DEBATES

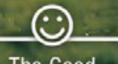## FOR THE DIGITAL AGE

THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY
OF OUR ONLINE WORLD

The Good

Danielle Sarver Coombs and Simon Collister, Editors

Debates for the Digital Age

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The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly of
Our Online World

Volume 1
The Good

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Introducing the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly of Our Online World

Simon Collister

One of the defining characteristics of contemporary society's metamorphosis from a hierarchically led, industrial, and largely national concept to a fragmented, postindustrial, and globalized space is the emergence and exponential growth of telecommunications networks and the Internet.[1]

This has radically altered the communities, politics, and media of traditionally private, localized sociocultural environments—transforming them into highly public, international networks of communication and mediation. Indeed, Livingstone goes as far as to assert that networks are "the archetypal form of contemporary social and technical organization."[2] Scholars such as Manuel Castells and Yochai Benkler conceive of this phenomenon at a macro level as the "network society"[3] or "networked information economy,"[4] respectively.

Without doubt, such developments have significantly impacted all aspects of our social and cultural domains. Yet, at the same time, the emergence of such complex factors has equally challenged the capability of scholarly research to adjust to the rapid "pace of change."[5]

Such a challenge in part accounts for creation of this text. In setting out to capture contemporary thinking on the Internet and its impact on society and culture, the authors sought to identify and address a range of issues less susceptible to change as frequently as Facebook's "Terms and Conditions" or be subject to the forces of changing consumer demand. Rather, the two volumes plot, analyze, and make sense of slowly shifting macro-themes of the sociocultural domain which—although not immediately evident—are likely to have long-term, far-reaching, and deeply profound effects on the world around us.

In making sense of such a varied and potentially complex thematic landscape, this book adapts an approach that echoes the work of other scholars who have developed typologies for interpreting diverse literature on networked culture, media, and politics.[6] In particular, we have drawn on both Chadwick's and Chadwick and Howard's distinction between optimistic/positive and pessimistic/negative approaches to the Internet's impact on society and culture. In their typology, optimistic perspectives understand the Internet as redressing the balance of power away from dominant—often elite—groups or spaces and returning it to networked communities of informal or amateur individuals. Conversely, pessimistic perspectives interpret the Internet as reinforcing traditional power structures, albeit in new forms.

This typology underpins the way in which the two volumes of this text are positioned. Optimistic perspectives are addressed in Volume 1, *The Good*, and pessimistic perspectives are covered in Volume 2, *The Bad and the Ugly*. Each volume is further subdivided into a series of thematic sections to enable contributors to undertake a detailed investigation into specific areas of Internet culture. Before setting out the specific themes covered in each volume, it is helpful to set the tone of *the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* by providing a summary of some of the broader shifts presently occurring.

THE GOOD

Optimistic analyses of the contemporary environment created by the Internet have conventionally articulated a vision of society and culture consistent with the idea of the public sphere as identified by German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas. For Habermas, the public sphere represents a space within society for people to freely meet, discuss, and act on the important issues of the day.

For optimists, the Internet plays a vital role in empowering and connecting individuals in a global public discourse that facilitates "communicative links between citizens and the power holders of society."[7] Broadly speaking, an Internet-enabled "networked public sphere"[8] operates as the 21st century's public space and be seen as a force for good—thanks to the expanded and accelerated flows of information and the increased interactivity between participants it generates.[9]

Specifically, Yochai Benkler explains a networked public sphere has "fundamentally altered the capacity of individuals . . . to be active participants . . . as opposed to passive readers, listeners or viewers" in the pursuit of social, cultural, and political issues.[10] Benkler goes so far as to argue that such an account of the contemporary public sphere, although aligned with Habermas's model, is *more capable* of accounting for the social and cultural complexity of modern democracies. By empowering all members of society—not

just well-educated, middle- or upper-class individuals—contemporary online communities can act collectively to perform a "watchdog" role and operate as "a source of salient observations regarding matters of public concern," and provide "a platform for discussing the alternatives open to a polity."[11]

A further reason for optimistic analyses of a networked public sphere is the Internet's distributed communications architecture combined with the low costs for producing and distributing information (all you need is a smartphone, tablet, or computer and an Internet connection). Both Benkler and Castells believe these low barriers to entry enable anyone with Internet access to shape (or reshape) the social, cultural, or political dimensions of everyday life. This "mass self-communication"[12] transforms the traditional power and influence of the mass media—typified as "more centralized, homogeneous and less pluralistic"[13]—into a decentralized, heterogeneous "social communication process"[14] characterized by a diverse and pluralistic range of participants.[15] As a result, it offers "avenues for citizen independence from mainstream news media and larger social forces."[16]

In addition to the social, political, and cultural diversity offered by the Internet, some scholars also argue that it provides a greater resilience to control by governments, states, or corporations. For example, the Internet is a communication network technically organized without any control or management by any central individual or organization. Thus, it crucially lacks any single central point of control, making it difficult to censor contentious or sensitive information.

This inevitably leads to "the emergence of multiple axes of information [that] provide new opportunities for citizens to challenge elite control of political issues"[17] and enhances "the potential for the media to exercise accountability over power."[18] Tewksbury and Rittenberg see this as a "democratization of the creation, dissemination, and consumption of news and information"[19] and Castells goes further by asserting that "mass self-communication" empowers individuals to "challenge and eventually change the power relations institutionalized in society."[20]

Such individual and collective efforts to challenge and transform social and cultural relations have been identified across a range of fields that use the Internet to share information and organize protests,[21] as well as in democratic politics for which networked communications have been used to facilitate increased engagement with and participation in democratic institutions.[22]

THE BAD AND THE UGLY

Although most scholars agree that the Internet is "bringing together individual citizens and informal networks through interconnected global webs of

public communication,"[23] the idea of the networked public sphere as a force for good is not without criticism.

One of the most persistent pessimistic analyses of the Internet draws attention to the issue of access. For example, significant parts of global society are on the "wrong" side of what is called the "digital divide."[24] As a result, the universal participation in political and cultural discussion is likely to be significantly limited to those individuals who have Internet access.[25] Conversely, some scholars argue that those members of global society who do have access also are biased toward affluent "elites."[26]

Scholars also have questioned whether the society, culture, and democracy being produced by the Internet follow the same ideals imagined in Jürgen Habermas's original model. They argue that, in reality, rather than enabling civic and democratic discourse fulfilling the lofty principle of improving society, the Internet merely is facilitating broader cultural trends characterized by an increased focus on lifestyle or entertainment content.[27]

Despite its disruptive nature, for example, scholars have pointed out that the Internet merely replicates traditional media consumption habits.[28] Thus, although in theory the Internet enables people to democratically select information that matters to them, the reality is that the information consumed by the public usually excludes political information of democratic interest[29] or is limited to content that mirrors users' personal beliefs.[30]

Pessimist perspectives of the Internet's impact on society and culture also challenge the view that it can overcome censorship. Hargittai, Mansell, and Dahlberg,[31] for example, assert that the traditional dominance of commercial elites is, in fact, replicated online. This process—termed by Dahlberg as the "corporate colonization of cyberspace"[32]—weakens, rather than strengthens, the Internet's potential for free democratic, social, and cultural discussion. Despite a perceived "communicative abundance" generated by the networked public sphere's low barriers to entry,[33] corporations are outmaneuvering the public's adoption of the Internet and are "hijacking" social communication tools—such as blogs and social networks—to continue and expand economic dominance.[34]

For some scholars, the commercial adoption of the Internet represents an even more troubling aspect of the transformation of the social, political, and cultural dimensions of everyday life. Dean[35] and Terranova[36] argue that corporations and political elites co-opt public and civic discussion online and use it to create the illusion of increased individual empowerment which, in fact, instead conceals a complete removal of individual agency. For Dean, the convergence of democratic ideals—such as participation and open access—and capitalism's colonization of the networked public sphere gives rise to a "communicative capitalism"[37] which captures political power in an ever-increasing "displacement of political conflict to the terrain of networked

media."[38] Moreover, every "click and interaction made in the networked media environment can be traced, capitalized and sold"[39] as "free labor" creating a "blurred territory between production and consumption, work and cultural expression."[40]

SUBTHEMES: ACCESSIBILITY, DEMOCRATIZATION, COMMUNITY, AND GLOBALIZATION

To help categorize and interpret subthemes such as accessibility, democratization, community, and globalization, the two volumes of this set are divided into three subthemes: accessibility to information; the democratization of everyday life; and community and globalization. Adopting these broad subthemes across the two volumes enables the contributing authors to isolate and perform a detailed study into—and make greater sense of—individual elements of Internet-enabled cultural phenomena.

The first subtheme, "*accessibility*," examines the opening of new markets and audiences for cultural actors, such as musicians and sports players; the freeing up of teaching and learning across informal, everyday spaces and not just in formal education settings; and the opportunities which the Internet presents for increasingly self-directed identity-formation and expression. This subtheme also challenges such constructive readings by pointing out how greater information accessibility also can lead to greater intolerance and reactionary responses by traditional elite groups, which simply undermine the Internet's potential to open up society and culture.

The next subtheme examined—"*democratization*"—encompasses a wide range of topics, including the political role of the Internet in empowering democratic engagement. The section highlights the Internet's increasingly important role in enabling and generating extra-democratic activism, particularly in the context of post-crisis Europe and the events of the Arab Spring. Crucially, it also raises important questions as to the real-world effects of such optimistic—yet largely theoretical—accounts of the Internet's democratizing power.

In the democratization section, the notion of democracy also is applied to broader, cultural topics such as the ways in which anyone with an Internet connection can create an identity (or identities) or build a commercially successful "personal brand," and what this means for self-management in an increasingly commercial space where traditional issues of privacy become challenged. Lastly, this subtheme addresses the ways in which journalism and the media increasingly are being held accountable for the ways in which they represent society and whether the Internet's democratization of news-making offers greater freedom or merely reinforces the same old problems.

The last subtheme—"*community and globalization*"—explores ways in which the Internet is used to transform communities at a local level as well as create globalized, participatory communities where specific, localized events increasingly take on a national or international significance. In doing so, the impact of these Internet-enabled transformations on community members, structures, and relations are considered from both a beneficial and a detrimental perspective. This subtheme also investigates specific features and concerns of traditional communities, such as health, education, and social mobility, and offers positive as well as problematic readings of how these phenomena are impacted by the rise of Internet-enabled individuals and groups.

VOLUME 1 CHAPTER SYNOPSES

Volume 1 opens with a comprehensive survey by Bailey that confidently examines the impact of the Internet on globalized audiences and cultural reception. Spanning the transformation in music consumption by a mobile-first fan base, to streaming services and the impact of wearable technology and virtual reality on art and the written word, Chapter 1 argues that despite some challenges, digitally connected audiences are capable of engaging with and producing cultural works in ways that offer a positive future for the arts.

Such positive outcomes on key forms of cultural production similarly are addressed in relation to the sports industry by Sanderson and Hull in Chapter 2. They argue that, despite the high-profile media coverage of social media sporting failures, multiple stakeholders have indeed benefitted from the development of digital technologies. They identify and discuss three key factors, including the ability of sports stars to optimize their identity and self-presentation, greater interaction with fans, and the opportunities for advocacy and activism. The chapter concludes with suggestions as to scholarly directions for further research.

In Chapter 3, Coduto offers a compelling narrative of the evolution of fan engagement and audience development in the music industry. Moving from the highly localized production of 'zines in the 1980s and 1990s, through the emergence of Napster, the rise of MySpace, and on to Radiohead's pioneering "pay what you want" approach, Coduto draws on personal experience from a transnational perspective to discuss the benefits of fan-band interaction and music industry innovation in a digital age.

In Chapter 4, Best offers a detailed analysis of a seemingly recent phenomenon, the "selfie." She provides a useful historical context to selfies, situating them within the broader theoretical framework of identity-as-performance—a notion that has become increasingly potent with the advent of social

media. By plotting the origins and enduring motivations of self-presentation, Best concludes that selfies can be best understood as contemporary instantiations of a "timeless human desire."

Skågeby and Rahm argue in Chapter 5 that online video-sharing sites—in this case YouTube—empower the public to offer instructional guidance to others on a wide range of topics, from video-gaming, to cookery, to kayaking. Skågeby and Rahm offer a succinct history of this "everyday expertise" and argue that such guidance can be conceived beyond the specific applications they cover and instead be seen as an increasingly seamless integration of the material and virtual realities of everyday life.

Although Skågeby and Rahm tackle the issue of how the Internet has transformed informal learning, in Chapter 6 Chorba and Hollis explore the Internet's impact on formal education. They explain emerging virtual online learning environments, such as massive open online courses (MOOCs), and set out a comprehensive account of some of the ways people use technology to learn. The chapter also maps the benefits the new tools offer.

Sharma's contribution in Chapter 7 undertakes a robust investigation of the ways in which new communication technologies have challenged and exacerbated some of the complexities facing the media regarding the protection of sources. Sharma argues that whistle-blowing to protect civic society is a long-standing and important part of modern democracy. To help us understand what this looks like in an Internet-enabled world, Sharma identifies some of the key new actors in this digitally networked public sphere, such as bloggers and citizen journalists; discusses legal and ethical issues in relation to digital whistle-blowing; and poses important questions for the future of research in this area.

Picking up the theme of how the Internet might enrich and empower modern democratic societies, in Chapter 8 Sola-Morales focuses attention on recent developments in Spain. Drawing on examples of online activists, such as the "15 Million Movement" and more formal political parties, such as "*Podemos*," Sola-Morales offers a theoretical framework for understanding such phenomena. She explores whether the evidence suggests that the Internet is making Spain's democracy stronger or instead merely is reinforcing existing power structures.

Echoing Sola-Morales' focus but from different geographic perspectives, Ponder and Sharma explore similar topics from a U.S. perspective in Chapter 10. In Chapter 9, however, Bacallao-Pino shifts the analytical lens to a much broader perspective by examining the role of social media tools in enabling sociopolitical change at a global level.

Chapter 11 examines the issue of how the Internet, and what Manuel Castells terms "mass self-communication,"[41] has given rise to what Baytko calls "the ground-up expert." Baytko focuses his analysis on the rise of

"frustrated office worker," Julie Powell, and plots how the emergence of blogging has created Hollywood stars from everyday people.

In Chapter 12, Lagore tackles a related issue: personal branding and how individuals can make use of social media tools per se to plan, create, and build a personal brand. Lagore then uses this framework for an investigation of what personal brands mean for the established, incumbent media and entertainment industries.

The impact of social media on journalism and the news industry is something explored in greater depth by Gershberg. In Chapter 13, Gershberg sets out how the growth of citizen journalists combined with the exposure of unethical practices by traditional journalists have caused a crisis of accountability in the news. But rather than seeing this as terminal shift, Gershberg argues that Internet-enabled journalism can expose poor standards and provoke a powerful "public discourse" about the state of the media.

In keeping with the theme of using the Internet to help highlight and broach social issues, in Chapter 14 Samuel explores how social media can be used as a tool enabling minority voices to enact change. By using the #CancelColbert hashtag campaign as a focal point, Samuel argues that social media was used to empower online communities to build a movement, to speak up without fear of censorship or gatekeeping by traditional media, and, moreover, to protect themselves when conventional models of social justice fail.

This notion of Internet-enabled communication prefiguring a model of "deliberative democracy" is more deeply explored by Kperogi in Chapter 15. In an analysis of a Nigerian online community, Kperogi draws on Habermas's theory of the public sphere to demonstrate how the Internet acts as a powerful tool in fostering "transnational, diasporic spheres of public discourse."

Having been introduced to the concepts of the Internet acting as a "transversal" or "transnational" platform, in Chapter 16 Tikkanen and Frisbie identify and undertake a fascinating examination of the ways in which the notion of time structures globally networked communication. Although previous chapters have looked at understanding the communicative effects of an Internet-enabled global discourse, in this chapter the authors focus on the ways the Internet—or rather the way users use the Internet to communicate—can structure meaning and influence interpretation of events. Specifically, they argue that although delays in asynchronous online discourse can be perceived as inferior to face-to-face interactions, it actually can offer opportunities for more creative and meaningful conversations.

One such criticism of online communication is that it fails to create "strong ties" between individuals and, in the particular case of social change campaigning, it is responsible for "slacktivism"—a pejorative term used to denounce ineffective, online-only activism, which often yields little or no tangible result. In Chapter 17, Boulton offers a rebuttal of such accusations.

He draws on a case study of the *KONY 2012* online campaign, which sought to highlight Joseph Kony's Lord Resistance Army as being responsible for abducting children to make them soldiers.

Finally, building on Boulton's optimistic argument for the power of the Internet to enable positive social change, Lingenfelter further explores the implications of how new technologies have—in broad terms—enabled much more effective public health communication.

CONCLUSIONS

The two volumes forming the present work gather together a range of topics, authors, and methodological approaches that the authors think will help move forward an understanding of the ways in which the Internet is changing (or not changing) the sociocultural domain. The assembled chapters have been selected to stimulate, provoke, and challenge, but also reassure scholars interested in Internet culture. Despite the rapid but arguably superficial changes in our networked society, at a macro level the transformations in the accessibility of information, the concordant shift toward the democratization of everyday life, and the effects this has on notions of local as well as globalized communities are evolving at a much more measured pace—albeit with much deeper and longer-term impacts on our sociocultural realm.

Lastly, although the authors believe that these volumes provide a good grounding for students and scholars of Internet culture, it is important to recognize that even the material contained within these two volumes eventually will be superseded by new and hitherto unthinkable changes. Returning to Chadwick and Howard's optimistic/pessimistic dichotomy, the authors also introduce a third position into their typology which they term "surprising."[42] This term is used to account for events that introduce entirely new and unrecognized ideas into the ways in which we understand society, politics, and culture in an Internet-enabled world.

This "third-way" offers a potent and constructive perspective on the ways the Internet is reshaping the everyday world and, importantly, suggests a conceptual escape route from attempts to lock scholarship into an "alternatively revolutionary or evolutionary" dichotomy[43] that "tends to treat media choice, source choice, and interactivity habits as distinct areas of inquiry."[44] Although this text focuses on arranging the contributors' analyses from a good/bad/ugly perspective, we are confident that new and "surprising" directions for future study and research into the Internet's impact on our society and culture can be glimpsed within these two volumes. Moreover, we intend for the collection to act as a springboard for the next round of enquiry into the ever-increasing and fertile domain of our online world.

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Part I

Accessibility

1

New Audiences, New Markets: Accessing Music, Movies, Art, and Writing at Your Leisure

Evan Bailey

NEW AUDIENCES AND MARKETS

Around the world, Internet users are moving toward a shared, global culture. A recent Ericsson ConsumerLab[1] survey of 23 countries found that more than three-quarters of consumers browse the Internet and half use social media daily. With the help of new technology, new opportunities are emerging for people to enjoy, engage, and share music, movies, art, and the written word.

Media usage is globalizing and audiences are evolving. Today's viewers are shifting toward inexpensive, on-demand services that allow multiplatform access to content. Regardless of where or how you receive your favorite content, the content is increasingly likely to be streamed, mobile, and wearable.

The advent of new Internet technologies and platforms also induces new debates on how artists monetize their work, copyrights are protected, and companies price content. The primary focus of this chapter, however, is the possibilities that the Internet and associated technology afford consumers, advertisers, and brand partners—and what is likely for 2015 and beyond. From nontraditional, new streaming players and content creators to the promise of new networks, the entertainment space is in full upheaval.

The global interest in streaming content in 2014 was remarkable, especially in the music sector. Although technology and Internet trends constantly evolve and are difficult to predict, streamed content looks to play a major role in how we access content for leisure in coming years.

MUSIC

According to Nielsen SoundScan,[2] streamed music grew 54 percent in 2014—from 106 billion songs streamed in 2013 to 164 billion songs

streamed in 2014. The gains in streaming were in stark contrast to the diminishing number of traditional downloads of songs, which dropped off significantly from 2013 to 2014. Paid downloads for full music albums declined nearly 10 percent in 2014, and individual song downloads dropped 12 percent.

As streaming services become more important to our global culture, fans of niche music genres are sometimes overlooked. In some cases, larger streaming services can have trouble keeping up to date with the frenzied creation of releases, bootlegs, and live sets, which often leaves fans to seek music on their own.[3]

In turn, music fans have turned platforms such as SoundCloud, which has been troubled with "takedown" issues brought about by copyright crackdowns initiated by major publishers and labels. Unlike services such as Apple's iTunes or Spotify, SoundCloud doesn't own a full music catalog because what's available to consumers is limited to the content that people and music companies upload. SoundCloud, like YouTube, also has copyright infringement tool, which halts the upload of copyrighted songs, or removes them from site when copyright concerns are raised; the current process, however, isn't perfect.

Some prominent artists, such as Kaskade, have mandated that their music be removed or their profile pages be deleted from SoundCloud. This has prompted pressure from consumers and artists for the involved parties to reach a solution. According to Bloomberg, SoundCloud is negotiating with Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, and Warner Music Group by offering the labels a stake in the private company in exchange for the right to continue playing the labels' catalogues without legal disputes over copyright violations.[4]

Besides copyright issues, even "too large to fail" music-focused social networks—such as Apple's Ping—were met with challenges in the past. Apple introduced Ping in fall of 2010, but began shutting down the service in 2012, and replaced it with iTunes Facebook and Twitter integration.[5] Streaming services such as Spotify, Pandora, and iTunes Radio—which at one point represented a new hope for an ailing music business—haven't been the financial successes that the record labels expected.

NEW APPROACHES

New for 2015, some companies are creating new streaming services that attempt to address some of the music industry's current challenges, including a revenue model. A few examples of these new approaches are YouTube's Music Key, Google Chrome Cast, and Beatport's new consumer-facing strategy.

Beatport Takes Aim at Millennial Culture

Online electronic dance music retailer Beatport plans to relaunch in 2015 as a free streaming service, to create a cultural hub for the large—but niche—millennial dance music audience. Prior to the relaunch, Beatport's 50 million users mostly were professional disc jockeys that used the site as a paid download service.

In 2013, Beatport was acquired by SFX Entertainment, a company solely focused on electronic dance music culture. The SFX portfolio also includes numerous large-scale dance music festivals around the world, such as Tomorrowland, Life in Color, and Electric Zoo. The new consumer-facing Beatport aims to link the real and digital world by offering a portal of integrated live experiences, streaming, and perhaps eventually live event ticketing. SFX feels the ad-supported service will provide advertisers an efficient way of connecting with an entire audience and cultural movement.

Richard Ronstein, CFO of SFX, Beatport's parent company, in a Q&A session stated, "Historically Beatport has been a music store for professional and pro-sumer DJs, which is really a download service. However, the consumer interest in this goes beyond downloads, and in fact, many of our consumers are not interested in downloads and paying for a song, they're interested in streaming."[6]

With a new focus on streaming and on the culture itself, Beatport is vying to position itself to become the destination for the electronic music community of DJ/producers and fans alike. The Beatport model also creates a new platform for advertisers and brand partnerships, created to reach the notoriously hard-to-reach millennials.

Ronstein's point also seems to elaborate on an April 2014 release about an update to its core technology, in which Beatport announced that it had developed an API (application programming interface) to help integrate partners with Beatport and advance elements of electronic music culture.[7]

The Beatport API provides access to the millions of electronic music tracks, licensed and streaming mixes, and sounds available in the Beatport catalog, plus Beatport's database of live dance music events. The SFX database of live events also potentially holds promise to link fans in the real world to fans online with the potential for user-submitted content and live event ticketing. The API is intended to evolve to include upcoming Beatport consumer features as well as music data and analytics, which provide a framework for developers to create new web, mobile and other apps, services, and partnerships.[8]

Instead of only selling songs, the new site reportedly will feature a free, ad-supported streaming service and include the ability for users to listen to Beatport's catalog of on-demand music.[9] In 2015, Beatport is likely to seek

select partners to explore and collaborate on this open API. The API will extend the next-generation Beatport platform, allowing for collaboration in line with the essence of electronic music culture.

YouTube Music Key

Google also has announced the launch of a streaming service called YouTube Music Key, which offers "ad-free music, audio-only playback, and offline playback." Millions of users already listen to music on YouTube, but Music Key allows them to hear their favorite tunes without advertisements. The awaited service will be available by invite only. At the time of this writing, YouTube Music Key only was collecting the e-mail addresses of interested users until the service becomes more widely available. According to CNN Money,[10] those who receive an invite will be granted a six-month free trial. After six months, the beta version will cost $7.99 a month, and the future standard rate will be $9.99 a month. The service will give users access to YouTube's vast catalogue of more than 20 million tracks, albums, remixes, and live sets. The audio-only playback means that users won't use their cellular data allowance. Users also will be able to play music without ads and offline via YouTube's current iPhone and Android phone apps.

YouTube is entering the streaming market at a time when widespread disagreement exists about whether streaming positively or negatively affects the music industry as a whole. The debate was brought to the forefront when Taylor Swift pulled her entire catalog from the popular music streaming service, Spotify, a week after the release of her highly anticipated fifth album, "1989."

Other Streaming Contenders

Another potential contender in the streaming arena is Beats Music. Apple acquired Beats in August 2014, and left some parties wondering about the fate of the service. Rumors have circulated that a Beats service could be included in an iOS software update in the future. The move would pit Apple in direct competition against Spotify which, although technically profitable, has suffered setbacks—including the spat with Taylor Swift and other artists who remain skeptical about the economics of streaming. By preloading the service on its devices, however, Apple potentially would gain an edge in promoting its own service over the competitors such as Spotify and Rhapsody. Such a service also potentially would keep consumers locked into the Apple environment.

Apple's $3 billion purchase of Beats Music was the biggest acquisition in Apple's history, therefore a dedicated push to make Beats Music an integral

part of Apple's hardware would come as no surprise, but such a move would mark an evident approval on the subscription-streaming-music model.[11] Apple historically has shied away from the streaming, but—given the state of slowing digital music downloads and a drop in iTunes Store sales—Apple needs to retain its positioning in the music market. To some degree, the Beats purchase would appear to be validation of the Spotify model. Apple also possesses inherent strengths to foster adoption of Beats. For instance, it could use its TouchID fingerprint reader as an easy way to subscribe to the service. The company already uses TouchID for mobile payments in stores and for in-app purchases.

Although receiving a service preloaded onto a device potentially helps stimulate consumer adoption, it doesn't guarantee success. Apple bundled iTunes Radio on its iTunes music app, for example, but the service hasn't taken notable market share away from the Internet radio giant Pandora. Integrating the service into iOS, however, could be a good entry point for first-time subscribers.

Google Chrome Cast

At the 2015 Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas, Google announced that it will extend its Google Cast streaming-media technology to work in audio-only devices, including speakers and home entertainment sound systems. Google Cast for Audio enables listeners to wirelessly control and send the music playing on an iOS, Android device, or Chrome browser right to new Google Cast–enabled audio gear.[12] Instead of a phone, tablet, or computer being source of the music or video, the Google Cast device pulls content from the cloud at the highest quality possible.

Spotify and Music Economics

Launched in Stockholm in 2008, Spotify has a library of more than 20 million songs and permits users to choose from millions of songs available over the Internet for free or by subscription. Spotify increasingly is seen as representing the future of music consumption. Users either pay for the premium service to stream music without interruption or they listen for free but with advertisements between songs. Per Sundin, head of Universal Music in Sweden, argues that Spotify—a service in which Universal and other big record labels have minority stakes—has saved the music industry, although not everyone agrees.

A decade after Apple revolutionized the music world with its iTunes store, the music industry is undergoing another—even more radical—digital transformation as listeners begin to move from CDs and downloads to using

streaming services such as Spotify, Pandora, and YouTube. What is certain is that streaming music services are changing the economics of music.

Spotify serves its audiences legally licensed music, thus the company generally has been embraced by an industry still affected by piracy. As digital music services grow into multibillion-dollar companies, however, the proportionate trickle of money making its way to artists is concerning to some. The way streaming services pay artist royalties is fundamentally different from the way the industry has paid royalties in the past. Previously, record royalties were typically a percentage of a sale. For example, for every dollar made, a typical artist might have received $0.07 to $0.10, after paying the label, the distributor, and other fees. Under the streaming model royalties are closer to a fraction of a cent. The royalties accrue over time and leave some to wonder if the total can amount to anything substantial.[13]

TV, FILM, AND STREAMING

By 2020, the number of TV sets connected to the Internet is expected to reach 965 million, nearly nine times the number connected in 2010, and 200 million homes are expected to subscribe to a video on-demand service. The average person now spends five hours per week watching TV, video clips, and films on the Internet. The surge partially has been driven by increased use of smartphones and tablets. As screen sizes become bigger and mobile Internet speeds get faster, mobile video viewing is only going to increase. YouTube revealed in 2014 that half of its video views now originate from a mobile device.[14]

For audiences, producers, and content, greater resolutions are preferred. A display device for content using 3840 x 2160 resolution generally is referred to as "4K resolution." Several 4K resolution types exist in the fields of digital television and digital cinematography, but YouTube and the television industry have adopted Ultra HD as the 4K standard. In coming years, the 4K standard likely will have a strong influence on device construction, Internet platforms, and mobile apps. For example, although Apple didn't clearly announce the capability during its iPhone 6 release, the device actually can play 4K videos. Quality is limited by the resolution of the screen, therefore the larger size and greater resolution iPhone 6 Plus technically is a better device for viewing 4K than is the iPhone 6. Although the iPhone 6 and 6 Plus can't record 4K video, rumors already circulating about the iPhone 7 suggest that it will include a significant upgrade of the camera, which might enable it to shoot 4K video. In turn, it's possible that new versions of Apple TV might add the feature.

The emphasis on 4K in the mobile device and TV category is where new developments such as the Netflix and Amazon 4K streams, increased

use of encoding, and the propagation of faster Internet connections are becoming a significant part of the Internet and home entertainment picture. Netflix also is promising to add much 4K content in 2015. Regardless of the costs, consumers are likely to be offered a much broader development of streaming entertainment in 2015 and growth in 4K-related streaming technologies and services. Consumers, broadcasters, and content creators could all potentially benefit from the developments, but some exceptions do exist. The benefits, however, are clear. With that in mind, the following are four trends in streaming 4K Ultra HD content that likely will emerge in coming years.

EXPANSION OF 4K CONTENT

To date, Netflix has offered 4K streams of various TV shows and movies since April of 2014. In December 2014, Amazon also rose to the challenge and offered 4K streams via their Amazon Prime Instant Video service. The two companies join a roster of other companies offering 4K streams, including DirecTV, Comcast, and Sony Unlimited Instant Video. These content broadcasters, and others, plan to extend their selection of 4K entertainment in 2015 and DirecTV has even launched two satellites to deliver increased 4K delivery.[15]

Financial models involving 4K are mixed. In some cases, companies are charging a premium for 4K content. New Netflix subscribers could pay $11.99 a month to access 4K TV. The "Action" service enables audiences to access four shows simultaneously, which is ideal for a family that owns multiple devices. Netflix has announced that it will use the fees to fund the production of more 4K UHD content, because filming new TV shows in 4K is a relatively expensive process. Increased costs are derived from the need for new cameras and production facilities for 4K UHD content, including for handling, storing, and streaming the huge amounts of data associated with the format.[16]

At the time of this writing, Amazon's 4K Ultra HD streaming service made much of its 4K content available to its Prime Instant subscribers in the United States at no cost. To use Amazon's 4K stream, however, viewers must have a compatible 4K TV built in 2014 (Samsung, LG, Sony, Vizio) or later and that can handle the app. Other brands almost certainly will join the list of compatible devices in 2015 and beyond.

LIVE 4K STREAMS

Live 4K streams are another technology to watch on the Internet for 2015. Live 4K sports broadcasts have already been conducted by several

broadcasters in beta tests delivered to small audiences. Sony, BBC, and several other companies delivered a handful of FIFA 2014 World Cup matches to small test audiences. These companies and others are working to make live 4K feeds a reality, and in 2015 we're likely to see some of the first widespread commercial broadcasts of live sports events in 4K, especially given that DirecTV's two new satellites are in orbit—and live 4K broadcasting is one of their primary tasks.[17]

ULTRA–HIGH SPEED BROADBAND INTERNET CONNECTIVITY

Because of the massive amounts of data that 4K streams use even when compressed or encoded, truly fast high-speed Internet is crucial to wider adoption. Internet service providers and broadcasters have accepted the challenge and a race to deliver faster connectivity to consumers is under way in some larger metropolitan areas.[18] The challenge entails an expansion of the number of homes that have access to high-speed Internet, and even includes introducing connectivity of 500 Mbps or more to subscribers in some areas. Currently, Google Fiber is a leading high-speed broadband Internet provider in the United States, but the goal is to increase speeds tenfold in order and blast the Internet into living rooms across the country. Although Google Fiber offers a marked speed advantage, the number of homes it actually reaches is small. The company set up a test network in Palo Alto in 2011 before rolling out its first commercial installation in Kansas City, Missouri, after strong public demand. The cities next on the list for deployment are Austin, Texas, and Provo, Utah.[19]

By 2020, it is estimated that billions of devices will be connected to the Internet. Ultra-fast Internet could have a substantial effect on our lives in the future. New mobile networks such as 5G could be a reality by 2020, with holographic video meetings, driverless cars, and automated homes being some of many applications of the technology. The 5G mobile networks fundamentally have the potential to overhaul how we communicate using the radio spectrum. At present, the radio spectrum humans use to communicate is mostly allocated. But 5G will increase the number of available channels, thus allowing a greater number of channels to operate simultaneously at higher bandwidths, with low latency and reduced power consumption. In other words, the 5G capabilities enable significant numbers of low-power objects to speak to other Internet-ready devices with decreased delay and extremely high stability.

Although 5G still is being researched and developed, the creation of the first truly global network could play a big role in a variety of fields, including health care, transportation, and home construction.[20] Additionally, such developments also raise entirely new privacy and security concerns for

consumers. What happens, for example, if hackers gain access to the "smart" products in your house?

4K STREAMING ON MOBILE DEVICES

The first wave of mobile phones featuring 4K screen displays went on sale in 2015. The capability to render UHD video will draw increased consumer interest for streaming 4K content on mobile devices.[21]

For consumers with Wi-Fi connections that enable them to download larger 4K streams, the first ultra-HD content from YouTube should be accessible for their 4K mobile phone screens at some point in 2015.[22] Additionally, 4K streams from a smartphone to an ultra–high definition TV also appear to be a possibility for 2015. In December of 2014, *PC Magazine* reported that new devices with a USB Type-C connector might support the new mobile high-definition link (MHL) 3 specification, which includes streaming 4K video. By the end of 2015, manufacturers are slated to begin replacing current USB 3.0 ports with the next-generation USB 3.1, to double the transfer rate from 4.8 Gbps to 9.6 Gbps.[23]

PERSONAL VIDEO DISTRIBUTION

With more user-submitted content being produced in 2014 than previously, 2015 will see more experimentation with how it is distributed. Applications such Snapchat and WhatsApp offer a more personal means of communication, and are ideal for reaching new and younger audiences.

In 2014, the Snapchat mobile application raised a remarkable amount of cash, putting the three-year-old company's valuation at more than $10 billion, according to Bloomberg.[24] Investors are seemingly eager to hitch a ride on Snapchat's incredible rise and continued growth. At the time of this writing, the app's monthly active user total was nearing the 200 million mark.[25] In 2014, Snapchat also announced the addition of Chat, a feature that enabled users to text and video message in real time. As personalized applications like Snapchat continue to grow and evolve, so does its user base of brands that are interested in using the platform to reach millennial audiences.

THE INTERNET, POSTMODERNISM, AND ACCESSING ART

Over the past decade, advances in technology have greatly affected the production and promotion of art. Electronic media techniques are incorporated by a majority of artists, and the use of the Internet by artists has had a substantial effect on how audiences access, interact with, and share art, as well as how artists promote and monetize their work. With advances in

website technology, blogging, and social media platforms, artists have new mediums for exposing artwork. Gone are the days of traditional brick-and-mortar galleries being the primary outlet for viewing and purchasing art. Today's artists can use the Internet to directly market artworks internationally.[26] The Internet is increasingly making its way into the museum and galley space through mobile apps and interactive technologies.

Has the Internet impacted art in a positive or negative way? The answer depends partially upon your vantage point. Of course, gallery owners might not like being cut out of the deal when the public buys art online. But with these challenges come new opportunities for museums and galleries in the areas of mobile applications and wearables. For artists, the Internet has been mostly positive and has presented many opportunities, tools, and platforms that previously did not exist.

Perhaps the use of the Internet and accessing art is most usefully analyzed through a lens of ideas usually associated with postmodern theory. Postmodern theorists could argue, for example, that the goal in any conversation—including those conversations that characterize art—is not to find the "truth" but simply to further the conversation. The Internet can function as a platform for these conversations. It is a place in which there rarely is a final answer, a conclusion, a finished product, or a "truth."

Before the days of the Internet, artists often would work in relative seclusion of their studios primarily. Promotion of their work was a somewhat limited and often costly endeavor. Artists typically would converse with the public by attending art shows or joining arts organizations. With the advent of the Internet, artists easily could go online and show new projects and involve themselves in a conversation with their audiences. Today's artists can begin a blog, create a Facebook page, upload their work to an Etsy page to display, and engage in conversation. In this manner the Internet opened up a major platform for discussion—one which had not existed previously. In some ways, the notion of discussion and deeper exploration by the audience becomes central to the definition of Internet art itself.

INTERNET ART

Internet art historically has been defined as a form of digital artwork distributed via the Internet, sidestepping the traditional nation of the gallery and museum system. Internet art delivers an aesthetic experience from the use of the Internet itself. Often the audience becomes part of the work of art through interacting with the artworks, and the artists who work in this realm sometimes are referred to as "Net artists."

Internet art can be created in a variety of forms and presentations. Websites, e-mail, software projects, Internet installations, interactive pieces, streaming

video, audio, networked performances, and even games, are all mediums used by Net artists. Internet art often overlaps with other computer-based art forms, such as new media art, electronic art, software art, and digital art.

POST-INTERNET ART

"Post-Internet art" is a fairly recent term circulating in the art world, and attempts to describe a growing development in the art world—one which could be one of the most noteworthy trends to emerge in some time. Contrary to how the term might seem at first glance, the key to understanding what "post-Internet" means is that the term doesn't suggest that technological advancements associated with the Internet are behind us.[27]

Instead, in the same way that postmodern artists absorbed and adapted the strategies of modernism for their aesthetics, post-Internet artists have moved beyond making work dependent on the novelty of the Web to using its tools to tackle other subjects. And although earlier Net artists often made works that existed exclusively online, the post-Internet generation—many of which have grown up with the Internet—frequently uses digital strategies to create objects that exist in the real world.

A handful of artists and galleries already are closely linked to post-Internet art, and curators are aiming to find ways to help these artists reflect our new relationship to images that are inspired by the culture of the Web.

DIGITAL MUSEUMS

For curators who wish to incorporate new technologies in museums today, the terms "online" and even "Web" have largely been replaced with "digital" as a description of such works. New technologies ranging from wearables to virtual reality are being used to enhance the museum experience—which challenges the notion that the computer monitor is central to digital experiences. Many museums have developed mobile applications, but apps can be expensive to develop and difficult to market and often "exist" primarily inside the museum itself. Some museums have developed less expensive alternatives—such as mobile tours—using WordPress and GPS technology to deliver customized experiences on a smaller budget.[28]

Along with mobile technologies, some museums are utilizing the quickly evolving field of wearable technology to interact with audiences. Although privacy can be a concern for some, the truth is that the next generation of museumgoers likely will rely upon some form of personal technology and augmented reality in their daily lives. Some museums are making use of wearables to provide personalized interpretation about art and potentially to create new types of museums. Regardless, technology and the Internet offer audiences

new methods for experiencing the modern museum. These technologies also potentially offer new ways of bringing art and museums into the home.[29]

GOOGLE ART PROJECT AND DIGITAL MUSEUM INITIATIVES

The Google Art Project was released to the public in 2011 as an online platform enabling audiences to access high-resolution images of art from the comfort of their own homes. The project was especially ambitious when it launched in 2011, as high-resolution zooming on the Web was in its infancy. Seventeen museums collaborated on the project with the single goal being to come together in a central platform that audiences could use to explore art in new and dynamic ways. The project now contains tens of thousands of collections, artists, artworks, and user galleries.

Along with high-resolution imagery, Google Art Project content also featured a cadre of tools and metadata to enhance the audience's understanding and appreciation of the artwork. For example, museumgoers could view a selected work, zoom in on it, compare it with another work, and then take a virtual tour through the museum by using Google's street-view technology.[30]

Since the release of the Google Art Project, other art institutions have followed suit. In December of 2014, the Freer Gallery of Art, the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and the Smithsonian Institution's national museums of Asian art in the United States released their entire collections online. The artwork now is available for both viewing and downloading for noncommercial use.[31]

The Freer and Sackler galleries are the first Smithsonian entities to release their entire collections digitally, and join a small number of other U.S. museums that have undertaken similar initiatives. Although Open F|S is the galleries' largest digital initiative it is not the first; the galleries participated in the launch of the Google Art Project.

The Smithsonian created the initiative with the goal of providing the public access to the images for noncommercial educational, scholarly, artistic, and personal projects. Additionally, the Smithsonian has made available a series of works in specific sharable formats such as mobile backgrounds, desktop wallpapers, and social media headers. The general public also is invited to participate in the initiative and offer "beta tester" feedback.

VIRTUAL REALITY AND THE VISUAL ARTS

In coming years, virtual reality and the Internet potentially could offer great opportunities in the world of museums, visual arts, video games, and even marketing. One company ready for that future is Oculus VR, an American

virtual-reality technology company. The company's first product was the Oculus Rift, a head-mounted display for immersive virtual reality (VR). In March 2014, Facebook agreed to acquire Oculus VR for U.S. $2 billion (in cash and Facebook stock). The Oculus Rift headset generated substantial media coverage and notable buzz in 2014, and is joined by a host of notable competitors. Google and Samsung plan to ship virtual reality sets to market in 2015.[32]

For museums, the first step is to re-create existing museums online, thus enabling audiences to visit, explore new environments, and share information and experiences. One such exhibition occurred in November 2014, when the Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center (part of the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum) in Virginia hosted the world-exclusive exhibition of the "Ranger" spacecraft from the Christopher Nolan film *Interstellar*. The exhibition included an immersive Oculus Rift DK2 experience, which enabled visitors to interactively explore the film's "Endurance" spacecraft via virtual-reality technology; experience weightlessness; and see views of the galaxy.

MOBILE AND STREAMING IN THE ARTS

Mobile technology has changed how the public experiences art. Anyone with a smartphone can enjoy art, either on-demand or on the go. Mobile technology can tell the artists about the participant, and vice versa.[33] Live theatre is one such area where artists are harnessing the power of Internet streaming.

In November 2014, The Globe Theater in London—the most famous Shakespeare venue in the world—launched Globe Player, a paid service that allows users to stream or download its productions onto their computers and mobile devices. Online audiences can watch more than 50 of the theater's past productions.

THE INTERNET AND THE WRITTEN WORD

Technology is constantly changing how people tell their stories. Before the invention of the printing press, people told stories orally. The printing press introduced books to the masses. Now technology has evolved into digital books. The invention of computers, tablets, and smartphones has changed the way we access the written word, read for leisure, and learn.

Today's textbooks no longer are strictly limited to flat text on a page with a few helpful images placed within the content. With the rise of technology comes a revolution in books, which are now interactive with Web-based content. While reading, students can make assessments with instant feedback, and readers can view animations that aid in understanding the content, view

additional material, watch videos, and experience other content that helps with learning. eReaders enable audiences to experience content. In 2015, half of American adults own an e-reading device, but research on how e-books affect learning is scarce.

The dialog over the merits of paper books and e-readers has been heated since the first Kindle debuted in 2007. The discussion ranged from the sentimental to the practical. From how well we comprehend the digital words found in e-books, to health concerns about how safe it is to read the e-books before we go to sleep at night.

Amazon—perhaps the leader in the e-reader movement—has been particularly disruptive to these previously held notions, especially regarding the old methods of doing business. The retailer's well-documented fights with publishers—such as the Hachette Book Group—have been played out in the media. Amazon's 2014 all-you-can-read venture, Kindle Unlimited, was a catalyst in the heated debate, both for and against the service, especially among self-published writers. The subscription service gives users access to more than 600,000 e-books and audiobooks for $10 per month.[34]

Both Amazon and Hachette had been seeking a deal once Hachette's contract with Amazon expired in March 2014, only to be briefly extended by the online retailer into April. The negotiations drew protests from authors on both sides of the dispute, including some who called for Justice Department scrutiny of Amazon's business practices, which often were characterized in the media as being aggressive.

Hachette eventually won a victory against Amazon: The ability to set its own prices for e-books, which the company sees as critical to its survival. The conflict, which played out in increasingly public forums as the year progressed, caused damage on both sides. In the media Amazon was cast as a bully, and a large group of authors called for it to be investigated on antitrust grounds, although sales were hit by the dispute. Hachette showed its weakness and consumers had difficulty buying certain titles. It seemed that neither party really won.

Amazon's supporters publicly questioned the need for Hachette, a relatively large publisher, to exist at a time when authors can publish on their own, digitally. Hachette never seemed to fully respond to the accusation. Even if Amazon did receive less than it wanted, the company still controls nearly half the market for books, a previously unheard-of portion of the market captured by one retailer. Some argued that the dispute showed that Amazon was not afraid to use its power.

KINDLE UNLIMITED PROGRAM

Controversy aside, the Kindle Unlimited program offers readers access to the written word in new ways. The service grants readers the freedom to

explore new genres and authors, with unlimited access to a wide and varied selection of books. Some Kindle Unlimited books also come with the free professionally narrated "Audible" audiobook. A related feature—Whispersync for Voice—enables users to switch seamlessly between reading and listening without losing their place. Using headphones, readers can continue enjoying their books when in the car, at the gym, or even in the kitchen. Readers can use the service on any device with the Kindle app installed, thus Kindle Unlimited can be used with or without a Kindle, and wherever readers might be located.

CONCLUSION

Whatever form content might take, the Internet and technology are enabling audiences to access music, art, film, and the written word for leisure in new and exciting ways. The future of this content is mobile, streamed, wearable, and increasingly connected to many facets of our lives at home, at work, in our cars, and for leisure.

Technology trends are implications of what today's consumers are looking for as they desire to work and live connected to each other via the Internet. Few aspects of our lives are unconnected. Humans constantly are connecting new objects and "smartening" every device so that it is informed of our choices and preferences. These technological advances have fostered a shared, global Internet culture with an appetite for inexpensive, on-demand services that allow multiplatform access to content.

This fundamental shift in our culture also has implications for content creators, advertisers, and brand partners. From streaming players, to the promise of new networks, to the debate over associated royalties, the entertainment space is in full upheaval. One thing is certain, however: New opportunities have emerged for people to enjoy, engage, and share music, movies, art, and the written word.

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The Positive Side of Social Media: Encouraging Developments from Sport

Jimmy Sanderson and Kevin Hull

The emergence of Internet and social media technologies has introduced compelling outcomes for multiple stakeholders in the sport industry.[1] Indeed, it seems that hardly a day passes during which the sport news cycle does not contain a story about an athlete or sport personality who has committed a social media miscue. In fact, some of these missteps seemingly live in perpetuity and can become standard talking points when discussing sport and social media.

In 2010, for example, University of North Carolina football player Marvin Austin began tweeting about his travels and penchant for spending money—characteristics that apparently piqued the interest of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) given their rules regarding amateurism. The NCAA subsequently launched an investigation into the North Carolina football program and Austin ultimately lost his eligibility.[2] In another instance, former National Football League (NFL) player Chad Johnson (nicknamed "OchoCinco") gained considerable notoriety for his Twitter activity and in 2010 was fined $25,000 for carrying his phone onto the sidelines and tweeting during a preseason game—a violation of NFL rules.[3] During the 2014 NFL season, Pittsburgh Steelers player Mike Mitchell responded to criticism from fans tweeting at him about his perceived subpar performance by sending one fan the following message, "You on the other hand kill yourself."[4]

Although there are certainly issues arising from athletes' adoption of social media platforms, these incidents tend to overshadow the notion that the majority of athletes who use social media do so in a positive manner. Focusing on only the negative side of athletes' social media use also ignores the benefits that athletes can derive from social media. Indeed, the frequency with which social media issues are reported in the sport media seems likely to influence the negative view that most sport organization management

personnel tend to have toward social media, particularly at the intercollegiate level.[5]

Accordingly, this chapter addresses some of the benefits that athletes obtain from using social media. These include optimizing identity expression and self-presentation; benefiting from fan advocacy; and engaging in advocacy and activism. As each of these areas is discussed, the relevant research that has explored each of these areas is reviewed. The chapter concludes by offering directions for researchers to traverse in future inquiry, along with a discussion of how sport industry practitioners can utilize this research to work with athletes to harness the power of social media and promote strategic and positive usage.

OPTIMIZING SELF-PRESENTATION

In 1959, Erving Goffman proposed that people acted differently based on the situation that they were in and the people with whom they were interacting. Goffman proposed the theory of self-presentation, in which he posited that people act in two distinct manners—one being a desirable image that they want to present to the world and the other being a relaxed image that they are more comfortable presenting only to those close to them.[6] To better explain this theory, Goffman used the idea of actors in the theater to demonstrate his propositions. Goffman posited that when people are on the front stage, their goal is to perform in such a way that the audience leaves satisfied. When those same actors are backstage with their friends and contemporaries, however, they do not have to perform and instead are more relaxed and able to reveal their true personality. Goffman suggested that people navigated between these two stages when interacting with different types of people.

Although self-presentation traditionally is linked to face-to-face communication, computer-mediated communication, including social media platforms, has enhanced people's ability to selectively self-present and to take more control over their public presentation.[7–10] For athletes, this capability is particularly important, as they are able to showcase aspects of their personality that fans do not normally see in traditional media broadcasts.[11] Previous to the emergence of social media, athletes primarily communicated with the public through traditional media channels. These interactions typically were moderated by public relations officials and media professionals who often would allow an athlete to reveal only very basic, front-stage aspects of his or her life. Social media, however, gives athletes the ability to speak directly to their fans and enables an athlete to reveal more of his or her identity. For fans this creates a scenario in which they perhaps feel as if they know the athlete better, because the fan gets a more personal view of the life of the sports star.[12] Navigating between front-stage and backstage personas,

however, can be a difficult task for athletes because of the large audiences that follow the athletes' social media postings. For instance, some athletes have millions of Twitter users following their updates, and therefore tweeting messages that are of interest to all followers can be challenging.[13] Despite this struggle, as more athletes have embraced social media, many have found these channels to be an ideal place to tell millions of fans about personal events in their lives.[14, 15]

These messages can be as simple as demonstrating their support for other sport teams, their shopping habits, or wishing family members a happy birthday.[16, 17] Such disclosures can cultivate identification and parasocial interaction among fans, who can utilize these messages to find similarity with athletes that is difficult to obtain through the lens of athleticism.[18] Sanderson, for instance, examined the self-presentation on Twitter by four rookie athletes in Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA), the National Football League (NFL), and the National Hockey League (NHL).[19] Sanderson discovered that these athletes shared topics such as their popular culture preferences, family experiences, and dedication to their sport (e.g., workout routines). One noteworthy manner in which these athletes used Twitter was to solicit information from fans, such as asking for restaurant and movie recommendations. Through sharing more of their identity with fans and going so far as to request information from them, athletes were able to appear "closer" to fans, an outcome that in addition to cultivating identification and parasocial interaction, could prompt fans to take action to defend and support athletes. In another study, Hull examined Twitter usage by professional golfers during the 2013 Masters tournament and found that golfers demonstrated more front-stage tendencies, such as promoting their endorsements, yet still revealed many behind-the-scenes stories as well.[20]

Whereas social media provide opportunities to optimize self-presentation, athletes could conform to traditional gender roles, suggesting that this capability might be underutilized. Lebel and Danylchuk investigated professional tennis players' self-presentation on Twitter and discovered that although image construction largely was similar between the two genders, male players skewed more toward a sport fan self-presentation, whereas female players tended to self-present more as brand managers.[21] Similarly, Coche explored the self-presentation of male and female professional tennis players and golfers on their Twitter accounts.[22] Coche discovered that women tended to predominantly present their femininity followed by their athletic persona, whereas males primarily self-presented as athletes.

The ability to optimize self-presentation via social media also enables athletes to counteract perceived negative media framing and to take more control over their public presentation when they perceive that it is being

misrepresented in the sport media. Sanderson examined Boston Red Sox pitcher Curt Schilling's self-presentation on his blog in response to two incidents—one in which his athletic integrity was challenged by a broadcaster and another in which he publicly apologized for criticizing fellow player Barry Bonds.[23] Sanderson discovered that Schilling employed three self-presentation strategies: (1) critic; (2) committed individual; and (3) accountable person. Using the critic personality, Schilling turned the tables and lambasted sport journalists in response to baseball broadcaster Gary Throne suggesting that Schilling had staged an injury during the 2004 American League Championship Series (ALCS). Through comments such as, "Instead of using the forums they participate in to do something truly different, change lives, inspire people, you have an entire subset of people whose sole purpose in life is to actually be the news instead of report it," Schilling was able to defend himself against this allegation.[24] More specifically, he was able to assume the role of a critic—an identity aspect that often is reserved for sport media members. Schilling's blog also enabled him to express these views without any filtering, which would have been difficult to do when using traditional media channels.

Schilling utilized the committed individual self-presentation strategy to counter perceptions that he was not a team player. One poignant reminder he offered included detailing the personal sacrifices he had made to keep pitching during the Red Sox's 2004 run to a World Series title.

> Remember this, the surgery was voluntary. If you have the nuts, or the guts, grab an orthopedic surgeon, have them suture your ankle down to the tissue covering the bone in your ankle joint, then walk around for 4 hours. After that, go find a mound, throw a hundred or so pitches, run over, cover first a few times. When you're done check that ankle and see if it bleeds. It will.[25]

Schilling used the accountable person strategy to take responsibility for his terse remarks about Barry Bonds. Employing statements such as: "Regardless of my opinions, thoughts, and beliefs on anything Barry Bonds, it was absolutely irresponsible and wrong to say what I did. I don't think it's within anyone's right to say the things I said yesterday and affect other people's lives in that way."[26]

As Schilling's case demonstrates, via social media platforms athletes are endowed with the capability to optimize their self-presentation, reveal more aspects of their identity, and counteract what they perceive to be negative public portrayals. As athletes navigate between front stage and backstage they also can create potential financial benefits. In their studies of professional tennis players' self-presentation on Twitter, Lebel and Danylcuck

found that female tennis players used Twitter primarily to create a positive personal brand through interactions with fans and also by promoting their sponsors.[27] Sanderson examined Florida Marlins player Logan Morrison's identity expressions on Twitter and found that Morrison's use of humor seemed to attract a large audience, which he capitalized on by promoting his corporate appearances and philanthropic efforts.[28] Thus, social media provides athletes with a platform to build a "brand" that can be strategically constructed to appeal to their organization as well as to corporate sponsors.

BENEFITING FROM FAN ADVOCACY

Whereas an athlete can directly advocate for himself or herself by countering perceived negative media framing and by promoting aspects of identity that could be silenced in traditional media, athletes indirectly receive these benefits from fans via social media. Indeed, through social media, fans can express support for athletes, combat an athlete's detractors, and advocate for the positive characteristics and attributes that an athlete possesses. Sanderson observed how Boston Red Sox pitcher Curt Schilling received social support from blog readers in response to the aforementioned incidents about which he blogged.[29] Schilling discovered that blog readers mobilized and authenticated his role as a sport media critic and proclaimed his legacy within Red Sox culture. Sanderson also noted that many fans posited that those who criticized Schilling were masquerading as Red Sox fans, and that expressing support for Schilling was an accurate indicator of whether one was a "true" Red Sox fan. Sanderson suggested that these messages from fans functioned as a form of public relations that Schilling received by merely posting his blog entries.

Athletes also could receive this benefit when they are experiencing personal adversity. For instance, Kassing and Sanderson investigated comments posted to cyclist Floyd Landis's Web site as he battled accusations that he had taken performance-enhancing drugs (PEDs) during the 2006 Tour de France, which he won. Ultimately, Landis was disqualified and stripped of the title.[30] Kassing and Sanderson found that fans conveyed support to Landis by expressing empathy and sympathy; confirming Landis's accomplishments and character; testifying about their belief in Landis; sharing that they possessed a common enemy with Landis (e.g., the United States Anti-Doping Agency, World Anti-Doping Agency); and by offering Landis support and tangible assistance such as monetary donations to his legal defense fund. Kassing and Sanderson contended that Landis's blog gave fans a mechanism to be more actively involved in his affairs, which included very elaborate and specific forms of support beyond general well-wishes.

In another study, Sanderson examined the differences in how fans framed professional golfer Tiger Woods's marital infidelity via his Facebook page as

compared to how these events were framed in the mainstream media.[31] Sanderson found that mainstream media reports framed Woods's infidelity as a "tragic flaw" a characteristic that previously had been difficult to find given Woods's performance on the golf course along with his previously tightly guarded personal life. Mainstream media reports also centered on the lurid details that accompanied the reports made by many of Woods's alleged mistresses. These examples were typified by comments such as, "two more blondes and a brunette were added to Tiger Woods's sultry scorecard."[32] In contrast, although a small minority of fans conveyed that they no longer would support Woods, the overwhelming majority of participants advocated that Woods was entitled to his privacy in handling these incidents, and that the infidelity merely functioned as evidence that Woods was human—just like his fans. Sanderson observed that social media enabled fans to become more involved in Woods's media narratives and to feel as though they were assisting him in dealing with his issues. Additionally, these messages also functioned as alternative frames that ran counter to how Woods was being portrayed in the mainstream media, and Sanderson suggested that athletes benefited from fans introducing these alternative narratives.

Moreover, athletes who admit their missteps could be more likely to attain these benefits as well. Sanderson and Emmons investigated responses on the Texas Rangers' community message forum after player Josh Hamilton held a press conference to address reports that he been drinking in a Dallas-area bar.[33] Hamilton had experienced a significant drug and alcohol addiction that had resulted in major league baseball suspending him for several seasons. Hamilton made a very dramatic comeback that included a public vow that he would no longer consume alcohol. During the press conference, Hamilton acknowledged that he had indeed consumed alcohol in response to some personal problems he was experiencing and apologized for his behavior. Sanderson and Emmons found that although some fans indicated that they were unwilling to forgive Hamilton for this offense, other fans expressed support and commended Hamilton for being accountable for his actions. Still others found commonality in Hamilton's addiction problems. These fans shared their own stories of addiction and conveyed how they found strength in their own struggles by identifying with Hamilton's issues. Similar to the findings in Sanderson's study of Tiger Woods, some people suggested that Hamilton's relapse merely was evidence of his human nature and still others justified Hamilton's behavior and suggested that in a sport that had been plagued by performance-enhancing drug issues, his alcohol consumption was a minor matter.[34]

Through social media, athletes become recipients of public relations work that is willingly performed by fans. These efforts appear to stem from identification and parasocial interaction, which in some cases can be cultivated by the manner in which an athlete engages in self-presentation via social media.

As fans become advocates they defend athletes against their detractors, thereby removing athletes from what likely would be unwinnable battles if the athletes instead directly combat their detractors. Indeed, Browning and Sanderson found that one way that college athletes deal with the criticism received via Twitter is to simply retweet the offending message and let supporters attack the detractor.[35] Thus, social media becomes a key platform where support can be cultivated and where the preferred representation that athletes desire along with messages they want to promote can be widely circulated. Athletes then can extend their influence beyond the athletic arena into the social media realm. In addition to sharing their personal battles, this capability enables them to engender reinforcement for political and social causes that they support.

ENGAGING IN ADVOCACY AND ACTIVISM

In addition to allowing athletes to showcase more of their personal life, social media also provide a platform for them to engage in advocacy and activism—a characteristic that some suggest is lacking in modern athletes, particularly minority athletes.[36] Whereas athletes might be reticent to engage in advocacy via traditional media broadcasts, as illustrated by former NBA player Michael Jordan's famous quote, "Republicans buy sneakers too,"[37] it could be the case that social media presents a less threatening (although equally public) format for athletes to advocate for social and political causes.

In November 2014, for example, after the grand jury in Ferguson, Missouri, elected to not indict police officer Darren Wilson in the shooting death of Michael Brown, an 18-year-old African American male, NBA player Kobe Bryant tweeted, "The system enables young black men to be killed behind the mask of the law #Ferguson #tippingpoint #change."[38] In another noteworthy case, Schmittel and Sanderson investigated tweets from NFL players in response to the Trayvon Martin–George Zimmerman case verdict.[39] After Zimmerman was found not guilty, several NFL players received significant media attention for tweets about the verdict, including Roddy White who commented, "all them jurors should go home tonight and kill themselves for letting a grown man get away with killing a kid" and Victor Cruz who stated, "Thoroughly confused. Zimmerman doesn't last a year before the hood catches up with him."[40]

In the study's sample, which included the 15 players from each team who possessed the most Twitter followers in the 12-hour period following the verdict's announcement, the researchers found that athletes expressed their anticipation for the verdict then conveyed their disbelief when the verdict was announced. Additionally, they discovered that athletes also provided critiques of the criminal justice system and offered social commentary, while

simultaneously defending themselves against fans who were displeased with their advocacy efforts. Many of these athletes elaborated that they were entitled to their views and that there were more important things than football games. Interestingly, the majority of athletes offering commentary were African American and, with one exception, the few white players who weighed in suggested that athletes needed to stay off Twitter regarding the verdict and that the American justice system, although perhaps imperfect, was the best system available. Schmittel and Sanderson observed that, via Twitter, athletes also could extend their influence into political and social arenas and the propensity for them doing so was more likely, given the convenient posting features offered by Twitter.[41] Although pushback and resistance from fans might prevent other athletes from engaging in activism via social media, they seem to be willing to get involved on these platforms. Thus, athletes' activism can become more pronounced on social media, as opposed to traditional media; constraints often exist when athletes attempt to weigh in on social and political issues via traditional media.

In addition to social justice issues, athletes also can engage in advocacy related to their sport. This is particularly pertinent in the realm of intercollegiate athletics, because monetary issues often jeopardize the sustainability of what often are considered "non-revenue" sports (at most schools this generally means every sport except football and men's basketball). Hull examined how athletes at the University of North Carolina–Wilmington used Twitter to save the men's and women's diving and swimming teams from being eliminated.[42] Hull found that these athletes used Twitter to alert as many people as possible about the planned cuts, thus becoming opinion leaders and prompting their followers to rally behind their cause. These efforts included engaging celebrities via Twitter to join them in their cause and retweeting those messages of support when they were received (Olympic swimmers Ryan Lochte and Ricky Berens were two notable celebrities who did tweet messages of support). Ultimately, these athletes were successful and social media was a key resource in their advocacy efforts. Indeed, one of the athletes noted,

> Social media was a priority. In today's world, you can spread news like wildfire online. We knew it would be the fastest and easiest way to get the word out. I've never been huge on tweeting, but this was more important to me than anything else. I just wanted to make as much noise as possible and show how much it means to me.[43]

Another athlete commented,

> I think if this had happened 15 years ago it would have taken over a month to get to the level [of support] we did in just a week or so. I am

so thankful we had social media to use as a resource. We wouldn't have been able to stir up enough trouble in the time we had without it.[44]

Via social media platforms athletes can engage in activism and advocacy and—given the public visibility of many athletes—can dramatically circulate the reach of a message as their followers and fans retransmit the message. Additionally, for cases in which advocacy causes are time sensitive, social media platforms possess significant utility to mobilize supporters and spur collective action expediently. To be sure, athletes are subject to criticism via social media for these endeavors and could find themselves in conflict with head coaches, athletic directors, general managers, and other organization personnel members. Nevertheless, this issue remains an important one for scholars to monitor and investigate, as athletes broadly might be more likely to weigh in on social and political issues via social media. Given the interactive nature that underpins social media, social and political issues might provide valuable opportunities to examine the interactions between athletes and fans—which offers unique avenues to extend the literature on this subject.

POSITIVE SOCIAL MEDIA USAGE: DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter discusses three benefits that social media provides to athletes, (1) optimizing self-presentation; (2) benefiting from fan advocacy; and (3) engaging in advocacy. There certainly are more benefits to using social media, however, and there are number of exciting directions for researchers to explore. With respect to self-presentation, much of the work to date has centered on Twitter, and although this is understandable given that Twitter appears to be the platform of choice for athletes, it is important to examine other platforms as well, particularly visual sharing platforms such as Instagram and Snapchat which seem to be growing more popular.[45] How might the self-presentation on these channels differ from the self-presentation shared on Twitter? Are there gender differences that are similar to those in the literature on self-presentation and Twitter?

Additionally, it is important to explore how amateur athletes are performing self-presentation via social media. These athletes might be subjected to more intensive monitoring than are professional athletes (at least at the intercollegiate level) and therefore they might be more scripted or "safe" in their self-presentation.[46, 47] Another area of self-presentation to consider is the manner in which acclaimed high school athletes present themselves on social media. Given the intensity that accompanies the collegiate football recruiting process, it would be fruitful to analyze how these particular athletes

present themselves, in addition to determining whether certain presentations might affect player attractiveness to college programs.

Another area for researchers to pursue is determining the motivations underpinning fans engaging in supportive behaviors toward athletes via social media. Such behavior could be a function of fan identification, attachment, or a parasocial connection with the athlete, but there might be other factors that influence this behavior that also could be important to illuminate. One potential variable to consider in such an examination is whether there has been a prior interaction or acknowledgment (retweet, response) between the fan and athlete, as this could contribute to a fan's willingness to engage in advocacy on behalf of an athlete. Another area of inquiry in this topic involves the labor that is willingly performed by fans on behalf of athletes. Essentially, athletes receive this benefit at no cost. As a result, does this create implications that should be considered? In other words, is it ethical for athletes to elicit this behavior from fans, as it could be considered to be taking advantage of them? One final area to pursue in this domain is whether fans advocating on behalf of an athlete possess the capability to change dominant narratives about the athlete that are introduced by mainstream media outlets. Along those lines, it is not uncommon for an athlete to tweet at a sport journalist if they feel that they have been unfairly criticized or portrayed. How these interactions affect sport-reporting practices would be a compelling line of inquiry.

With respect to athletes engaging in advocacy, future work could investigate the response that athletes receive from fans for their advocacy and activism efforts. Are fans supportive? Do they retaliate negatively? Illuminating these reactions might shed light on barriers to athletes performing advocacy and activism via social media or could demonstrate ways that this behavior is reinforced and authenticated by fans. Social network analysis also could be utilized to examine how the messages that athletes disseminate spread across social media to better understand if these messages are more temporary or permanent in nature.

PRACTITIONER IMPLICATIONS

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, social media missteps by athletes tend to be the predominant way that athletes' social media use is framed in the mass media. Consequently, it is not surprising that many coaches and administrators possess negative attitudes regarding social media. Nevertheless, as this chapter has demonstrated, social media possesses benefits for athletes. Considering the prevalence of social media adoption and usage—particularly in the younger demographics—it is unrealistic to expect that significant numbers of athletes will abandon social media. It therefore is important that athletes receive education about the ways that social media can be

utilized. Ideally, this education would begin at a young age, informing athletes that social media is a tool to optimize self-presentation and to build a personal brand that can make one attractive to relevant stakeholders. With the widespread nature of social media monitoring by employers, post-secondary admissions personnel, and internship program coordinators, helping younger individuals take control of their social media profiles likely can help to prevent negative future repercussions.

Additionally, when it comes to topics such as engaging in activism and advocacy, it could be worthwhile for sport organizations to consider the boundaries with which they are comfortable. This includes being mindful of freedom of speech elements, and potential pushback that could come from outside parties (e.g., the media) for what is perceived to be censuring an athlete's right to expression. Setting the boundaries and providing guidelines for social media usage (generally through the form of policy) might foster positive relations between athletes and administrators and transform what often is a confrontational subject into a harmonious one.

In conclusion, social media have rapidly proliferated across sport, creating a variety of positive and negative outcomes for multiple sport stakeholders, including athletes. As athletes often form the most visible stakeholder group and tend to be heavy users of social media platforms, it is important that positive behaviors are identified and cultivated. Clearly, there always will be missteps, as is the case with any new communication medium. Nevertheless, helping athletes understand "best practices" can ease the strain on administrators, coaches, parents, educators, and others. Indeed, it is important that when the social-media story is presented to athletes they are provided the proverbial "both sides."

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3

Reaching the World with One Song and a Few Mouse Clicks

Kathryn Coduto

I found myself in the front row of Brixton Academy in London in May 2012. I was pressed against the small fence that wrapped around the front of the venue, surrounded by girls dressed in black, bouncing where they stood as they waited for the headlining act to take the stage.

We were waiting for London-based indie band the Horrors to take the stage. Previously, 4,000 miles had been between this small band I had grown to love and my hometown in Ohio. Five years after first discovering them, I was mere feet from their lead singer.

My deep love for this band came from the Internet.

THE INTERNET AND THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

You are likely familiar with the birth of the Internet; its history is now a standard part of high school and college courses. A tool that people around the world now use daily—and often constantly—began as a vague idea of electronic possibility in the early 1960s. Researchers had a notion that computers could be connected and could communicate with each other from different locations, but they had only nascent ideas as to how that interconnectedness would come to life.[1]

Fifty years later, the Internet is one of the fastest growing and widely used technological advancements in history.[2] It has evolved from a niche interest for the tech-minded to a tool necessary for a variety of jobs and endeavors. The Internet no longer is just for programmers or specialists; now it is for everyone. This means that the Internet is not used just for work; instead, the Internet now is a major source of entertainment.

In a typical day, you can log onto your computer and watch an episode of your favorite television show. If you don't want to watch the show alone, you

can chat with your friends in a separate window in a social network of your choosing. Your conversation does not even have to be restricted to one person; you can broadcast your thoughts to a network that you create and cultivate. Not in the mood for television? You can check the news, read sports scores, play games, and take quizzes—whatever your interest, the Internet provide it and can deliver it to you instantly.

When talking about the Internet and the explosion of readily available entertainment, the music industry must be discussed. The music industry arguably has changed the most due to the birth of the Internet and the increasing availability of music on the Internet by artists both established and fledgling. Your typical day might involve watching a show or reading an article, but it also likely involves streaming music from one of a variety of platforms available at your fingertips, and typically at no cost to you. The Internet is divisive in the music industry, but it is revolutionary and it is here to stay.

If you are an artist, the Internet is breaking down boundaries that before would have prevented you from reaching what could be your biggest fan base. If you are a music fan, the Internet brings you music that before would have been out of your reach for months or years—if not forever. The Internet, although controversial, is important in connecting fans and musicians from around the world.

THE SLOW SPREAD OF A MUSICAL MESSAGE

In 1990 in Olympia, Washington, young kids crowded into tiny venues to see a woman scream at them. Hundreds of people jammed themselves into punk rock clubs to see Kathleen Hanna and her band, Bikini Kill, perform— knowing little about the band except that their lead singer was often ferocious and that their music was a powerful force. Hanna and her band published a small magazine, also called *Bikini Kill*, and used that magazine to spread the word about their band and the beliefs of the band. The "fanzines," as they are called, were handed out to people the band knew and to people—especially girls—who attended their shows.[3] It took considerable work for Bikini Kill to get their message out within their own city, much less their own state.

The band worked from the ground up, making connections with other bands and artists who could help spread their music and message. It took time, but the "Riot Grrrl" Movement that Bikini Kill is credited with developing eventually found its true home in Washington, DC, all the way across the country from its founders' home of Olympia. The band was not only looking to share its music but also the message behind it, specifically the idea of equality for women. Hanna said in an interview with *The AV Club* that she knew touring was important in reaching the appropriate audiences: "I felt like going out on the road and mixing it with music—which is something young

people are always really interested in—would be a good way to proselytize."[4] Hanna and her group believed in what they were doing and put in the effort to reach audiences across the country. Their journey from Olympia, Washington, to Washington, DC, would take them nearly 3,000 miles to reach people with whom their music resonated.

Meanwhile, it took three more years before Hanna became fodder for the press, a woman worthy of both praise and criticism, a figure that represented hope to some and angst to others, all because of the message of her music and her performance.[5] It took nearly five years from Bikini Kill's beginning before they had both an established fan base and a position within a regular cultural discussion.

Kathleen Hanna and Bikini Kill didn't have the Internet to accelerate the spread of their message—not in their own country and definitely not internationally.

LOCAL SCENES GROW IN THE 1980s AND 1990s

Music throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s typically was scene oriented, especially if it was music that was considered outside of the mainstream.[6] Your Madonnas and U2s and Janet Jacksons did not worry about having a local identity so much as creating something much, much larger. Their label backing and strings of hits made the world their playground after years of legwork to achieve breakthroughs. For these artists, conquering the United States through radio play was all they needed to translate their success into something greater and wider.[7]

For many independent musicians, though, the essential start came by honing a specific sound within one's hometown. Independent music often is associated with a specific region, regardless of genre. There are certain sounds ingrained within each artist or group.[8] Cities could be close physically, but one's given sound could be completely different from that of a neighboring town.

The Seattle scene is a prime example of a "local formation" in the 1990s. Grunge music is associated with Seattle, and the brand of rock music that Seattle bands including Nirvana, Soundgarden, and Stone Temple Pilots produced was unlike anything else being released at the time.[9] The bands who were playing around Seattle—including the aforementioned Bikini Kill, who had a hand in naming Nirvana's signature song, "Smells Like Teen Spirit"— were feeding off of each other and using each other as a check for what sounded good and interesting.[10] It is not to say that these bands existed completely in a bubble where they only heard each other's music. Instead, these Seattle musicians were aware of what the biggest movements in music were nationally—hair metal and boy bands seeming to be the dominant two

types—and decided that that was not the sound they wanted to be associated with.[11] The goal was to create something that was distinctly their own.

Of course, radio play still mattered. It was the quickest, easiest way for a label to guarantee exposure to a new group. Writer Greil Marcus likely put it best when describing his thoughts to *GQ* magazine upon first hearing "Smells Like Teen Spirit," which took the Seattle scene from Seattle to the world: "I've experienced that with other records very few times, where just suddenly something new on the radio makes everything around it seem false."[12] Nirvana finally broke through, but only after connections were made through mutual friends (specifically Sonic Youth's Kim Gordon recommending Nirvana to the label) and a single made it to the radio.[13]

Would Nirvana have had the lasting impact that it does if the Internet had been available to spread their sound to more eager listeners at earlier stages of the group's career?

SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

I joined MySpace during my freshman year of high school in August 2006. At the time, MySpace (which made its online debut in 2004) was an exciting proposition—it was one of the first ways I could stay in touch with my friends outside of school that didn't involve sitting on the phone with them and re-hashing the day's events. It was a good way to combine blogging, messaging, and quick comments. MySpace helped with the earliest versions of personal brands online.[14]

One of the biggest benefits of MySpace came from its integrated music service, which even in its fledgling days was a powerful tool for new bands to reach audiences previously unheard of. It wasn't just that you could discover bands on MySpace—which was clearly huge—but MySpace users could endorse bands by including one of their songs as a "profile" song. For me, at age 14, including a band's song on the page was one of the most appealing aspects. I loved associating myself with different musicians and what they represented.

When I discovered the Horrors—a post-punk band based in London and originally from Essex, England—on MySpace later in 2007, it was important not just because I could listen to them but because I could show my small world who this band was. A casual MySpace search through "punk" music brought me to the Horrors, but my unyielding interest exposed them to even more people in a short amount of time. MySpace created a bridge that spanned nearly 4,000 miles to London, and then I expanded that bridge by incorporating songs from the group's debut album into my MySpace page in the coming months. If I had not joined MySpace, then I never would have heard of the Horrors in 2007 while I was a freshman in a U.S. high school.

The Internet evolved from MySpace into other social platforms, however, especially for music, so there is a chance that the Horrors and I still would've been brought together.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MUSIC BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE INTERNET

So why does this history lesson matter? What difference does it make that Bikini Kill had to travel thousands of miles just to spread a single message within their own country? Why does the formation of a local music scene matter at all—especially if the birth of one scene ultimately led to success for both the band behind the hit and for those musicians around them?

These events happened without the Internet. Music fans had to work just as hard to hear their choice of music as the musicians worked to expose their music to audiences. Additionally, if a band had a message it wanted to share—as in the case of Bikini Kill—then it needed an audience to receive that message. For music fans at that time, it also was much harder to find a band whose message mattered. The value in knowing how things were in the past is that it enables today's listeners to fully appreciate what they have before them—a world full of music that can be played almost completely uninterrupted if a listener so desires, and the ability to access music that the listener specifically wants to hear. Before music was a regular commodity online there existed a strong physical limitation to finding it. Whether physically attending a show to hear a group, or going to a record store and searching through piles of records to find one that *looked* like it might sound good, music fans had to be much more involved—far beyond keystrokes and mouse clicks.

The Internet has been good to both musicians and fans, especially in connecting fans around the world with musicians that they can truly invest in. In doing so, the Internet has opened fans to new cultures, new ideas, and new messages—much like Kathleen Hanna envisioned in her travels in the early 1990s.

DOWNLOADS READILY AVAILABLE—FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE

A large part of the online music revolution came with the invention of Napster, a product that frightened labels and enticed music fans equally. Napster came online in 1999[15]—just a few years after the dissolution of both Bikini Kill and Nirvana. Napster was the pinnacle of peer-to-peer software; as such, it also became the target of the wrath of label heads and the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA).[16] Napster and its ilk were different from Apple's iTunes Store, which offered the first legally available downloads

in 2003.[17] Peer-to-peer downloading not only provided listeners with a free option for music to come to them, but it put the power in the hands of those doing the sharing. Music came from users and was delivered to users—all free of charge. Peer-to-peer sharing had even stronger selling point: Users could download entire discographies, not just albums or songs. If a user liked one song, it was easy to safely acquire everything the artist had done without having to purchase any of it.[18]

As the RIAA fretted over what peer-to-peer downloading would do to the industry and brought numerous lawsuits against specific users who were caught engaged with the technology, consumers had been given a taste of what the future could be for avid music listeners. Suddenly, listeners did not have to rifle through import albums in a store or wonder what their counterparts in Australia were listening to. Napster made everything readily available—right at the user's fingertips. There was no turning back; consumers now could connect with new artists and with each other.

THE BENEFITS OF DIGITAL FOR LISTENERS

The availability of digital files eradicated two roadblocks to buying and experiencing music: Sampling and importing.

Sampling

For centuries people have loved music. But it takes trial and error to figure out which music makes a listener the happiest, to decipher which rhythms and words will have the longest lasting effect. Listeners grow up hearing the music that their parents, siblings, older friends, and relatives hand down through time; they are exposed to musicians and albums by people who hope that the sharing will bring something exciting to the life of the new listener. The listener's—and consumer's—earliest experiences with music come from other people and their musical tastes.

There comes a time, however, when a listener discovers music on his or her own, and begins defining a new taste outside of what he or she grew up hearing. Instead of rifling through racks of records or bins of compact discs, though, such discovery now takes place on the Internet. When a listener is ready for a new sound, all he or she must do is go online and search for whatever it is he or she is trying to experience.

The idea of sampling a song or album before buying it is enticing to listeners. It is a safety net; it makes consumers feel that they are making an educated and, ultimately, safe choice. Instead of buying an album at random because of the artwork or name recognition from a chance listen to the radio, a consumer can buy music that already feels familiar.[19] Peitz and Waelbroeck

conducted research on the idea of consumer sampling in 2006 and found that sampling did not just benefit consumers; it could, in fact, lead to greater profits for the music industry. This is because fans are operating in a "multiproduct" setting that provides greater product diversity and therefore more options that are likely to fit with what a fan wants to hear.[20]

In 2006, research also was conducted on digital rights management (DRM), a technology that could be embedded into songs that were legally purchased online to prevent them from being reproduced. Digital rights management is defined as "the technical systems and technologies that digital publishers and copyright holders use to exert control over how consumers may use digital works."[21] A song that was embedded with DRM could be played using specified products and operating systems—for example, early iTunes store purchases were embedded with DRM and could be played on an iPod. Purchases from iTunes would not work with other hardware or operating systems, however, and it was illegal to try to save the purchases if a listener wanted them to work with a new operating system. From 2006 through 2009, DRM was a regular discussion in the music industry, as it hardly battled piracy and only made it more difficult for those who legally wanted to share music with others.[22] If a listener's friend used Zune and the listener had purchased an iTunes song, the legally purchased track still only could be loaded on the purchaser's iPod. The research in 2006 showed that files that were easier to download could still help legally sell music—in part because listeners might illegally download some tracks but, once familiar with the music, would purchase an entire album because it was familiar and usage was unlimited.

However, the discussion around DRM-free music went beyond the ease of download for listeners who were looking to sample music before adding it to their collection. DRM-free music also brought awareness to the social-networking effects music could have on people, just as the earliest versions of social networks were being unveiled and adopted by the general public.[23] With DRM-free music widely available and songs easier than ever to download and share, conversations about that music were happening across platforms. The discussion was not limited to a record store or coffee shop with the usual suspects; instead, a user on MySpace based in Connecticut could connect with a user in Brazil over shared love of a given song that both users could access easily and equally. Digital rights management enabled easier interactions and discussions about music that inevitably bridged cultural gaps.

Imports

Beyond sampling, digital music encourages adoption of imported music. With the distribution of vinyl records and then compact discs, imported

music had to be pressed in a given country of origin and then shipped world-
wide—meaning that, in many cases, demand determined what product was
sent where. For a store to carry specific albums, people had to be asking for
those albums. This meant that lesser-known bands from around the world
often were relegated to their city to sell their records and spread the word.[24]

Research conducted at the University of New Orleans in 2006 showed
that digital file sharing did, in fact, impact sales of compact discs, determining
that digital downloads could decrease physical sales over time.[25] As digital
recordings became more prevalent in the early to mid-2000s, physical sales of
compact discs dropped. The increase in digital downloads, however, means
that consumers were finding the songs and albums they wanted with greater
ease—it also means that more artists were gaining more exposure to new fans.
Risk-taking music consumers were gone, with more assured consumers taking
their place.

What this meant for imports, though, is that albums that originated over-
seas no longer were risky purchases. Instead of having to spend more money
for an album that was unfamiliar to the listener, imports became equal with
music that was made in the consumer's home country. An artist in India
could release an album to a peer-to-peer network, the iTunes Store, or an-
other online entity and garner the same exposure as artists in Japan and the
United Kingdom. All the artist need do is upload a song and let fans find the
music.

Two of the most impactful benefits of digitalization in the music industry
are sampling and the normalization of imported music. These two benefits go
hand in hand; sampling enables listeners to know what they are buying before
spending any money, and the normalization of imports means that interna-
tional artists have a fair chance at exposure in countries that they previously
never would have been able to traverse. Digitalization is a win for fans and
musicians.

OVERCOMING GEOGRAPHY

Knowing the history of bands and the music industry before the Internet
became a factor, and understanding two key benefits of digital music and
some of the story of music going online, we can draw this conclusion: The
greatest achievement of the Internet's marriage with music is how it over-
comes geographical boundaries that previously never would have been bro-
ken down. This is how cultures come together and people can find similarities
instead of differences; as borders melt away, greater connectivity occurs. Fans
have more options of what music to listen to than ever before—and they can
exercise their options on the same technology that they use to call their
friends and take pictures. At the same time, musicians can gain exposure to

new audiences, determine early on where they should tour, and know where their best chances are for the greatest exposure.

Before the Internet provided such ease of accessibility, bands such as Sonic Youth—the same band that referred Nirvana to their record label—had to travel the world to raise awareness of their music. When the band formed in the 1980s, it began traveling the United States with like-minded bands to show people who they were.[26] The group of bands struggled as it traveled throughout the Midwest, however, rarely finding receptive crowds and often met with confusion. Performance attendees knew only what little they might have read in (small) magazines, and the musicians were rarely paid for their performances.[27]

After touring the United States, the Sonic Youth finally went to Europe. The band found that it had to do much of the same work it had done in the United States: Jump in a van, play tiny venues to unsuspecting audiences, and hope to be paid for the performance.[28] As the band toured Europe, what Sonic Youth eventually found was that audiences were growing to enjoy them. It took rounds of touring, but it the music started to click with "tastemakers" and college kids alike.

In their time touring, Sonic Youth easily covered more than 3,000 miles across the United States; 3,500 miles across the Atlantic Ocean; and more than 1,000 miles around Europe. In just a few years, Sonic Youth traveled nearly 8,000 miles to make people aware of their music. In time, Sonic Youth became one of the most successful bands of their ilk, honing their sound and releasing the genre-defining *Daydream Nation*. But it took years of legwork and travel to reach that goal.

Not every band has the support and the ability that Sonic Youth had. Sonic Youth was backed by small records labels and savvy business friends that believed in what the band was doing, plus a network of bands with similar interests and goals.[29] Even today, touring musicians are not guaranteed easy access to certain locations. Artists have their visas revoked, and flight cancellations frequently leave musicians stranded and unable to make it to their shows. The difference today is that—because of the growth of the Internet and digitalization—artists do not have to rely solely on travels or tours to raise awareness. Instead, a show is just one component strongly complemented by what is happening in the digital space; thus fans still have something to interact with, and the promise of the show does not die if an artist cannot make it on schedule or waits to put on a performance.

The digitalization of music allows musicians to flourish in ways they simply could not before. Applications such as Pandora and Spotify do the legwork that bands previously had to do on tour. Music videos on YouTube can deliver an experience that formerly could be had only by being in the same country as a particular artist. Times have changed, and it is good to be a musician and

a fan now. A fan can travel around the world with the right search terms and just a few clicks of a mouse button.

GENRES AND SOUNDS EXTEND BEYOND THEIR HOME

With geographic barriers broken down, listeners able to sample whatever music they choose, and imports now being an affordable and viable option, new sounds can be heard anywhere a listener desires. The possibilities are endless as to what can be experienced and what will resonate with listeners around the world.

Remember the Madonnas and U2s from earlier times? Artists who found success with some airplay in the United States and then traversed the world on massive tours and were guaranteed sell-out crowds of thousands no matter where they went? Well, they are not the only ones who can experience that now. Granted, many performers will not sell out arenas on their first trek around the world. But it is becoming more and more likely—and much, much easier—for artists with massive success on the Internet to translate that success into bodies in stands, stalls, and seats. What is beautiful with the growth of the Internet and music's ability to reach more people than ever before is that genres and sounds that previously would have had difficulty selling even a few tickets now can sell to massive crowds.

A perfect example of an artist who first found success on the Internet and translated it into international acclaim and fandom is Harlem rapper A$AP Rocky (born Rakim Mayers).[30] A$AP Rocky first earned attention by posting a video of his song "Peso" on YouTube. In just a few months the video had more than three million views and Rocky was destined for international recognition—aided by considerable hype from those in rap's innermost circles.[31] Rocky followed "Peso" with a highly acclaimed mixtape that was distributed online and made easily accessible to a public growing more and more interested in the young rapper. Over the course of two years Rocky built a following through videos and free releases that guaranteed him an excited and engaged fan base when his official debut album, *Long.Live.A$AP,* finally was released in 2013.[32]

Rocky embracing the Internet did not just help his debut album sales or the skyrocketing success of his early singles. He, along with his A$AP Mob cohorts, were able to go on tour and play sold-out shows around the world. Rocky and his crew brought the sounds of their Harlem to kids in places as distant as London and Sydney. His first tour in support of *Long.Live.A$AP* went to 47 cities, with an average of 3,000 tickets sold per venue.[33]

As of 2013, Peter Schwartz is Rocky's tour manager as well as the vice president and head of Urban Music at The Agency Group in New York. In an interview about Rocky's rapid and Internet-based success, Schwartz spoke

about a number of factors that make Rocky so appealing as a performer and why he resonates with his audiences. In his discussion, Schwartz spoke candidly about Rocky's international success. "We are definitely impressed to see how well he is selling tickets internationally. 4,000 capacity venues blowing out in a matter of days in Australia and Rocky has never been there before. [That's] definitely impressive."[34] The excitement around Rocky that started on the Internet translated into actual ticket sales for him in places he previously never had visited.

Schwartz also gives credit to social media for how awareness of Rocky's music was raised by his fans around the world. As a musician, it was easy for Rocky to put his songs online and make them available for anyone who was interested. But for fans, it is easy for them to discover and share Rocky just as quickly. Social media did a lot of the early talking for Rocky, and as Schwartz said, "Word of web is far stronger than word of mouth."[35]

The rap music that A$AP Rocky makes evokes Harlem specifically. His sound is one of many within the realm of rap and hip-hop, and with just one song he brought that specific sound to millions of people. Without the Internet, people in London likely would not know or care about a Harlem rapper's thoughts, much less why they matter. Instead, listeners with thousands of miles between them—with oceans and mountains and other physical barriers blocking them from each other—can hear A$AP Rocky and his distinct sound, and then find a meaning within the music that matters to them. These listeners certainly would hear rap music but it would not evoke Harlem as a place and an experience, as life in Harlem is likely unknown to listeners in the United Kingdom.

Bikini Kill had to travel throughout the United States to spread the message of female equality. It took radio play for Nirvana's biggest single to take off first in the United States and then around the world. Sonic Youth drove a van through the entirety of the United States, and then they drove another van through Europe in the hopes of having even 20 people come to a performance. A$AP Rocky had three million listeners, a record deal, and almost 50 sold-out shows just by building his image on the Internet. A$AP Rocky brought the sound of his neighborhood to listeners internationally with one video. A$AP Rocky covered the world with the release of one video.

Music on the Internet goes everywhere, and in doing so it makes the world a little smaller and brings people a little closer. And it is only going to continue growing, evolving, changing, exploding.

RADIOHEAD AND THE RECORD LABELS

Thom Yorke is a crazy man.

As the front man of Radiohead for nearly 30 years, Tom Yorke has had a consistent platform to offer his take on the world. Radiohead formed in 1986