs in different scenes, the audience joins these events. Independent or amateur musicians, who were interviewed, pointed out that it is important to have good relations with the audience. They can advertise their work and invite people to the concerts or any events. They have to commercialise their own works most of the time. Employers or owner of venues also take numbers of the audience into consideration. 'Performance implies the existence of an audience for fan consumption and the process of interaction between performer and spectators' (Sandvoss, 2005, p. 45).

'I went to a nightclub to talk with the owner of the place. He offered us a chance to perform as a warm-up band. But, then he asked me how many people would come us to see our performance. It was a financial decision after that' (Independent Musician).

The audience was considered as an actor of a network in this research. Therefore, I asked people questions to understand their behaviour and consumption habits in the technology age. Audiences follow their favourite artist's official social media page, share or like their photos, videos or music. People also tend to follow artists, who they are curious about. They can find their social media account interesting, even if they are not audience or fans of an artist. Artists and employers can take the numbers of the follower as a reference. However, some of the audience stated that they are not a fan of an artist all the time. Relations in the digital age are getting more complicated. I claim that audience can be a source of social capital for musicians, but a follower in social media doesn't need to be a fan at the same time. Therefore, it is not easy to accept follower as a source and potential to reach the financial capital.

Participants were asked for the reason they would unfollow an artists' social media account. They could choose more than one option and add their other opinions, as well. 70% of the participants said they would stop following an artist if he/she shares inappropriate, political or rude contents. This result is understandable because there is a still connection between people.

50% of them answered that they stop following their account if an artist promotes or advertises any sponsor's products. Social media gives a chance for artists to prove themselves and has financial gain via sponsors or advertisement of any products. It is significant to have a potential to have financial capital by using social capital sources. However, the audience of the digital age doesn't want to see and support these contents.

42% of participants stated that if an artist' account is managed by someone else such as social media expert or manager; they don't want to follow the account anymore. This result is quite important for the structure of the music business. There have always been professionals in the music world and stars have been accepted as unapproachable. New media makes relations more individualistic. Audience/followers want to see a personal exchange in real life. Otherwise, they lose

their interest in such a mass distraction of new media.

There is financial damage in the music industry after the digital revolution since the end of 1990. Musicians need to maintain their works. Live performances and digital sales have been the main incomes of the industry for the last decade. New media presents a personal media channel for musicians in one respect. They have a potential to have economic sources in theory, if they can use it effectively. 24% of the participants stated that they attend the concerts, as the 14% buy the albums of the artists they follow. Very few participants stated that they download singles legally or illegally. 65% of them says that they listen to the works of the artists they follow on YouTube and 49% of them share or like the contents of the artists on social media.

The fact of liking or sharing is one of the main relation forms in new media. Users of social media think that pressing like or follow buttons are adequate to maintain connection and support each other. Regardless, these are important impacts on a musician's career. However, these relations are not supported by economic actions, according to interviews. At this point, we should think about relations in the digital age and their effects on the music world in terms of social capital.

6. Social Capital in New Media Era

Turkey is a country, which has high usage of technology and new media. Millions of people of various ages are active in social media and have different accounts. In this circumstance, artists are expected to have official social media pages and be a trend in social media. They should share their contents such as photos, videos, comments, which represent their daily or professional life. Participants of this study stated that they expect musicians to be on social media actively and regularly. The way to prevent social capital from death is stability (Ağcasulu, 2017).

Artists have a central position in their social media or more broadly their network. Followers can communicate with them if the artist allows them to make comment. On the other hand, some interviewers indicate that they don't want to see artists' sharing very often. It is one of the reasons of unfollowing of a musician.

'The star should be inaccessible. In this era nonexistence in social media is equally problematic as existing too much for a star.' (Manager, Personal Interview).

Producers of creative industries have to be social in the technology age. This returns to financial and social necessities. The speed of consumption creates this essentiality. Millions of tweets, Facebook, Instagram or any social networking websites' contents are created by users. The professions such as advertisers, social media experts and public relations companies use the new media to reach followers. New media is getting more commercialised day by day.

Users of the digital age are distracted by endless news and contents. This causes them to consume more. It is difficult for an artist to take attention in this environment. Therefore, we are experiencing a time of consumption and production enormously.

'I am telling the artists to release new singles every three months instead of albums. We have been consuming them very fast now. The songs don't have videos and are not even know anymore. So why should the artist release an album in these circumstances?' (Manager).

Overconsumption and production have changed the relations. New media presents an opportunity for artists to show and share their work with audiences. Amateur or professional artists have used the social networking websites for more than a decade. They can load their music or videos and increase the number of audiences. In this way, they have a network.

Many musicians were interviewed for this research. I asked them their usage of social media

and relations with their fans/followers. All participants accepted the importance of being online. Especially, independent or amateur musicians indicated the contribution of new media to reach the audience.

'I accepted the offer of a trademark to be their face. But the IT specialist of the firm found my number of followers on Twitter very low and asked me if there is any specific reason.' (Pop Musician, Personal Interview).

Being active in social media and reaching followers is not sufficient according to the results of interviews. Although musicians accept the necessity of existing new media, they believe that they need financial support at the same time. The number of audiences or follower has an impact on social credibility, but still, a musician can't trust the number for success in the music business. There is a difference between fan and follower and the relations in technology era are not certain and trustable all the time.

'Our amateur music video has gone viral during the last few years. But these numbers are only good for drawing attention in public music places. You can't really advance your business unless you have the budget and social capital.' (Independent Musician, Personal Interview).

Users of new media can communicate each other on the networking websites. Field (2008) explains the users as flexible friends of a risk society. Being a friend in the same network of the digital world makes relations instant. Online communication gets ahead of reciprocity because it is ordinary and it lacks instant feedbacks of face to face encounters (Field, 2008, p. 146). Trust and reciprocity are the main principles of social capital. However, they should have reconsidered in the new media age.

7. Conclusions

I analysed the networks between artist and music/ media industry and interpreted the results of interviews via social capital theory. Trust, as an important norm of the social capital, is a disputable feature for the music business. Artists generally don't trust the people or companies in the entertainment industry and they complain about lack of certain rules and legal arrangements. They find the industry very unpredictable and changeable, which this causes an unprofessional institution.

People in creative industries; tend to choose a partner or collaborator, that they have already met before. Social credits are immensely important in order to cooperate with other people. On the other hand, an artist should involve networks and maintain the relationships. Being a member of a network gives musicians a chance to include artworks. Therefore, having networking skills is necessary, however, it is not enough to work in the professional music world. The study shows us the importance of financial support in addition to social capital. Networks provide an opportunity for getting jobs and having visibility for musicians. However, artists need to be supported by a record label or media company. This mostly requires economic investments. For this reason, a correlation was found between having financial and social capital.

Popular musicians are in the central position and it provides an advantage for them to have contact with others, who work in music and media businesses. Well-known artists can be supported by mainstream companies and they have a large number of relations with different people. This advantage can cause an inequality between popular and other artists. This is one of the most significant critics of the social capital. Having relations help people to use networks and take advantage of it. On the other side, most of the artists don't have these relations and they are struggling in the music world in terms of economics.

Popular representatives of the music world, also have social credits. Media and entertainment industries accept their work easier than the products of amateur or independent artists and music companies. Unknown musicians can't compete with popular actors in a network and they can't enter the music industry if they don't collaborate with people, who they already have social credits in the cultural world.

I indicated that the audience is a source of social capital for musicians. Artists can reach more audience or job opportunities thanks to their loyal fans. The importance of the relations between audience and performer emerge in local scenes more. It is harder to survive in the mainstream entertainment world if an artist is not supported by popular media and music companies. On the other hand, musicians in local places can get connections with people easier. However, there are always fewer venues and organisations in local places. Being far from central places, which they are Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir for Turkey, creates an inequality to reach sources.

Owners of venues, sponsors, organisation committees of formal institutions take the number of audience/ fans/ followers into consideration. These numbers have a meaning in view of social credits. However, the study shows that followers of social media are not always a fan or audience of an artist. Followers can follow musicians' social media accounts even though they don't buy their albums, go to their concerts or listen to their songs. Social media, as a marketing tool, contributes to an artists' income by increasing their visibility. But interviews tell us the focus of audience changes swiftly in the social media age. So, it is not enough for an artist to have millions of views on social media accounts to have enough economic income.

The relations and expectations between a musician and audience have changed after the emerging of the new media age. Surveys tell us the audience doesn't want the artist to promote other products than his music on his social media accounts. However, these promotions are one of the income sources for musicians. Still more than half of the followers' state that they unfollow musicians' accounts for this reason. Besides, followers don't want anyone to manage the artist's account rather than himself, they expect the artist to be available and reply to the comments and messages himself. Reciprocity has increased as an element of social capital, on the other hand, all the contents are produced and consumed faster than ever.

Finally, I claim that the relations in the music world have changed after new media. The audience expects the artist to have an active existence in social media, otherwise, they don't remember them since they are exposed to lots of contents. Artists should exist in both traditional and new media, maintain their relationships with the audience and stay visible in order to sustain their economic success. This research shows that audience and followers are different types of consumers. The dynamics of relations change swiftly in the digital media age where production and consumption are excessive and the music and entertainment industry are the fields in which these changes can easily be observed.

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