

PERFORMATIVITY IN GAME: THE CASE OF “YÜZEN ODA” IN ANKARA JAM SESSIONS¹

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Abstract

Yüzen Oda, a musical collective formed by a gathering of musicians with common tendencies and intentions, is a game builder agent that leads jam sessions in venues that include Noxus, Alerta, and Haymatlos Mekân in Ankara, Turkey. Yüzen Oda, continuing the jam sessions in Haymatlos Mekân since 2018, organizes a process whereby non-collective/guest musicians can participate as they wish without limiting themselves to a certain music genre or style. Yüzen Oda plays a pioneering role in determining the jam session etiquette, which includes sociomusical aesthetic values that are effective in the functioning of the jam session and influence the participant as soon as they are involved. This paper uses Butler's and Hager's approaches to examine how performativity works in jam sessions, which are conceived as a Bourdieusian game, from an ethnomusicological perspective. With the ethnographic fieldwork carried out in this context, the performative functioning of the game is revealed through the data obtained from agents such as collective member musicians, guest musicians, audience members, and the venue manager.

Keywords: Jam session, Game, Performativity, Ankara, Yüzen Oda, Ethnomusicology

Introduction

Jam sessions, participatory and improvised collective performance models, were organized for the first time in major cosmopolitan regions of the United States such as Kansas City, Missouri, and New York in the 1920s under the leadership of jazz musicians (Nelson, 2011). For Cameron, jam sessions function as structured oral cultures rather than being completely disorganized and spontaneous, as some naive critics believe (1954:179). Kisluk (1988:152) defines the sociomusical aesthetic values and tacit rules effective in the functioning of a jam session as *jam session etiquette*. For Kisluk, jam sessions operate under both musical and non-musical informal conventions that sediment over time and influence the participants. Moreover, competition between musicians, which I think is not stressed strongly in the literature, is vital in jam sessions. This can be seen both in the jam sessions that heralded the birth of bebop in the United States in the 1940s and in many current ones. In this paper, since jam sessions are conceptualized as a *game* in which agents compete with each other in a Bourdieusian understanding, jam session etiquette is envisioned as “the rules of the game” associated with performativity and doxa. Therefore, the effort to analyze the rules and construction of the game specific to the jam session overlaps with *ethnotheory*. Monson (1996:4) expresses it as the effort to comprehend the sociocultural theories (classification, terminology, approach to music, etc.) of various cultural communities related to musical processes and cultural values from an insider's point of view. Thus, in a jam session study, the

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researcher needs to reveal the musical perception schemes of the regular participants of the culture within an ethnomusicological perspective.

The case explored in this paper is that of Yüzen Oda, a musical collective formed by a gathering of musicians with common tendencies and intentions that leads jam sessions in venues including Noxus, Alerta, and Haymatlos Mekân in Ankara, Turkey, as a game builder agent. Observations showed that instruments such as electric guitar, bass guitar, drums, keyboard, saxophone, and trumpet are prevalent in this musical collective and its musicians are associated with genres such as jazz, fusion, and rock both within and outside of the collective. The prominent ability of Yüzen Oda, in terms of the Ankara scene, is that it can gather together different agents (amateur and professional musicians, audience, etc.) forming the scene with its game builder role in the organization of jam sessions. Thus, the jam sessions contribute to the development of the Ankara scene as a space for engagement. Yüzen Oda, continuing the jam sessions in Haymatlos Mekân since 2018, organizes the process whereby non-collective/guest musicians can participate as they wish without limiting themselves to a certain music genre or style. It plays a pioneering role in determining the jam session etiquette, which includes sociomusical aesthetic values that are important to the functioning of the jam session and also influence the participants as soon as they are involved.

The first question of this paper is how is music is constructed in a jam session open to all musicians regardless of genre, style, and instrument while ensuring collective coordination. The second question is which sociomusical aesthetic values does Yüzen Oda, as a game builder and rule-maker agent, employ to set the rules of the game. Related to that, the third question is what kind of censorship mechanism does it activate against the transgressive/dysphemist actions of guest musicians. The last question is that what are the motivations of the collective member musicians and guest amateur or professional oriented musicians in participating in the game. To answer these questions, I obtained data through ethnographic fieldwork and interviews as well as through my participant observations as an electric guitarist in jam sessions for nearly a year. While audience members and the venue manager are mentioned, the paper mainly addresses the musicians in the jam sessions brought together for a common goal. Additionally, I chose to use Western music terminology in descriptions of sound related to ethnotheory in parallel to the tendencies of the musicians interviewed. The theoretical framework used in this paper consists of relevant concept sets from Bourdieusian sociology (1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2018) and approaches related to performativity (Butler, 1997, 2010; Hartley, 2008; Hajer and Uitermark, 2008; Hajer, 2009; Fogel, 2007).

Performativity in Game

Bourdieu (2018) states that society is composed of various fields, economic, political, and artistic, for example, and that each area forms a microcosm equipped with specific laws. Although Bourdieu does not consider microcosms independent of the forces of the social macrocosm, the essential element that makes a microcosm a microcosm is the degree of autonomy that ensures its functioning and regularity. The more autonomous a field is, the more developed its ability to break down and redefine the external (text, object, image, practice, etc.), give meaning, and form it (Bourdieu, 2018:63-64).

For Bourdieu (1993:72), each field is a space of competition and struggle in which agents engage to protect or strengthen their position. Bourdieu (1992) explains the contentious nature of the fields based on a *game metaphor* and states that there are stakes (*enjeux*) determining “what is to lose and win” in each field functioning as a game. In this sense, the fact that an agent invests by taking a stake in the game shows that he/she finds the game worth playing. Bourdieu encapsulates this “belief in the game” with the concept of *illusio* (1992:98). The concept of *doxa*,

which completes *illusio*, is the game building presuppositions of the game that do not even need to be asserted explicitly in reference to certain fundamental beliefs (Bourdieu, 2000:15). Thus, Bourdieu (1992:98) addresses the power levels of the players in the game struggling to gain movement over *illusio* and *doxa*, trump cards ever-changing based on the game. They are, in other words, *forms of capital* (economic, social, cultural, and symbolic). On the other hand, Bourdieu (1990a) mentions that explaining fields by degrading them to a game has some drawbacks. The game creator and the rule-maker (*nomothetes*) establishing the rules and social agreement are apparent in the game literally. However, in the games of social life, the rules are the participation of the community in an activity arranged within the framework of some -explicit or tacit- regularities and are open to change (Bourdieu, 1990a:64)³. In this sense, Bourdieu studies how a player interacts with the regularities of the game through the concept of habitus. *Habitus*, the series of dispositions referring to the player's collectivism individuated in his body (Bourdieu, 1990a:31), inquires to the player's behavioral dispositions that he/she had before entering the game and the ways of reflection and interaction of these dispositions on the game. However, Bourdieu's concept of habitus refers particularly to early childhood (1990b, 1991). Thus, I believe that the conceptualization of performative habitus will be more useful in understanding the dispositions that the player *instantly* shapes and activates in the current base.

For Hajer and Uitermark (2008:7-8) *performative habitus* emphasizes the role of dispositions that provide the player with a level of agency and tactical intelligence in certain environments, shaped by symbolic labor over the years. Moreover, performative habitus refers to the "repertoire of acts" formed over time, rather than actions that all can freely choose and act on in a given moment (Hajer, 2009:183). For instance, the repertoire of acts of a musician based on previous experiences allows the musician to respond to the piece requested of him/her during a performance "instantly" and "as required". On the contrary, musicians who are not familiar with such an understanding of musicianship can only acquire this disposition over time. For Hartley (2008:165-166), performative habitus, which is based on more conscious choices than the social habitus in its broadest sense, has been built historically and defines the range of choices one has "fallen into". To elaborate the in-game functioning of performative habitus, I will reconsider the formula of "linguistic habitus + linguistic market = linguistic expression, speech" developed by Bourdieu within the scope of linguistic sociology as "performative habitus + performative market = performative expression, performance". The *performative market* in the formula expresses the force exerted by the specific needs and demands of the game and imposes the understanding of legitimacy through the symbolic power relations of sanctions and censorship. Butler (2010:XV) defines performativity as a culturally sustained temporal duration that takes effect through the ritualization of repetitive practices and their naturalization in the context of the body. There is a range of expectations demanded by performativity that has been sedimented and stereotyped in the core of the performative market. Thus, *euphemism* functioning as partial censorship in line with these expectations expresses the tailoring and legitimization of the things players think of saying considering the nature of the context (Bourdieu, 1993:90). In other words, euphemism is the "expression that seeks to avoid being offensive" (Allan and Burridge, 1991:3). For example, it's euphemism for a jazz guitarist to "appropriate" his/her performance thinking that extended chords such as the 9th, 11th, and 13th, which are frequently used in jazz, will not meet the expectations and even create displeasure among the audience in the context of a wedding where a jazz guitarist performs mostly for commercial purposes. For Butler (1997:147), underlying recurrent practices of reproduction show that even the most well-set norms are easily open to

³ The privileged position of Yüzen Oda in the sessions addressed in this paper due to its role of the game builder allows mentioning the rules formed performatively instead of regularities. Thus, I deemed appropriate to use the rules of the game throughout this paper.

subversion and transformation through transgressive performances. Thus, the force of the performative market may also bring along *dysphemism* where the player leans to an abusive and offensive discourse, unlike euphemism (Allan and Burrige, 1991:3). In this sense, Butler criticizes Bourdieu's approach associating the freedom/potential of speech with the position of the agent in the field and states the following: "It is clearly possible to speak with authority *without* being authorized to speak" (Butler, 1997:157, emphasis in original).

Whether the performance of the player is euphemist or dysphemist, the degree to which the performative expression, which is the output of the formula, is recognized and approved -in other words, is seen as legitimate- by other players tells the level of *performative capital*. In this sense, even exceptional performances that are not suitable for the performative market can provide performative capital accumulation to the extent that they are considered legitimate; however, it should be remembered that such transgressive/dysphemist performances are often subject to censorship and, when they succeed, can create a new context by affecting/changing the rules of the game. In a study by Fogel (2007) addressing female strippers, it was determined that performative capital accumulated by the agents based on executing successful performances required by the field turns into economic capital subsequently. The ability of a musician to receive positive feedback from the audience by regularly responding to the demands of the field/space where he/she performs will ensure the accumulation of performative capital and subsequent economic capital gain.

The theoretical framework mentioned thus far will provide useful tools in analyzing the sociomusical aesthetic values of the jam sessions of Yüzen Oda in Haymatlos Mekân and the expectations/targets of its different positions (collective members, guest musicians, audience, and the venue manager). In fact, I believe that it will be useful in revealing the content of the game rules developed as a result of recurrent performances, the euphemist-dysphemist performances of guest musicians, and the censorship mechanism put in place by the collective.

Jam Session Nights with Yüzen Oda at Haymatlos Mekân

Haymatlos Mekân, which opened on Konur Street in the Kavaklıdere Neighborhood of Ankara, Turkey in 2017, stands out for having many free-of-charge alternative artistic activities realized beyond the services that can be limited to a cafe-pub. In this framework, the venue incorporates many different types of activities such as concerts, jam sessions, theater, open stage, stand up, workshops, movie screenings, conversations, and open mics that are difficult to encounter in mainstream venues. The motto of #herkesinbiryerivar (which means "everyone has a place") written in the announcement of many events on the social media accounts (Instagram, Facebook) of Haymatlos Mekân emphasizes the representability of different artistic practices as well as the open and participatory nature of the events. The *open stage* where the audience can perform a theatrical performance, the *open mic* where the audience can take the microphone and tell a story or make a joke, and the *jam session* where the audience can participate in the current collective improvisation performance are the main performance models pushing the regulars of the venue to be participants and enabling "everyone to have a place". Before talking about the jam sessions of Haymatlos Mekân with Yüzen Oda, the focal point of the paper, I will first focus on a description of the venue in line with the observations made.

At the entrance of the venue, there is a rectangular main garden where customers are densely populated, where food, drink, alcohol (mostly beer), and tobacco products are consumed. The presence of vegetarian-vegan cuisine, as well as rich food and beverage varieties on the menus, makes the venue an important alternative for Ankara. As a matter of fact, vegetarian-vegan cuisine is one of the elements that Haymatlos Mekân frequently puts forward in its social media accounts. The walls of the venue are decorated with posters of events such as

concerts, film festivals, interviews, and various alternative music groups. The recorded music I heard in the garden section during my visits to Haymatlos Mekân was trip-hop, electronic, indie genres. When making my first observations, the construction, which was started just behind the garden to expand the venue, was left in a form that the customers could see. Such scenery supported the comfortable, shabby, and natural appearance of the venue. Later, the constructed section was combined with the main garden; thus, the customer capacity was increased considerably. The stage where the live performances take place is located at the end of a narrow and long hallway extending forward from the bar and cashier section in the indoor area at the end of the main garden. The curtain, which separates the corridor from the stage, is mostly kept closed during the preparation of events such as the soundcheck process of musicians. The stage placed 30-40 cm above the ground is large enough for 8-10 musicians. The venue, where customers are university students (usually 18-25 years old) and gender distribution is equal, buttresses the alternative space look with the differentiating practices it builds in terms of auditory, visual, and gustatory elements. From these differences, Haymatlos Mekân builds a unique identity, separating itself from mainstream venues in Ankara.

Posters from the venue about the event are also effective in shaping the perceptions of guest musicians and audience members. As seen, Western instruments and jazz references are highlighted in the posters used by the venue for the jam sessions with Yüzen Oda (Figure-1). Thus, it is important to note that the manager of the venue, Oğul Aşkın (personal communication, June 10, 2019), has been influenced by the jam sessions he watched in Seattle, United States, regarding them as “authentic” and “cultural”. It is clear that the underlying reason for this is that the root of jam sessions is based on North American jazz.



Figure-1: Haymatlos Mekân jam session posters

From a Bourdieusian lens, I consider the Haymatlos Mekân jam sessions with Yüzen Oda as a microcosm performance field equipped with specific laws and having a certain degree of autonomy. However, this microcosm acts within the framework of limits and forces drawn by the macrocosm. Therefore, it is possible to observe that jam sessions form professional hierarchies derived from the scene here as mentioned by Pedro (2014:78). Haymatlos Mekân, a microcosm field, carries on the activities subject to the “Regulation on Assessment and Management of Environmental Noise” of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization of the Republic of Turkey. Thus, legality, which is established through the agents of the bureaucratic field, is the highest level hierarchical power that determines the operation of jam sessions. The next step of the hierarchy is the venue manager, who is the willing agent in the selection and termination of the activities and the payment of the musicians’ wages. When looking at the hierarchy among musicians, Yüzen Oda, which receives regular fees, is primary, while the guest musicians who do not receive a fee are secondary. However, if the guest musicians appear on stage, they are entitled to a free beer with the voucher given. Guest musicians are rewarded by the venue with this implementation incentivizing them to contribute to the event. In short, the hierarchical order of the jam sessions in descending order is the regulation, the venue manager, Yüzen Oda, and guest musicians. Although the audience in the venue seems to be at the bottom of the hierarchy, audience activities such as listening to music, applauding, singing along, and ordering food and drinks are vital as they contribute to the reproduction of the event. As Pedro underlines (2014:77), since jam sessions are part of urban music scenes and are practiced within a capitalist economic framework, all participation towards the continuity of the jam sessions is valuable.

The Sonic World of the Game

In my observations of the jam sessions, a sound and style similar to fusion was one of the first elements that caught my attention. How could there be a tendency towards a certain musical genre in an event where everyone could participate as they wished? Likewise, what were the difficulties (if any) experienced by musicians who had different performative habitus/capital during the construction of music in the jam sessions? How was communication between musicians on stage? In line with these questions, in addition to the interviews conducted with Yüzen Oda members, guest musicians, audience members, and the venue manager, my observations about the jam sessions (especially the participatory observations I made as an electric guitarist) offered important opportunities to understand the sonic world of the game.

Every week on Mondays at 21:21, after installing the drums, bass guitar, electric guitar, keyboard, saxophone, trumpet, and related musical equipment for the jam sessions at Haymatlos Mekân, Yüzen Oda conducts a soundcheck with the help of a sound technician and prepares the stage for the jam session. Thus, Yüzen Oda determines a core configuration before starting the jam session and roughly how the instruments forming this configuration will sound. Being the first performance of the night every week, Yüzen Oda demonstrates the performance style as well as the sound and introduces the dominant musical approach of the jam session to the guest musicians and audience. The sonic world of the game is in motion throughout the night in jam sessions where guest musicians can participate as they wish, without limitations in the genre, style, and instruments. During my fieldwork, I observed guest musicians participating with instruments including didgeridoo, *kaval* (wooden rim-blown flute), *bendir* (frame drum), and *darbuka* (goblet-shaped hand drum)⁴.

The opening performances of Yüzen Oda generally consist of sound patterns similar to fusion including dissonance, chromatic and modal elements on progressions up to four chords (chords qualities as generally

⁴ Kaval, bendir, and darbuka are frequently used in traditional Turkish musics.

seventh and extended). Guest musician Eylem Atalay (personal communication, June 9, 2019), who regularly participated in the jam sessions with vocal and keyboard performances, in a way confirmed my observations saying, “I can call that music a fusion, not jazz”. Venue manager Oğul Aşkın (personal communication, June 10, 2019), defines the sonic world of the game as mostly fusion-jazz and adds that alternative initiatives may happen. Saxophone player Doğuhan Eren Karacan, a member of Yüzen Oda (personal communication, June 9, 2019), regards the fusion sound as being a result of the instruments and equipment on the stage, stating that the “Same instruments are always used. A guitar and a pedalboard are placed in the middle. Not everyone can change settings of the pedalboard all the time”. As noted at the beginning of this section, the structuring of music starts with the dominant musical equipment on the stage even before the jam session starts. Additionally, Karacan underlines that the fusion type is suitable to the nature of the jam session, but the collective members do not have the goal of performing fusion directly. Thus, the tendency of fusion does not exist at the discursive consciousness level. On the contrary, it works at the practical consciousness level due to the habitus of the collective.



Figure-2: A shot from the jam session (Photo: Selim Tan)

Another observation was that chord progressions usually occurred over four chords at most. These chord progressions mostly had the following cadence qualities: *Plagal cadence* formed by progression subdominant (IV) and tonic (I) degree chords. Again, the *authentic cadence* formed by the dominant (V) and tonic (I) degree chords. Finally, the *perfect cadence* formed by the chords of subdominant (IV), dominant (V), and tonic (I) degrees. Chord progressions that are generally established over these three cadence types were determined by

the rhythm sections of the configuration such as electric guitar, keyboard, and bass in the jam sessions. One chord pieces over tonic (I) degrees were also common. These were heard especially in the context of a funky style. For instance, the entire performance I participated in with the electric guitar was completed with tonic variations such as E9, E7#9, etc., which I performed only with a funk guitar style. In such performances, rhythmic structure (catching the groove) and melodiousness become more important than harmony. The chord progressions I have mentioned so far consist of harmonic clichés frequently encountered in jam sessions. Let it be known that different chord progressions that are not mentioned here also appear.

In addition to the harmonic structure, similar clichés are encountered in terms of time signature. As can be presumed, musicians usually performed in four beats per measure because the contexts in which different time signatures are performed might be challenging for some musicians and could disrupt the general functioning by endangering collective coordination. Koçlar says the following about the functioning of jam sessions in terms of harmony and time signature:

Generally, harmonies with two chords are preferred, or even if the chord itself is complicated, it is not more than a few chords, three chords for example . . . Or when it comes to the rhythm, when someone says let's play 9/8, etc. it can be hard for the drummer. That's why 6/8 or something like 4/4 is played very often (Can Koçlar, personal communication, June 10, 2019).

As stated by Koçlar, it is important to be able to act in collective coordination in time signature, that is, to meet on minimum common ground, as well as in the harmonic structure. Since Haymatlos Mekân jam session events structured via Yüzen Oda are a performance field where musicians have to be limited by the performative habitus/capital level of other musicians to ensure collective coordination, and as a result of the search for a minimum common ground over the imagination of these possible borders, certain conventions take place.

Understanding the Rules of the Game

The sonic world of the game, in other words, the sonic informal conventions of the jam session etiquette were emphasized in the previous section to reveal the ethnotheory. In this section, the rules of the game forming an ideal jam session will attempt to be understood considering the behaviors and concepts complementing the sonic one. In short, the ideal sociomusical aesthetic values of the game will be addressed following the ethnomusicological model that Merriam (1964) has set up music through concept-behavior-sound. In this sense, displaying the rules of the game also reveals the nature of doxa, as it refers to the founding presuppositions of the field internalized by performative acts.

Doğuhan Eren Karacan (personal communication, June 9, 2019), values the ability of guest musicians to comply with different musical practices and to act flexibly by stating, "I think it is bad to say that I came here to play 'x' genre". Because multiple musical orientations of the jam sessions require players to be equipped with multiple performative habitus at the individual level. On the other hand, the fact that jam sessions are not limited in terms of genre, style, and instrument does not mean that a musician can perform the moves he/she wants independent from other participants. On this subject, Can Koçlar (personal communication, June 10, 2019) says, "His/her talent with his instrument is in the background. I think the most important thing is to listen . . . He/she can play three or four notes, but he/she plays it harmoniously and he/she finds himself/herself there". Thus, for Koçlar, the active listening ability that can produce the sound patterns suitable for the flow is essential rather than how advanced the musical ability of the participant is. In short, the ability to produce sound patterns suitable for the musical flow, which functions as the rule of the game, reveals the importance of active listening, and also explains the construction of music on the stage in layers, mostly through repeating patterns.

Another element of the game that functions as a rule is that the musicians on stage should not perform any predetermined sections or pieces. Bailey (1993:142) considers improvisation the “celebration of the moment”, while Feige considers it to be “creating music *inside* the performance which is understood as a tangible time-spatial musical event” (2016:31, emphasis in original). Both of them conceive of improvisation as the immediate execution of musical expressions that are not based on predetermination. In parallel with this approach, it is not appropriate etiquette for musicians to directly perform sections/pieces that they have already determined. However, predetermined sections or pieces that have reference/allusion features during the performance are exceptional in terms of the etiquette because the essence of the jam sessions is to be able to create *instantaneous* collectively coordinated expressions. Karacan (personal communication, June 9, 2019) states that “If you play something ready, written, you get a reaction after a while. When you play something written . . . you also drag the rest of the team” and adds that such initiatives limit the musicians on stage. Koçlar (personal communication, June 10, 2019), on the other hand, says, “It can only happen when it is an experimental or spontaneous approach” and states that the predetermined performances qualified as a referral/alluded to are not against the etiquette. Because the ability of the performers, which is the essence of active listening, to adapt to sudden changes and surprises in the musical flow, is preserved here.

Verbal statements and physical gestures that become etiquette, which are components of communication between musicians on the stage, have an effective place in understanding musical construction. For example, based on my participatory observation, I experienced that when I added a new pattern to the collective performance, some musicians approved by tilting their heads forward on the stage. This situation, which is compatible with my general observations, shows that the suitability of the moves performed by taking risks on stage to the sound ideal can be embodied by a symbolic expression based on physical gestures. In addition to physical gestures, verbal statements are seen in the form of stating tonality, musical genre, or style at the beginning of the piece, saying the chord/tune while moving to a new section, and directing the course of the music. However, I must indicate that the frequency and the referred importance of verbal statements and physical gestures enabling communication and interaction in jam sessions are limited. Karacan (personal communication, June 9, 2019) says, “Sometimes I get frustrated when people say ‘dude let’s play F minor blues?’... I mean, if you want F minor, just go for it . . . Verbally declaring it and forcing people to follow is against the mentality of the jam session” and adds that he is in favor of limited use of verbal statements and he disapproves of verbal statements used to interfere with the course of the music. In short, physical gestures and verbal statements that are against the instantaneous nature of the jam sessions so much as to hinder active listening are deemed inappropriate in the etiquette.

Based on the rules of etiquette that I have mentioned so far, the idea that vocals do not perform appropriately in these jam sessions is common. For instance, Ali Deniz Uzun (personal communication, June 11, 2019) from the audience says about the vocalists, “You haven’t worked as much as those people . . . When a vocalist comes out, I go straight to the garden”. Similarly, one of the audience members, Emre Taştan (personal communication, January 22, 2020) questions the presence of vocals in jam sessions by saying that “If there is not a very good vocal in a good jam session, then there must be none”. Karacan, from a different perspective, states that he finds it odd that the vocalists can try to direct the music by “giving the musicians solo” on the stage. Based on all these expressions and observations, I can say that the vocalists constitute the most open to intervention and vulnerable participants of the game. Beneath this lies the song-based vocalist habitus, which operates through predetermined lyrics and melodies. Therefore, it is common for vocalists to lack the necessary performative habitus, that is, the repertoire of acts, to accompany instrumental improvisation.

Here, then, is the order of the rules of the game, the conventions of the etiquette that refer to the sociomusical aesthetic values of the jam sessions that I have dealt with so far:

- To be able to communicate and interact with musicians
- To be able to produce sound patterns suitable for musical flow
- Not to perform any predetermined section/piece (except during jam session performance)
- Not to limit musicians through verbal statements and physical gestures

Here, the value given to active listening is at the core of the informal conventions that have a performative character with the sedimentation of performances based on recurrence. The necessity of the participants “listening to music”, which the interviewees frequently emphasize in the name of an ideal jam session, shows itself in the four rules given above about etiquette. In other words, active listening, aimed at preserving the instantaneous nature of improvisation and ensuring collective coordination, is central in all the norms that constitute the rules of the game. In addition, the set of implicit rules above, which operate as the founding presuppositions of the game, refers to doxa by operating in the ordinariness of jam sessions. Therefore, the established and tacit rules of the game as part of the doxa show themselves to the players through the demands and forces of the performative market.

Protecting the Rules of the Game

In line with the *stranger* concept of Simmel (1971), guest musicians are less restricted by norms, namely the rules of the game, by their distant and objective position, which is not wholly dependent on the tendencies of the collective. It is precisely for this reason that guest musicians often perform transgressive/dysphemist performances that open up the rules of etiquette for discussion. Moreover, as a result of the game’s multi-musical orientation, it is inevitable that some of the practices performed by guest musicians who have quite different performative habitus/capital are not compatible with the etiquette. Thus, one can see that Yüzen Oda, as the game builder agent, has activated a censorship mechanism that includes certain intervention strategies to protect the rules of the game. However, the intervention methods that constitute the censorship mechanism are aimed at ensuring the functionality of the game at that moment rather than expelling the guest musician from the game permanently.

Doğuhan Eren Karacan (personal communication, June 9, 2019) says that when a guest musician violates the jam session etiquette, there is no immediate intervention by the members of the collective, but a certain time is granted for the guest musician. This situation shows the importance that the event places on hospitality and equality, which is consistent with my observations. It is clear that a context in which the rules of the game are applied without any compromise will harm the openness of jam sessions and the participatory nature. In other words, it is essential for the game to be played with the maximum number of players despite the possible problems that may occur during the game. Nevertheless, Karacan states that *instant verbal warning* may appear when a guest musician attempts to perform a predetermined section/piece. Through such warnings, there is an attempt to protect the “instant” nature of the event based on improvisation immediately. Karacan says that when certain performances are not appropriate, musicians as members of the collective take the stage at the end of a piece and take over the jam session, as a more covert intervention method compared to the instantaneous verbal warning. This is called *implicit complete censorship*, which means total silence. It is implicit, as it is not possible for the guest musician to notice that he/she has been intervened upon; and it is complete censorship, as the guest musician is no longer on stage. Although I was a researcher who followed the jam sessions regularly and closely, if this method of intervention had not been explicitly stated in the interviews, it would have been extremely difficult

for me to notice. For this very reason, it is the most common intervention method used by the collective in jam sessions.

Can Koçlar (personal communication, June 10, 2019) says, “The pieces are not prolonged, we usually finish the piece one way or another” and refers to the “finishing early” intervention method, which is very difficult to notice by both the audience and the guest musicians. Thus, finishing the piece early is an implicit complete censorship, just as members of the collective taking the stage and taking over the piece.

Another method of intervention is *explicit partial censorship*, which is a method where the members of Yüzen Oda talk directly with the guest musician and explain the situation they find troubling. Although the instant verbal warning on the stage, as I mentioned at the beginning, has a nature of explicit partial censorship, in this situation members of the collective discuss with the guest musician who is thought to perform a transgressive/dysphemist performance on the stage, followed by a *general verbal warning*. Regarding this method of intervention, Canberk Hacibaloğlu (personal communication, January 15, 2020) says, “Sometimes, I mean, we get a little nervous and don’t know how to act and say something delicately, if the person is a regular, and then we just talk to them”. In this case, the members of the collective explicitly tell the guest musician what musical expression(s) they feel uncomfortable with and demand euphemism from the guest musician under the rules of the game.

Another method of intervention that I have observed and rarely used in the field of performance is *explicit complete censorship*, which involves expulsion of the guest musician from the stage by an employee of the venue or a collective member. As with the general verbal warning based intervention method I have just mentioned, this intervention method can also bring the members of the collective and the guest musician against each other and can pave the way for possible discussions and tensions. Experiencing such intervention, Eylem Atalay says:

The waiter came and said something like ‘they don’t want vocals on the stage anymore’. And I stepped off the stage. Thinking like, you know, they just want instrumentals or something like that.

...After a while, a vocal came on the stage, and they allowed it, they did not ask them to leave (Eylem Atalay, personal communication, June 9, 2019).

The fact that the intervention to Atalay is communicated to her by an employee is significant in terms of showing the partnership of Yüzen Oda and Haymatlos Mekân in attempt to protect the rules of the game. The guest musician Banu Taylan (personal communication, June 9, 2019), who participated in the jam sessions with her vocals, says, “Yes, one time, I was signaled to not sing as other musicians were improvising” and this is another example of explicit complete censorship. In short, Taylan, just like Atalay, has to leave the stage as a result of a sign, since she is not adequately communicating and interacting on the stage. In this case, both Atalay and Taylan were subjected to interventions on the grounds that they were vocalists and could not provide the necessary interaction according to etiquette. This situation is in line with the fact that some interviewees do not find the vocalist habitus suitable to the jam sessions, as mentioned before.

Highly reputable names in the scenes of Ankara and Turkey such as Volkan Öktem, Çağrı Sertel, Ediz Hafizoğlu, Sarpay Özçağatay, and Şinasi Celayiroğlu also attend the jam sessions. In light of my observations and interviews, such names cannot be subjected to the demands of the jam session etiquette due to their high accumulation of symbolic capital. Moreover, they can explicitly demonstrate their musical competence by performing more and being comfortable on the stage. At such moments, the effort to achieve collective coordination based on active listening, which constitutes the essence of the rules, and the search for minimum common ground, are temporarily suspended in favor of the guest musician with high symbolic capital. For

example, I was able to closely observe a performance of the guitarist Şinasi Celayırođlu, who works as a lecturer in the electric guitar branch of Hacettepe University Jazz Department and Ankara Music and Fine Arts University Instrument Education Department (official denotations indicate the legitimacy of the symbolic capital) and who is a highly reputable name in the Ankara jazz scene. In this jam session performance, the high volume of Celayırođlu's electric guitar, his confidence in his performance, and the attention given by other performers on the stage were remarkable. In other words, the physical gestures and attention of the musicians on the stage were directed towards Celayırođlu and the music was formed based on Celayırođlu, instead of on the collective coordination effort seen in regular jam sessions. When I shared my observation with the collective members about the change etiquette when a highly reputable guest musician participated in jam sessions, almost all of them confirmed that this situation can actually happen. Karacan (personal communication, June 9, 2019) says that such names are respected musicians and often called "*abi (big brother)*". Again, Karacan says that the reason for excessive performances by these musicians on the stage is their advanced musical competencies, in other words, their embodied cultural capital approved within the scene. That is, even though the performances of the highly reputable guest musicians have a transgressive/dysphemist nature in terms of the performative market of the game, these performances are not perceived as such by Yüzen Oda members and guest musicians and are regarded as natural.

The second context in which the rules that I had observed directly throughout my fieldwork were temporarily suspended involved the ability of Yüzen Oda itself to instantly transform the performance model from a jam session to a *presentational performance* as a result of its positional capital based on its role as the game builder and rule-maker agent. At such moments, the collective disables the instantaneous nature and rules of sessions by presenting their compositions to the audience at the venue. In short, the contexts where game rules are suspended either as a result of attendance of highly reputable guest musicians with symbolic capital accumulation from the Ankara and Turkey scenes or as a result of Yüzen Oda switching to presentational performance, end before being discussed by players due to the functionality of doxa.

Rewards of the Game

In the jam sessions, a participant accepts being a "player" by activating the *illusio* based on different motivations according to their positions. Although the first condition for the players to attain rewards is to perform euphemist performances in line with the demands of the performative market, exceptional players with high symbolic capital can attain rewards by creating a new context with dysphemist performances. In any case, players who ensure certain performative capital accumulation can also access other forms of capital. However, the nature of the form of capital to be accessed is directly related to the in-game position of the player. At this point, Pedro's (2014:78) approach is very valid, which considers musicians participating in jam sessions in two different orientations as amateurs seeking recreation and excitement, or professionals who seek to be musically active and introduce their persona to the scene. The expectations of Yüzen Oda are that of a game builder that also acts as an agent and has a professional orientation. The expectations of the guest musicians, who can be amateur or who have professional orientation, from jam sessions are also different in certain aspects. The interviews conducted those in different positions reveal the differences in expectations and approaches towards the game.

Dođuhan Eren Karacan (personal communication, June 9, 2019) states that the jam sessions allow him to have recreational time by meeting with his friends and to preserve his musical competency by preventing him from staying away from his instrument. However, Karacan says, "If it wasn't for the jam sessions . . . I wouldn't give that much credit to listening", and claims that he has focused on active listening instead of performing in a self-

focused manner. Canberk Hacibaloğlu (personal communication, January 15, 2020) says, “It is like a school for all of us” and states that jam sessions create a confrontational environment in terms of musical competence and help to recognize and eliminate deficiencies. Therefore, it is clear that the game has an educational function to improve musical competencies under the demands of the performative market for the collective members of the game. Thus, Yüzen Oda members often properly meet the demands of the performative market, which they pioneered with the privilege of being a game building agent, and provide both a certain level of symbolic capital accumulation and embodied cultural capital accumulation by taking advantage of the educational function of the game. Considering that Yüzen Oda members recruited some prominent guest musicians or preferred them for musical projects, it can be said that the jam sessions also provided social capital accumulation. In addition, the collective covers the expenses of the studio, especially rented for their composition practices, with the income from Haymatlos Mekân jam sessions. The game, therefore, provides economic capital gains to the collective as a whole as well as individual gains.

Another incident for examination is the expectations/rewards lying behind the choices of guest musicians to participate in the games and to become players. It is clear that Pedro’s (2014) distinction between amateur and professional orientation, mentioned at the beginning of the section, can be concretized within the meaning that guest musicians will attribute to the game. For example, Eylem Atalay (personal communication, June 9, 2019), one of the professionally-oriented guest musicians, emphasizes the high musical competencies of Yüzen Oda members and the educational and cultural capital gain of jam sessions by saying, “I think there are better equipped musicians in that inner circle. I got inspired by them a lot”. Again, Atalay says, “I had the chance to meet new musicians there. . . . I think this diversifies my life quite a lot”, emphasizing the social capital potential of the game. For the professionally-oriented guest musicians who already have a high level of symbolic capital accumulation, the game allows them to introduce their power to the scene again, aside from being a musical exercise. As I mentioned at the beginning of the section, such exceptional guest musicians benefit from the rewards of the game despite their transgressive/dysphemist performances. On the other hand, Banu Taylan, an amateur-oriented guest musician (personal communication, June 9, 2019) says that she likes to “play with sounds” because she is focused on entertainment and excitement, and generally appreciates improvisation and being on the stage. Therefore, for Taylan, the biggest reward of playing the game is recreation. For amateur-oriented musicians, being on the stage represents an exceptional and recreational process. It can be said that possible symbolic capital gains may be limited in general, as amateur-oriented musicians do not have the intention of directly introducing their power to the scene. Finally, all guest musicians, regardless of their amateur-professional orientation, are rewarded by the venue with a one-time beer voucher if they perform on the stage. This practice, which encourages participation in the game, is a limited contribution of economic capital for guest musicians.

Conclusion

In the Haymatlos Mekân jam sessions with Yüzen Oda, the rules of the game are directed towards the behavior of musicians that prioritize active listening rather than directly describing musical sounds. Considering this following Merriam’s concept-behavior-sound based ethnomusicological model, the concepts and behaviors in the game clearly precede the sound. In other words, the “social” in the sociomusical aesthetic values that constitute the rules of the game is decisive in how the musical sound will be heard. Under this, there is the idea that if the game, which does not have a genre, style, or instrument limitation, is based on purely sonic rules, the desired broad level of participatory nature will be damaged. It is precisely for this reason that Haymatlos Mekân jam sessions, which are structured through Yüzen Oda, are a performance field where musicians have to be limited by the performative habitus/capital level of other musicians to ensure collective coordination. Moreover, jam

sessions take place over musical conventions/clichés in line with the search for a minimum common ground over the imagination of possible boundaries. In this sense, the performative habitus, which includes the euphemist repertoire of acts of guest musicians following the multiple musical orientations of the game, enables the healthy functionality of the game by ensuring certain performative capital gains. On the other hand, transgressive/dysphemist performances caused by the poor repertoire of acts or deliberate acts of a guest musician are censored with implicit-explicit/partial-complete intervention strategies developed by Yüzen Oda to protect the game. In this respect, based on my observations and interviews, I can say that vocalists are the most vulnerable players in the jam sessions because the vocalist habitus is mostly based on songs with predetermined lyrics and melodies. Thus, the song-based tendencies embodied in the performances of vocalists create a situation open to intervention, as they offer a limited repertoire of acts on how to accompany instrumental improvisation according to the rules of the game. On the other hand, when looking at jam sessions as a microcosm performance field, defined within the limits of the macrocosm, the rules of the game can be suspended by a musician with a high level of symbolic capital accumulation from the Ankara or Turkey scene. The performances of such highly reputable guest musicians, which can be perceived as dysphemist in the regular course of sessions are considered natural. Therefore, although the session is autonomous to a certain extent by developing its own rules, there are limits for a musician with high capital accumulation to how far he/she may break and redefine the agency role. Another context in which the rules are suspended occurs when Yüzen Oda transforms the performance model from a jam session to a presentational performance, due to its positional capital as a game builder and rule-maker. In short, while in the first context there is an unconscious and external interference, in the second context there is a conscious and internal decision based on the special position of the collective. Such situations, which refer to the irregular functioning of the game, are perceived naturally by the participants through the activity of doxa. Finally, the rewards corresponding to the economic, social, cultural, and symbolic forms of capital reflecting the illusio of the game, musicians can attain mostly through euphemistic performances compatible with the performative market, but only in exceptional circumstances through dysphemist performances.

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