

Market relations are generally seen as utilitarian, meaning that they are means to other ends, while friendships are ends in their own right. They are also fungible, as any seller is interchangeable with any other seller. Yet 'the features of instrumentality, fungibility, impersonality, and so on are neither peculiar to market relations, nor an all-or-nothing affair; rather, they are present in varying degrees in both market and nonmarket relationships, including friendship' (Badhwar, 2008: 312). 'Even relationships that come into being for purely instrumental reasons have a noninstrumental dimension,' argues Badhwar (2008: 314), 'because people are not mere instruments to each other's ends, but ends in themselves.' Friendship, economic production, and artistic production are motivated by similar desires to exercise 'creative or productive powers in worthwhile enterprises' (Badhwar, 2008: 314)

—Baym, p.290

- Do you agree with this assessment of market relations and friendships as overlapping?
- How does this play into fandom?

‘You can become great friends through social media,’ said Brian Travers, saxophone player for British reggae band UB40, ‘you can really be honest, really talk.’ Steve Lawson, an ambient solo bass player from England who has written more than 80,000 tweets, described friendship as the most important part of his musician-audience relationships:

I’m making friends with people who listen to my music and then I became a part of their life and they become a part of mine. And I am truly enriched by that. And the music becomes the soundtrack to that relationship.

‘I don’t like to call them fans,’ said O’Donnell, ‘Not anymore. They’re more like friends, people that are interested in my music and what I’m doing. [I get] three or four [emails] a day, and I’ll answer, and I have good conversations with people.’

—Baym, p.294

- Why do some artists do this and others don’t?
- Why do you think Baym doesn’t explore the reasons artists use social media so differently?