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Connecting with Audiences: Musicians and Social Media

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>> Hi! "It's my turn, it's my turn!" [Laughter] Yeah. So I've been doing a research for the last couple of years about musicians and their relationships with the audience which I'll talk about in a minute why anybody ought to care even if you don't care about music, but that's what I want to talk about. So why musicians is sort of the obvious question and what do musicians have to do with national priorities? Aside from the fact that most candidates are using music in their campaigns and getting in trouble because it turns out, "Rage Against the Machine" were in fact raging against Paul Ryan. [Laughter] Musicians are a really interesting case because what musicians are experiencing is really at the cutting edge, I would argue of what almost all of us who present ourselves in social media are experiencing, including public figures, political figures. I think some of the issues that came up this morning around politicians' use of the web, government organizations' use of the web; a lot of those things that they're encountering are things that musicians have been wrestling with for years. And part of this has to do with the fact that the file size of songs is so small that there's really not much reason to buy music anymore unless you actually care. So that's part of it. So there's a number of practical things that play out here. There's a number of theoretical things that I'll orient you to a bit, but what I really want to focus on mostly is my methods and the messy, messy, messiness of trying to work through this kind of data. And then time permitting, I'll show you just a little bit of what an analysis out of this looks like -- might look like. So some of the practical concerns, and I'll talk about these somewhat more. It used to be, and this is true of all public figures that there were some pretty clear intermediaries between their voices and the voices of the people. Right? You have the media and that was the job of the media. It was to -- or part of the job of the media was to filter what politicians said, what musicians said, what movie stars said, what CEOs said. They were there. There was this filter in between. That meant that if you wanted an audience, you had to get the media first of all -- which has been completely disrupted, but it also meant that you didn't have to actually communicate with your audience very much or with your constituents or whatever. And now you do and I want to argue that that has some pretty profound changes at all kinds of levels. You've got all kinds of industries being profoundly decentralized, and again, you see this very clearly in the music industry where suddenly people are doing things and all kinds of alternative ways and the major labels don't know what to do. But you also see this in the rise of citizen activism and the ways in which people are organizing outside of official organizations; in order to enact change you have a lot of moving away from big centers of power. And I don't want to be utopian about that and say, "Whoo-hoo! Hierarchy's dead!" because those centers of power are fighting back something fearsome and really working to consolidate power in the face of this. This is a really serious threat and they know it and they're fighting it, just look at SOPA at PIPA. What interests me that's going on here most -- because I come out of interpersonal communication way back when, is that this is not just about these large things like markets and economies and governments and so on. It's also at a very personal level about the relationships that we have with one another and what this kind of direct interaction does to those relationships, which is of course something about which there's a tremendous amount of fear, tremendous amount of anxiety if you think about the outcry about bloggers aren't real journalists, they don't fact check, right? Guess what? [Inaudible] does Newsweek. [Laughter] [Applause]. Nobody really knows what to do. Nobody's got a roadmap. Nobody's got a plan. Here's how you do it and there's just a tremendous amount of fear going on and even when people aren't afraid even when they embrace it, there's a lot of anxiety because people don't know what it is that they're supposed to do. These are just a couple of pictures of what's happened to the recording industry both -- the lower one is the Recording Industry Association of America, the higher one is the European equivalent. I love that the RIAA's profit map

starts in 1999 which is the peak of that upper one. I'll leave you clever people to interpret the rhetoric of that for yourself. So you have a lot of what have been very mainstream pillars of the economy in decline, but at the same time you have this incredible proliferation of other companies, right? So this is a thing that somebody did in 2007 of Web 2.0 -- Music 2.0 companies, an awful lot of them don't exist anymore but other ones have taken their place. So you have a real redistribution of labor and organizations happening. And then you also have fan funding which is this really interesting phenomenon where you're bypassing the middle ground all together. And I've noticed just in the last week, more and more fan funding of academia going on. There was a note on the Association of Internet Researchers' mailing list this morning where they're doing fan funding to translate a book that's been published in German and to English so that they can distribute it internationally. Amanda Palmer just had one of the most successful projects yet. A musician, she sought \$200,000 and had 45 days to do it. She raised \$400,000 in 48 hours and ended up raising over \$1.2 million by the time her deadline expired. Kickstarter put \$28 million into the American music industry last year, at a time when the labels are saying "People won't pay for music anymore." Right? There's \$28 million, people chose to pay. Well, why? Why would you do that? Why would you actively give money to something that you don't have to? Right? Because you can just download it when it comes out, right? Or you can probably find it a torrent of it even before it has. I would argue one of the big reasons people care enough to give is that there's relational issues here, that people have formed a sense of relationship with people and they feel obligated, they're feel obliged, give economics 101. Here's a quote from one of the people I interviewed, Mark Kelly, from the band Marillion who were one of the first to use fan funding. And I think this quote really exemplifies the kind of concern that writing used to be that rock stars just dropped out of the sky and now we're tweeting about what we have for breakfast, people are still trying to find out where to draw the boundaries and what works and what doesn't, you know. And this is true with musicians but it's true of -- you know, raise the hand if you've figured it out, the boundaries on what works and what doesn't because, you know, more power to you. This has not stopped a whole lot of people from being very prescriptive about what you should be doing, and sometimes offering good advice. This is Ariel Hyatt's social media pyramid in giving advice on what posts people should do. So direct engagement is like bread, cereal and pasta; you should do three to four out of every 10 posts should be this. And then up there at the top you have self-promotion which is equivalent to fats, oils and sweets and you should only one out of every 10 posts should be self-promotion. It's not bad advice; it's good advice and, you know, I think she's genuinely trying to help people who are confused. But it speaks to the ways in which people are just making this stuff up, right? [Laughter] Again, I think it's perfectly good advice. I think if you follow it, nothing bad is going to happen and it might make you feel a lot better. But, there's a lot of advice being given to people and public physicians tweeting using social media and public physicians. And we don't really know what works and what doesn't in any sector.

>> [Inaudible] could use this.

>> [Laughter] Yeah! She stepped out, well, to find it on the internet. Okay. Some of the theoretical perspectives that drive me -- and one could come at this with a huge variety, but these are some of the ones that drive me. One of my overarching arguments, one of the things that I am particularly interested by is this idea that what were seemingly pretty pure economic markets where you -- there was a product and you bought the product. Now, music was never quite that simple, right, because you always put posters online and [inaudible] -- because you love them so much! But it was a pretty clear commercial transaction and more and more it's relational, right? So the relational and the social and the economic are really merging in new ways that I think have really profound implications for everything -- everything. And there's this long-standing tradition of research and gift economies, these questions of giving without money, non-commercial transactions and how those relationships is structured, how the norms work and those kinds of exchanges. Oddly, social exchange theory and gift economy theory have not really talked to one another very much; they really should because they're talking about the exact same stuff. Issues of identify management, how do you present yourself in these public platforms when there's all kinds of viewers, the

phrase "collapse context" just come up and will come up again. Also, issues of relational negotiation. I am particularly fond of Baxter and Montgomery's work on relational dialectics which argues that often relationships are conceived of as moving in stages and their argument is that we're always balancing opposing tensions, right? But there's always -- and if we think about this in social media -- public, private, present, absent -- these are really core, core dialectics that people have to manage and relating to others. And then finally, we can think about something that has always driven my work, what's causing what happens here. And of course, we have the technological determinism which I think most of us are kind of, I heard somebody say, "Not to sound too much like a technological determinants" like, no, we have to apologize if we start sounding deterministic. I would place myself somewhere in the middle in that I don't think technology are sole causes by any stretch, but I think that we're kind of deluding ourselves if we think they don't influence us at all that design does matter that interfaces do matter that the way your phone buzzes in your pocket makes you kind of want to see what it's doing right away. Right? We have to exert effort to resist that. If it doesn't buzz, then we're not pulled to it, right? So affordances of technologies do matter. There is this middle ground, right, saying there's -- people matter a lot, the affordances of technologies do influence people. All right, so the research. My research is -- sometimes I do quantitative research where I pretty much know what I'm looking for going in, but the kind of research that I really love doing is open-ended which is to say I've got this topic, I know there's really interesting stuff going on there, but who knows what I'm going to find and what's going to be interesting about it when I get there? So there's a lot of benefits to open-ended qualitative research. You get this incredibly rich data some of which I will share with you soon. You can get at with interviewing, you can get at people's private perspectives and ways that are not observable and people have told me amazing stories about things that they have experienced in response to emails which would never be visible. A lot of challenges, how do you recruit people? And I think that if you're working with -- most people, they're like really psyched to be interviewed because they never get to talk. If you're working with -- well, you want me to talk about myself for an hour? Where do I sign? When you're talking to musicians and I imagine it's the same with politicians, they do interviews all the time. There's no personal thrill in being interviewed, right? It's not like, "Ooh, I get to talk!" you know. Yeah, I've got 18 interviews scheduled tomorrow. I can [inaudible] between 1 and 110 maybe." Right? So recruiting people is a challenge and I found that with this project it was a challenge because often musicians don't want to talk about their relationship with their audience, right? They're more than happy to talk about the music, but this is a personal thing and it's a dangerous kind of a thing to talk about. Interviewing across distance. I couldn't fly around to interview everybody. I ended up using Skype. Skype was awesome. Skype works really well -- video Skype works incredibly well and I used... What is the darn thing called? I'm blanking right now. I can see its little micro fine icon in my sidebar.

>> [Inaudible] tape recorder.

>> No, it's not a tape recorder. [Laughter] Anyway, there are multiple options of programs that will record what is on your computer at that time. Send them all off to get transcribed. Transcription is a boar. I ended up using a service; it's a gamble; it's a bargain between how much time do you have and how much money do you have. I decided time was worth more than money and I sent it away. It's not cheap to have transcription done well. There are IRB-approved services out there. I use one called Production Transcripts which I actually recommend. They're really fast. They're really high quality. They're not cheap but they are IRB approved which is really nice since you are dealing with confidential data. I was concerned about this because -- you know, some of these people are -- they're known, right? And I could see somebody getting, "Ooh, I'm a fan of theirs! Ha-ha-ha-ha!" Right? I was concerned, but they did a great job. Okay. Analysis. I've talked qualitative methods for a long time and if you look at qualitative textbooks, they invariably have tons, and tons, and tons of stuff about how to get in and how to recruit subjects, and how to avoid becoming one of them and maintain analytic distance, you got to relate to them; and then there'll be like maybe a chapter on analysis, maybe. So I wanted to spend more time talking about analysis. The beauty of this kind of research is you get really deep understandings -- really deep understandings -- about meaning,

which is very hard to get out -- your abstract data points no matter how many of them you have. But there's a lot of challenges and one of them is how do you go through this rigorously and avoid just sort of picking the compelling anecdotes that tell a good story. How do you maintain focus when you can be pulled in so many different directions? And how do you bring yourselves to the point when you say, "You know, this is incredibly interesting and I absolutely love it, but you know what, it doesn't fit in this project and I'm going to sacrifice it because I know that for students this is often one of the hardest parts is just letting some of your data not get used in your work, and it's okay to do that. It hurts -- it hurts; it never stops hurting. But it doesn't go anywhere; if you want to return to it later it still exists. So who did I interview? I'll just put these up for a minute. My focus was on people who had had an audience prior to MySpace, so then they had actually been through the transition of not needing to relate to an audience, to needing to relate to an audience online. You can see that I sought an international sampling. I also spoke to some who were part of what Sivert Høyem from Norway called "The Last Generation of Analog Musicians" which I loved. These were the people who got their audience just before MySpace happened. So they got together with no thoughts of social media and suddenly there it was and they had to deal with it early in their careers. And then I talked to a few young people as well who grew up on social media and who really took it for granted, which is a really interesting thing in and of itself. I spoke to one of these people and I said, "Do you ever think about what it would've been like to be a musician in the '80s when you didn't have to use social media and talk to your audience?" Which is like, "Wait, you mean like you could just do your music? [Laughter] I never thought about that," she said. It's totally ingrained but this is a thing that's there that you have to do. And I think listening [inaudible] talk about the sort of -- I love the controlled coordinated chaos around how do we use this. You see that legacy of people who don't take for granted that you have to do this and now feel that they've got to figure it out. A whole bunch of genres, mostly singer/songwriter, indie -- but I did manage to get a whole bunch of genres in there -- a total of I think 37 musicians. Okay. So when you get to the analysis, here's the immediate problem. It's really rich. There's 850 pages of it and just about every line is really, really interesting. All right? You know, we talked about big data and we say, "There's 30 million data points!" Well, you know what? 850 pages of words of people talking, that's pretty big, too. Right? It may be 37 people but it is a lot of data to try to make sense of -- a lot of data. And then we've heard about a lot of different software in NVivo, Atlas.ti -- man, I wish somebody would invent a really good qualitative analysis software because those are not them. Right? They have a -- they do some really nice things for us. They've got incredibly steep learning curves -- incredibly steep learning curves. I ended up using Dedoose which is also very limited and I ran into some real problems with it, but I want to mention it to you because NVivo and Atlas.ti are really, really expensive -- hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of dollars. And if you are not working at a place that has a site license or not working with somebody who can afford to buy it for you, Dedoose is a nice alternative. It's a cloud-based system. It's \$11.95 a month, and if you don't pay in any given month, your stuff just sits there and you can come back to it three months later and reactivate your account with \$11.95 and there's all your data just waiting for you. So grad students I have worked with who were doing Ph.D.s and who didn't have like \$1000 to lay out on NVivo really found Dedoose very helpful, so it has its shortcomings. Me? You know, I use Dedoose but I always seem to end up using the outline function of word, you know; it's so freaking simple. But for me, it really works. You can drag stuff, you can rearrange it, you can put subcategories, and I did it before I worked for Microsoft. [Laughter] All right, so about analytic strategies? I'm looking for themes. Everybody looks for themes, but this is what drives me crazy about a lot of qualitative researchers who go, "There are seven themes!" and you think you're done. No, you're not done. That's like saying, "I've got a yard full of bricks" and thinking you have a house. Right? You don't. What you've got is the raw material. Well, maybe it's a little -- it's a process material, right? But you still have to think about how -- what does that tell you? How do those things fit together? What are the logics that allow you to see which bricks go where, when? Right? These are the really important questions, or not what are all the pieces, but how do those pieces fit together into an organized system that makes sense to the people who do these things in their everyday practice? So one way to get it logics is to ask a lot of questions and this is where theory comes in really helpful is somebody who's interested in dialectics. I'm always looking to data going, "What's playing off against what? What are the contrasts here?" If you do this,

what do you give up? If you do that, what do you give up? What are those -- if this then that kind of balances that people are working through? How are people different? I'm -- as a communications scholar who was raised with the idea that communication is a goal-oriented practical activity. I'm also asking, "What are people's goals and what strategies are they using to reach those goals?" So it's important to have some kind of grounding in which you can ask some simple questions of your data beyond what are the categories of things people talk about. I'll show you an example of a matrix. Miles and Huberman have a book on qualitative data analysis where they talk about matrices in a lot of depth -- really useful strategy. Back to theory and then writing. Let's not forget that writing is itself part of the interpretive process. Right? If you -- I think any qualitative scholar will tell you that they've had the experience of having analyzed their data and thinking they knew it and then sitting down to write and realizing that actually it didn't fit together like it was supposed to at all. Right? Writing is part of how we figure it out and sometimes drawing is, too. So here in this project has been sort of my analytic process, and I'll show you some pictures of what these things look like. But I started by just reading -- reading a whole bunch of the transcripts -- not every single one of them, but a bunch of them and just making a list. Anytime somebody made a point or raised the topic, I put that in a list and I ended up with seven pages of single-spaced things people said. And then I grouped those into broad topics -- yay -- outline function, on generated list of themes about -- this came up to I think 263 different themes. And then went back to the transcripts with a subcategory of those themes and started actually going through, trying to do a real rigorous coding of every single transcript. And I did some kind of top level coding, which is to say I would go through and say, "This is about relationships," right, encoded as being about relationships and then I would go through and say, "Take all the excerpts that had to do with relationships which Dedoose was very helpful for pulling out, as would have been NVivo and Atlas.ti, and saying, "What are the sub-things going on within here? And this is where Dedoose broke down for me. I was not able to pull up excerpts and then code excerpts, [Background Sound] so I had to export all the excerpts and return to Microsoft Word with all its limitations. Back and forth, back and forth, back and forth; it's a highly iterative process and this is part of doing open researches that you don't know what your codes are going in. And as you're going through doing the coding, you start realizing, "You know, this actually looks an awful lot like that. Maybe they're the same thing." Or this thing that I thought was the big thing -- actually, I got one example of that -- I don't think it really is a big thing after all. So I wanted to give you a typical excerpt just to sort of you give you a feel for the richness of this data. So this is Sivert Høyem, the Norwegian musician, who just so happens to be my very favorite singer, and he's talking about -- well, you can see what he says, he says, "Some people seem to -- some people pick up on everything I do and they seem to think that it's all very significant. So they just get a little too much -- I don't know. Yeah, there's been quite a few who have been a little scary. But also, sometimes since you're really available to people all the time, if people want to get a hold of me, they can. So some people, you just start communicating with people and they just kind of -- it can take up a little bit of too much of your time because they write back all the time and I don't want to be rude, so." I say, "Yeah, so you feel compelled to keep responding?" He says, "Yeah, and it can get a little too friendly." Okay? So if we take that, let me just ask you guys, what are some of the things that you hear going on? If you were making a list of all the themes that you might hear in this data, what are some things that just right off just in this little excerpt strike you?

>> Etiquette.

>> Etiquette, okay. So etiquette, politeness, definitely.

>> Obligation...

>> Okay, a sense of obligation to respond to... Yeah, where is the chalk? Okay. Okay, [writing on board] so etiquette. What was that about responding?

>> Obligation.

>> Obligation. Yeah, a sense of obligation.

>> [Inaudible] boundaries...

>> Boundaries. Yeah, a little boundaries.

>> Discomfort [Inaudible].

>> [Inaudible] discomfort, yeah. Almost everybody I talk to [inaudible] was talking, almost everybody in one way or another.

>> Time management...

>> Time management, absolutely.

>> Family relationship.

>> Family relationship, you said?

>> What kind of relationships you have in your family.

>> Yeah. So what kind of relationship you're willing to have with them, absolutely.

>> The language which you probably use to refer to it, friendly, and apparently friendly is not what the relationship is. It's like how you refer to Europeans and the... [Writing on board].

>> Yeah. Whichever, sort of connect with relationship type but absolutely, yeah. Okay, so we could probably spend like an hour, right? So here we have one paragraph and we've got nine themes right there. Right? So you can imagine what 850 pages of this. There's a lot going on there. There's a lot going on there. I thought you would come up with a bunch that I hadn't but I think got most of this in there. So I'll show you just sort of some screenshots. So initially, I come up with this hierarchical list of topics, and this is before I gone through and done the close analysis. If you look in there, accessibility is one, which you guys didn't just raise but it says, "If people want to get a hold of me, they can." Right? That has not always been the case. Right? In Fisher's -- no, it's in Carolyn Marvin's great book, "When Old Technologies Were New," and talk about people phoning the mayor of New York City all the time because they could. They didn't have anything to say. They were just totally psyched that they could. Some of these things don't show up in there but this issue of writing back, these etiquette and obligation come out within there. Boundary violations, people write to artists, they socialize with them. This issue of "Are They Fans or Friends?" which speaks to these two things that you guys mentioned which ended up being a major, major component. I've got a paper coming out any day now in a journal called "Participations" that's called "Fans are Friends." And inappropriate audience behavior, so things like having unrealistic expectations and misjudging the intimacy of the relationship. So you can see, you hit on a number of things that I also found in here, which is important, right, because it speaks to the fact that this isn't just a crap shoot. Right? There is in fact some analytic mechanics there and other people can look at it and see -- they might emphasize different things, but we can all see the same things going on there. These are just some sections. If you look at the top, this is the top levels when it was collapsed. This is the areas that I ended up with in my seven pages, and you can see that those ended up being small, well, pieces of it. Right? So personal musician-audience interaction, personal relationship dynamics; those I would mostly fell into here, but there's a lot of other stuff going on in there, as well -- lots of other stuff. So then with these sort of lists of codes, these long, long list of codes,

then I go into Dedoose, right, and I start actually do encoding. And this is an example of what comes out of Dedoose, in this case, coding for family as a topic of discussion, right, and I'll give you some more examples of this but each one of these then is an excerpt that I coded from three different interviews in this case where people are discussing, talking about their family. So you have Stuart Braithwaite from Mogwai saying, "I don't think anybody is particularly interested in our girlfriends or wives. I had a friend of mine who were more popular than us but as a different kind of audience and they did get people saying weird stuff about their wives." Casey saying, "I don't answer too many questions about my marriage. It's not something I want to discuss with fans." D.A. Wallach from Chester French, first band on Facebook because they were students at Harvard when it launched, he says, "I don't really think it makes for an interesting content and you get into dicey territory when you're talking about your personal relationships or family." So going through and doing all of this, and then you end up with these blocks of quotes. Right? And sometimes I would excerpt the quotes. One of the things with working with digital materials is you think, "Oh, I've got it all under control. It's all nicely coded and I'm going to put my 15-minute ICA talk together now!" And then you printed out or pull it in to a file of just those excerpts and you realize you've got 80 pages and there's no way that's going to be a 15-minute talk. So this is where I'm talking about sacrifice, right? Sometimes you have some beautiful, beautiful quotes that just nail it, but you know what, we have six other beautiful, beautiful quotes that also just nail it. And even though you loved that one so much, this one fits the talk a little better. Right? Or you use the beautiful quote from that person and another part, so if you're going to stick with the -- you want a diversity of people's voices in your papers, too. So after iterative coding, after going through again and again, these are some of the things that I ended up with and you can't really because I didn't really showed you enough to see everything that I had in those earlier slides, but this is different. This is not what was in that seven-page outline. This is what it became afterwards, parts of what it became. So, for example, the issue of what topics do you discuss became a pretty clear focus with a lot of very specific topics that you either do or don't discuss, personal content, embarrassing body problems. One guy told me that his wife went off on him for telling his fans that he had a vasectomy on Twitter. Tangible aid; things that'll be interesting to the group; life in general; music; family; location; politics; things that aren't about me; having control over what topics you discuss. I would argue that all of those things except probably music apply to any public figure or any of us, really, discussing things on a public forum. We have to think strategically about what topics are we going to discuss, what will we reveal, what will we keep back. Obviously, we've had a number of politicians get in trouble for things that they tweeted because they were not thinking very clearly about what are the topics that I should avoid in social media and what are the ones that get there. And we've got a system now where all public figures, tweets are being monitored very, very closely. Right? So there is no free rein to tweet an offhand little joke about something, it will be on all of the political blogs tomorrow and you will be apologizing if anyone was offended. Not to be confused with apologizing. [Laughter] Here's an example of a matrix. This matrix ended up, I think if you print it out it's like 54 pages, and this -- what I did here, and this is after a lot of going through, a lot of passes of the data. This is probably about a year and a half into the analytic process. The idea of a matrix is to figure out how could you create an x- and y-axis that will allow you to do some interesting comparisons across your data. In this case, I chose to use the individuals as one axis, and across the others I ended up using... What? What did I use? This first column is encounters that I have with fans in person. The second is what mediated context, do they encounter audiences in? The third is, what are their perspectives on social media? The fourth is, how do they understand their communication through music and through performance? And then finally is, what is their perspective on communication and relationships? And I went through and I pulled every single quote [background talking] that talked to these things. And let me just add at this point also that I framed this study to the musicians as being about nobody knowing what to do with social media, kind of that pitch I gave you upfront. But I asked a lot of questions that didn't have to do with social media so that I would be able to look at social media in the context of the full range of interactions that people have. I think a huge mistake people make is you're going to do an interview and you're only going to ask about Facebook, or you're only going to ask about Twitter. And what do you know, 90% of what happens on Twitter happens in all kinds of other environments, including face-to-face interactions as well, but you'd think it's about Twitter

because those were the blinders you were wearing. So I think it's really important to think broadly about the larger context within which these interactions happen. I brought this down then to a summary, what are the main points. And the idea here is that it gives what I started to see here was these questions of -- what do they think communication through music and performance is about? That's the key. That's the key that unlocks I think the whole logic of everything else that you see. If you think that music is about connecting with an audience and having a relationship, then social media is your friend. If you think music is about getting emotions you can't speak out, then you may or may not like social media. Right? If you think music is about creating art that others can admire, then you probably don't like social media. Right? So this philosophy of what are you doing by making music. And my guess is that this kind of logic probably holds across other areas, as well. Why are you in public service? Right? That probably affects what you think about social media because I'm smart enough to make decisions for everybody, or because I love to listen to what people have to say, right? You're going to get really different attitudes, I'm guessing, toward engaging your constituents through social media. So matrix is a really useful process to help get you there. This is an example of -- drawing. I took a lot of art classes as a kid, but obviously I didn't learn that much. But I did learn a little perspective. So this is Goffman comes to social media via Nancy's dubious illustrative skills. [Laughter] And what I was trying to get at here was a set of really complex relationships among different factors. And the ways in which putting yourself on a stage back to dramaturgy and impression management and goth masks or its perspectives on things. What I was trying to get at here is that you have a number of backstage relationships that contextualize what you are and are not allowed to do on that stage. You have a lot of different ways in which you can perform on that stage, and you have a lot of different audiences with semi-permeable boundaries that you're trying to speak to simultaneously. So the individual in the middle, you have some kind of human being making music, right? They're connected to other musicians that turns out to be a wildly important things being able to connect to other musicians through social media, knowing you're being watched by them, being able to watch them. You have this network of personal relationships. It's extremely important and really shapes what you can and can't do. You have this whole -- business machinery going on that's important. And then you have the sites and their policies which shape what you can and can't do. The affordances of particular sites, extremely important. And then you have all these different place you can be. You can have your own websites. You can be Twitter and you can be on Facebook, you can be on MySpace, but why anybody would anymore remains a bit of a mystery. You can blog, there's fan forums, there's Western music itself. And then you're performing for -- and again, you can think about this much more broadly than just musicians. Right? You have some of the people reading your feed on your family; then your friends. They're people who know you really, really well. Some of them are colleagues, collaborators. Some of them are the die-hards who love everything you do; but also therefore might be very critical of the things you do because they're so deeply engaged with it that they catch every little thing you do wrong. And then you have a broader audience and then, you have all these people that were kind of out there who maybe they'll be able to bring them in through your social media presence. Maybe you'll convert them into your community. So just an example of how drawing a picture really helped me to think through how do these components relate to one another, how does its backstage relate to what's front stage. This, you know, I mean, you can write this in prose but drawing a picture actually was a really effective analytic strategy for me to get there. I don't often draw pictures but I just want to mention it as a -- I mean, we've been talking about visualization a lot, right? It's a different kind of visualization but it's the same kind of idea, right, of what does this look like, and how can we use an image to help us gain insight into the meanings that are here. All right. So let me talk just a little bit about what has changed using -- pulling from those, now, analytic process that I... Hi Esther! ...that analytic process that I walked you through there. One thing that's clearly different is that people now have a responsibility for their own self-presentation in a way they didn't before. Right? The media used to be in charge of that. The New York Times presented you. You didn't have to present yourself, or Rolling Stone did it, or New Musical Express, or whatever. So this is great in some ways. It's empowering, it raises anxieties. Right? And I love this quote because it really speaks to the anxieties, right?" He says, "As corrupt and horrible as the old recording industry was, at least it was stable." At least we knew what we were getting. We were going to be taken

advantage of, but we knew that, right? It wasn't changing constantly and this constant change is really anxiety provoking. One of the things that when I go to music industry events, I hear over and over again from musicians, they think they have to be on every single social media site and they think they have to be personal and using every single one of them. And if you say to them, "You know what? It's okay not to tweet," and they're like, "Oh, thank God!" They need permission to not use all of these sites, because they think they have to. There's this relentless pressure, you know, and you probably know people who feel like, "Oh no, I'm not on whatever," and they think they're really missing out. But in fact, you know, it's not a big deal; it's okay. This is Kristin Hersh who -- she's got a wonderful book called "Rat Girl" about her bipolarity. She talks about -- she didn't bring up bipolar disorder on social media but people started talking about it and she decided she'd be willing to discuss it so nobody would say anything wrong. Right? So she's got this ability now to speak for herself, to be her own voice about her disease and not to let other people write about it for her in whatever accurate or inaccurate way, to be able to speak for yourself about your experience. This question of what are your stages going to be on which you can perform? The people I talked to I think it was a total of -- it was about 40 different sites where they have a presence of one sort or another. Of course, nobody was on all 40, right? But picking which stages of the right stages for me to perform on, or from my organization to perform on, these are huge questions and, again, it's not really clear. Like right now everybody is all about Facebook, right? You've got to have your Facebook page, but what was the figure we just heard of some enormous percentage of them where there's absolutely nothing going on there, right? You create the page because you have to and then it dies, and that doesn't look very good either. So this issue of trying to manage the incredible amount of social media sites available and figure out which ones can I actually use effectively and which ones do I just forget about is a real problem for everybody, really. Privacy, as you saw just in that little excerpt with Sivert, is a really big concern. Erin McKeown talks about - [inaudible] college roommate, by the way, because she's everywhere. She talks about feeling the pressure to provide continuous fresh personal content, and how this is at odds for her with what a private person she is and her wanting to have boundaries, but not have the appearance of having boundaries. Right? So, some really tricky self-presentational work that's going on here as a public figure. You know me, you know the real me, you know all about me, but I also have this life that's for my friends and family and you don't get access to that. But you don't see that you don't have access to that because then you might feel excluded. It's really tricky -- really tricky. Lots of I've showed you, the family excerpts, lots of social media activity being driven by concern for one's family in one way or another. Often, some people post their baby pictures, but a lot of them just keep their family out of the discussion. So David Lowery from Cracker and Camper Van Beethoven talked about and started really early on because his wife was so concerned about it. The kids are off limits. A lot of people keep their kids off limits. Zoe Keating, who -- and well, it's actually [inaudible] after the E -- sorry, I didn't get that one fixed. She talks about for her it's really easy because she doesn't have to think, "Is this my indoor voice or outdoor voice?" But she has to think about her family members, right, and not tweet about her family members, not post about her family members. Zoe, for a while on Tweeter was one of those when you started an account, you know, "Here's recommended people for you to follow," and they recommended her to everybody. And even though she is a, as you can see, a rather avant-garde looping solo cellist, not exactly the most popular genre out there; nonetheless, she has over a million Twitter followers and is actually an excellent, excellent tweeter. She posts pictures of her baby all the time, right, "Cello toddler" as she calls him. He was "Cello baby" but then he grew a little, now he's "Cello toddler." But her sisters, her parents, there she's going to, you know, she's going to ask their permission first. It will be interesting to watch at what point she stops posting about "Cello toddler" without his consent, you know, "Cello teenager" isn't necessarily going to fly. Really interesting one that I think is very applicable to politicians when you think about the Kennedy legacy and we think about [inaudible]. Lloyd Cole is an example of somebody for whom music is about making art that others should admire. And if you get too close, it doesn't work anymore. Right? So he really wants distance and he says -- I love this quote, "The last shards of my mystique are in danger of being completely obliterated." Right? He knows he's self-supporting, he's not on a label, and he knows that in order to sell, he's got to form relationships with his audience and he's got to go out to the merchandize table after the

show, and he's got to shake hands and he's got to have a personal relationship, but he also feels like that's in direct tension with his fans' ability to appreciate his music. Not everybody feels that way. A lot of people think that it's only going to enhance their ability to appreciate the music, but he feels like it's a threat and for him that's a real danger. And again, I think this is a dynamic that plays out not just in music but in all kinds of areas where I'm sure there's got to be a lot of poet, and in fact I've presented this work to people who study politics and they go, "Yeah, this is exactly what our elected officials say." Right? I want them to know me but if they know me too well, they might not respect me as a leader, so I've got to -- we need to have a bit of mystery about who I am for it to work. But on the other hand you have somebody like Roger O'Donnell who was in a little band you might have heard of called the Cure, and he talks about... Yes?

>> Five minutes.

>> Five minutes, yeah, I'm good. I'm almost at the end here. Yeah, yeah. He talks about liking to maintain mystique. This is my favorite example of a mystique-free tweet. [Laughter] Do we really want this from our pop stars? Context collapse is obviously a huge issue also. Right? Can you talk to your family and friends on the same platform as talking to your audience? Facebook has now divided up. You have pages but you also have personal pages, but it wasn't always that way and a lot of people got stuck in the personal pages and had fans on there, and now they are stuck with this collapsed context. So people manage this by being strategic about their topics, right? I talk about the music, that's why they're there. If I tweeted everything that happened, it would destroy the magic. So knowing what to be absent, what to keep off, what to not share. We talk about TV and politics and other music as if we're just talking about me, it's totally boring. And then people will also keep quiet. Right? They just don't say things. Some people opt out entirely. One woman I talked with had made the decision to leave social media. D.A. Wallach talks about it's important to both present and conceal information in order to create an entertaining experience. Right? So balancing these needs to entertain and yet to have fun. Or you can just opt out, as I mentioned. I would rather practice my guitar than read the fine print on Facebook. [Laughter] Okay. So, what do I take away from this? Theoretically, the affordances of sites really matter in sometimes very unexpected ways. For example, a huge thing that comes up is the reciprocity of Twitter versus Facebook, and how very important -- rather, the reciprocity of Facebook versus Twitter, and that creates really different appeals. Social media itself, it's not good or bad, it's deeply tied to practices that completely transcend social media. It requires constant negotiation. It's not like you just pick your strategy, you get your pyramid and then you're good. Continuously have to rework it. And beware ahistoricism, right? Dramaturgy still works. What do you know, we don't need entirely new theories. Social networks still do a lot to describe what's out there. And regarding relational and economic practices -- which I didn't end up talking about a lot, they're really deeply connected because all of these things I've been talking about play out directly and indirectly and do people buy your product. And then finally, I'll just say that there is no one right way to use social media, whatever the social media pyramid and the like, say. What's really important I think is that people understand why am I using these media. Remember, in 1996 where suddenly everybody had a URL on their billboard and they had no idea why. [Laughter] Right? Tide.com. to talk about soap, you know? We need to really - and you need to really understand what do the different systems allow you to do and what don't they let you do, and how does that fit with the goals that you have. And you really need to understand what are your own boundaries, right, whether you're as an organization or as an individual, you really need to know what am I willing to put up within and whether [inaudible]. And this is a continuous process, right, they evolve over time but all of these things call for continuous reflection. And of course, the affordances of sites change all the time, which also leads to a need for continuous reflection. So I will leave it there, I'm sorry I ran a bit long.

>> Yeah, great. Thank you!

[Applause]

While Lisa comes and sets up, we can take a couple of questions.

>> Yes.

>> Lisa, where'd you go? Oh, here.

>> [Inaudible] Twitter accounts and update [inaudible] they don't have [inaudible]?

>> Some of them have -- they all do do their own stuff. Some of them also have like an official account that they don't manage, or they have management who will do it sometimes but usually will mark when it's from Team so and so, instead of from them personally. None of them are like Britney Spears where they've outsourced it entirely, yeah. Yeah?

>> Are there questions? Yeah?

>> Sorry. [Laughter]

>> Is there any differences between genres?

>> No. I thought I would and I didn't.

>> And extended, will you see sports or politicians to be different?

>> You would think you would but I don't -- you know, the more I look at it, the more I really think it comes down to what is your philosophy about what your work is.

>> Okay.

>> Yeah.

>> What kind of - a lot of your work was doing interview base...

>> Yes.

>> [Inaudible] how to correspond to that particular tweet? Did he go and look at their kind of presence on Twitter and see, you know, is it matching up with the self-reflections? Did he use different tweets as elicitation of interviews and understand that relationship between what's present and traceable online to that or reflection [inaudible].

>> Yeah. Not rigorously and not thoroughly and that's why I don't put up there that I did participant observation, as well. I have had a look at the accounts and I've tracked, you know, which -- are there accounts and how many followers do they have and things like that and there are some kind of interesting disjunctions there. That rapidly escalates into it when you think about that across them they're on 40 different platforms and there's 40 of them. It escalates pretty rapidly and to even more data than I could manage which has already been the challenge. Yes?

>> Were they interested in your analytic process and seen that [inaudible]...

>> A number of them are really interested in the results, but the process, no, they don't care about that.

>> Great. Okay. Thank you!

>> Thank you. [Applause]