Introduction

From the earliest instruments to the Internet, technology has shaped music, and in turn music has driven the development of technology. Although much has been written on the interplay between music and technology, the effect of technology on musical communities has received less attention.

To begin discussing this topic, I will introduce some essential terms from the literature, and from scene theory in particular. Scene theory concerns itself with one facet of how music is made: the "scenes" (networks of cultural activity) in which music flourishes. As formulated and developed by Barry Shank and Will Straw, scene theory focused on physical locations: cities and clubs, basements and ballrooms. But around the turn of the millennium, authors such as Bennett and Peterson began expanding scene theory to handle increasingly complex (and decreasingly geography-bound) situations, such as translocal and even virtual scenes. The scene will serve as our notion of a musical community. My work follows in this tradition of pushing the boundaries of "scene," viewing novel types of organizations as musical scenes, and understanding how aspects of traditional (geography-bound) scenes manifest in new kinds of scenes.

One such novel organization is SoundCloud, a groundbreaking Internet-based platform for music distribution, listening, and sharing. In this paper, I conduct a scene-theory analysis of SoundCloud, seeking out ways in which it behaves like a conventional scene, and highlighting places where it does not. I argue that SoundCloud is a unique kind of virtual scene because it fills roles pertaining both to music listeners and creators. Fans are enabled to react to and discuss tracks, while artists can publish and distribute their work, react to or promote the work of fellow artists, and engage with their fans, all on the same platform.

Straw, Will. "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (1991): 368-88. doi:10.1080/09502389100490311.

² Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson. *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004.

In contrast, many of the virtual scenes discussed in the literature, such as the "Postcard2" mailing list for alternative country music,³ the websites built up around the "Canterbury Sound",⁴ or the "digital habitus" of Santiago's indie music scene,⁵ are predominantly listener/fan-oriented, and the musicians around which such scenes are centered are typically uninvolved in them, perhaps due to ignorance or indifference. SoundCloud shares more in common with traditional geography-centered scenes than with these fan-oriented scenes, and therefore deserves to be considered as fully a scene in its own right, rather than being auxiliary to an existing local or translocal scene.

To demonstrate these claims, utilizing SoundCloud itself is essential; for some scene functions, SoundCloud has a feature that directly corresponds to that function and aims to implement it. In these cases, I rely on direct observation of SoundCloud's interfaces (the website and mobile application). Another key source is the popular press. SoundCloud, founded in 2007, is still largely untouched by academic inquiry, but it has received plenty of press coverage, as well as public discussion from promoters, detractors, and most importantly users. By this point, numerous popular artists have successfully used SoundCloud as a launching pad, and they occassionally have something to say about the platform. Finally, I rely on and am indebted to the body of literature that deals with artistic networks and communities, laying down the theory essential for meaningful analysis.

SoundCloud as a Scene

Bennett and Peterson characterize the "scenes perspective" as focusing on "situations where performers, support facilities, and fans come together to collectively create music for their own enjoyment." Furthermore, as Bennet and Peterson note, "there is no hard line between what is and

³ Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 187–204.

⁴ Ibid., 205-220.

Hracs, Brian J., Michael Seman, and Tarek E. Virani. *The Production and Consumption of Music in the Digital Age* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 223–236.

⁶ They also connect the term to Pierre Bordieu's notion of "field," and Howard Becker's "art world."

what is not a scene;" rather, it's "more appropriate to see the degree to which a situation exhibits the characteristics" of a scene. To that end, it's helpful to have some set of criteria for evaluation.

Unfortunately, no such criteria exists in scholarly work, and due to the nature of the inquiry, a set of criteria that is both concrete and comprehensive is impossible.

So, in lieu of a scholarly or comprehensive set of criteria, I turn to the work of David Byrne. In his book "How Music Works" (part autobiography, part pop musicology), Byrne dedicates a chapter to the question of "How to Make a Scene." He outlines 8 factors that contribute to a scene's development and sustenance. To quote Byrne, these are:⁷

- 1. There must be a venue that is of appropriate size and location in which to present new material.
- 2. The artists should be allowed to play their own material.
- 3. Performing musicians must get in for free on their off nights (and maybe get free beer too).
- 4. There must be a sense of alienation from the prevailing music scene.
- 5. Rent must be low and it must stay low.
- 6. Bands must be paid fairly.
- 7. Social transparency must be encouraged.
- 8. It must be possible to ignore the band when necessary.

As Byrne notes, these are not intended to be comprehensive, but merely "a start" in the effort of getting at what makes a scene. Additionally, Byrne wrote the criteria with a physical, local scene in mind, and here I apply it to a virtual scene — but it's precisely this mismatch that will prove elucidating, allowing us to consider the ways in which our subject of inquiry does or does not behave like a local scene.

Some of these criteria are obviously true of SoundCloud; some of them aren't obvious at all. I present them here in order of increasing difficulty. The first two — there must be a venue appropriate to new material, and artists should be allowed to play their own material — are directly applicable to

⁷ Byrne, David. How Music Works (San Francisco, CA: McSweeneys, 2012), 279–294.

SoundCloud, and clearly are true of it. SoundCloud presents itself as a platform for new material — allowing an artist to publish without having the skills or resources to build a site from scratch, or the cultural capital necessary for a deal with a label. This is evident in the ease of uploading (and sharing) one's own material on SoundCloud, and it permeates SoundCloud's marketing.

Next, we have the criterion that musicians should get in for free when they aren't performing. The concept of an "off night" doesn't directly translate (nor does the "free beer"), but the point Byrne's making is that, for the health of a scene, musicians should be free to hang around the venue and be a part of the audience for other musicians' shows. In fact, this is the case on SoundCloud, in the sense that any user of the site (regardless of whether they've uploaded any material of their own) can "hang around" and listen to the vast majority of tracks for free. Relatedly, we have Byrne's criteria that "rent should be low." Translating rent to financial accessibility, this holds up for SoundCloud. Uploading a track requires access to a computer⁸ and an Internet connection. While by no means universal, these are about as minimal as the requirements get with regard to music distribution. SoundCloud's free tier enables uploading 3 hours of audio — enough audio for 3 or 4 albums of typical length.⁹

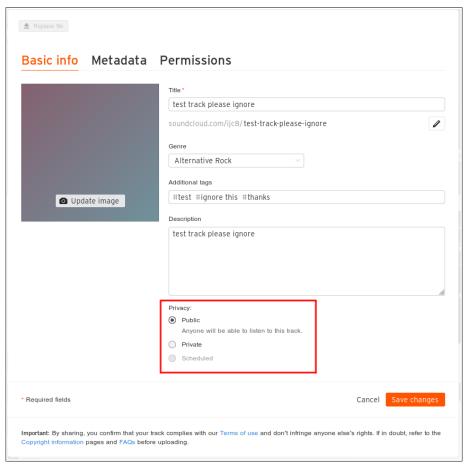
From its inception, artists (especially amateurs) have been attracted to SoundCloud because of its low barrier to entry. This constitutes a form of alienation from the prevailing music scene — one dominated by mainstream distribution channels with their own gatekeepers. Specific genres on SoundCloud may also exhibit more specific forms of alienation. "SoundCloud rap," which I discuss in detail later, is one such genre. Some authors have posited that its extreme, lo-fi, often aggressive sound is partly a reaction to the smooth, overproduced quality of "Drake-era" major label rap.¹⁰

⁸ At minimum, a smartphone will suffice.

⁹ For comparison, this doubles to 6 hours for \$6/month, and upload time is unlimited for \$12/month.

¹⁰ Caramanica, Jon. "The Rowdy World of Rap's New Underground." *New York Times*, June 22, 2017. Accessed December 5, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/22/arts/music/soundcloud-rap-lil-pump-smokepurrp-xxxtentacion.html.

One of Byrne's more surprising suggestions is that it should be possible to ignore the band. He justifies this with the claim that less scrutiny allows for more "creatively haphazard development." Byrne relates this to the physical layout of CBGB, in which many customers might be playing pool or sitting at the bar, largely inattentive to the performance, with only the people right in front of the stage really paying attention. On SoundCloud (as everywhere else), tracks from an unknown artist are unlikely to receive much attention or scrutiny; i.e., the band will be ignored by default until it has built up a following. But SoundCloud also has a feature for intentionally limiting exposure: a track can be marked private, in which case only those with a secret link can access the track. Thus, new artists will naturally have small audiences, and artists of any popularity level can tightly control distribution should they deem it necessary.



Privacy options for a SoundCloud track.

¹¹ The bar/music club that Byrne frequently played at in the early days of Talking Heads.

Byrne's principle that social transparency should be encouraged requires a little more interpretation. Byrne relates it again to the physical layout of CBGB, which afforded little privacy to performers when preparing for the show, and limited the technical theatrics possible. Essentially, what the band did happened in plain view of the audience. On SoundCloud's website and mobile app, all tracks are presented in a visually uniform manner. The only presentational parameters that vary are title, artist name, and cover art. Furthermore, audience members, while interacting with the site, are imbued with the knowledge that every track¹² was put up by another user of the site — someone else interacting with the site just like them, who navigated upwards and clicked the "Upload" button present on every page — just as the audience member could do, if they so desired. This uniformity of presentation and the lack of artificial boundaries between consumers and producers result in a kind of social transparency which, while not identical to that described by Byrne, is markedly similar in spirit.

Finally, there's the criterion that's the most challenging for SoundCloud to fulfill: bands should be paid fairly. I discuss this issue in more detail later, but suffice it to say for now that SoundCloud has had a long and rocky road to monetization, and these difficulties have been passed on to the content creators who use it. However, the situation on SoundCloud contrasts sharply with the one Byrne had in mind. In local scenes, bands physically go to venues, play, get paid, and go home. To make this more concrete: the band loads up their van with gear, burns up gas driving it to the venue, plays for some number of hours, packs up all their equipment, and drives home. The band incurs considerable costs with every performance, and payment from the venue is essential to break even. In contrast, work (possibly a great deal) goes into producing a track on SoundCloud, but once it's uploaded, that's it — the cost is fixed, regardless of how many times users listen to it. Though SoundCloud lacks an

¹² SoundCloud Go+ tracks are an exception, as they originate from deals with labels rather than users interacting and uploading their own material. For precisely the same reason, they're largely irrelevant to this paper.

¹³ Though SoundCloud's case is especially problematic, this is a broader problem facing streaming services. Even on services that have established monetization systems, payouts tend to be small, and artists generally make their livelihood through alternate revenue streams — such as touring, merchandise, and licensing deals.

established history of payouts for the majority of its artists, the situation is incomparable to that of venues and gigs.

In light of Byrne's eight criteria, SoundCloud holds up remarkably well. The question of payment remains an issue, but by and large SoundCloud addresses Byrne's criteria; all the more significant given that they were intended for physical scenes. With that said, there are some principles of sceneness so basic that Byrne probably takes them for granted: namely, that the audience should be able to interact with each other and with the bands, and that artists should be able to interact. In physical scenes, this is a given — it's a direct result of these people occupying the same space, where they can simply communicate in person. Here, I will to highlight a few features on SoundCloud's website and mobile application that attempt to emulate these features of physical scenes, and in doing so make it more suitable as a scene.

The first of these is SoundCloud's commenting system. Users can leave comments on tracks. As on most platforms, these comments include 1) the author of the comment and 2) a timestamp of the comment's creation. However, they also include a timestamp within the track. As an example, say I'm listening to a track. The track begins with a particularly pretty introduction, and so I type "nice" and press Enter. Later, the track climaxes, and I type "woo!" in response. These comments are not just tied to me, and the time when I posted them — they are also tied to the moments in the track that provoked those responses from me.

When another user listens to the same track, they will see my comments. But unlike other platforms, where comments are relegated to a separate section of the page, often requiring the user to seek them out by clicking around or scrolling down, the comments are front and center on SoundCloud. In fact, the user will see my comments directly on the track itself, and they will appear at those points in the track where I left them. Thus, the user will see "nice" at precisely the point where I chose to comment "nice," and they will see "woo!" right where I let out a "woo!" This feature serves to mimic



the experience of being in a live audience. In the live version of this story, I'm in the audience and scream "WOO!" when the song carries me with its energy; the other "user," also present in the audience, hears my shout, combined with those of the rest of the audience, and thus they are affected not just by the energy of the band, but also the reciprocal energy of the crowd. SoundCloud's commenting facility replicates this experience across time and space — I and my fellow audience member need not be in the same place or even the same time in order to experience this connection; my "woo!" will be felt by all future audience members. In a recent paper, Darren Reed highlights this effect by applying the techniques of conversation analysis (CA) to SoundCloud. As he points out, two comments produced years apart may still be related to each other through "sequential integrity," like that which naturally occurs during in-person conversation. This sequential integrity is facilitated by SoundCloud's track-timestamped comment system.

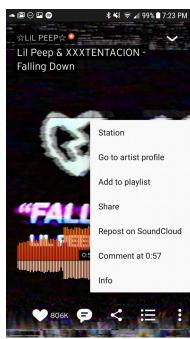
To further explicate the connection listeners feel to one another, I draw on Benedict Anderson, who makes the case that print-capitalism (and newspapers in particular) enabled the development of the

¹⁴ Albeit probably with more 'O's and '!'s.

Reed, Darren J. "Performance and Interaction on Soundcloud: Social Remix and the Fundamental Techniques of Conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 115 (July 1, 2017): 82—98. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2017.01.012.

"imagined community" of a nation. As he puts it, people "gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, or millions of people in their particular language-field," who are capable of reading the same newspaper. Similarly, I can look at a track on SoundCloud and see that 520,000 people have listened to the same track; necessarily, none of these people listened to the track at quite the same time as me, but I nonetheless imagine we're part of the same community. This imagining is grounded by the comment system I just described.

Though I might not read all of the comments, and though there are far fewer comments than listens, they give me a sense that the audience



Mobile commenting on a track.

really does exist and is responding to the track at the same time as me. The commenting system creates an imagined audience.

SoundCloud's novel commenting system enables significant audience-audience interaction that approximates that of a physical performance, through the creation of an imagined audience. Similarly, it facilitates audience-artist interaction in that the artist who posted the track can come back, see the comments left by listeners, and respond to them directly — much as a band could respond to a crowd. SoundCloud also enables artist-artist interaction through a simpler mechanism — the humble private message. The private message system allows users to contact one another directly on the platform. This enables the kinds of communication that, in physical space, might happen after a show, when a musician in the audience speaks to a musician who performed. This feature enables connections to be formed, which are important in sustaining a scene and in fostering new creative outcomes and collaborations.

¹⁶ Anderson, Benedict R. OG. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (*London: Verso, 2006), 44.

¹⁷ It's worth noting that even this comparatively simple feature invites the user to add tracks to the message, akin to exchanging mixtapes or demos with another musician.



The message button that appears on a user profile.

SoundCloud's realization of much Byrne's criteria, along with its inclusion of features appropriate towards facilitating a scene, suggests that it may be fertile ground for a scene. But SoundCloud has existed for a decade at this point, so a question naturally arises: is there compelling evidence that SoundCloud has, in fact, been functioning as a scene?



The message interface; note the "Add Track" button.

Scenes in Motion: Activity on SoundCloud

To begin with, it's clear that SoundCloud has been actively used by artists since its inception. Some of these artists have gone on to mainstream success; one of the most widely known artists who began this way is Lorde, who self-released *The Love Club EP* on SoundCloud in 2012. Other mainstream acts that started out on SoundCloud include Grammy-nominees Kehlani, Khalid, Odesza,

and Lil Yachty. ¹⁸ Some of these artists have gone on to publicly express gratitude towards the platform after achieving wider appeal.

However, while perhaps a marker of its popularity or an indicator of its suitability for emerging artists, these cases do not prove that SoundCloud functions as scene. Instead, they merely show that it suffices for music distribution. The rise of the artists mentioned above may well have been isolated incidents, and though they used SoundCloud for hosting their music, we can't assume that they participated in it as a scene. To find evidence of SoundCloud's active sceneness, we need an example of a group actively using it as a scene, and in particular employing it to carry out the functions of a scene.



Khalid expressing gratitude to SoundCloud.

While there are numerous genres that have found a home on SoundCloud, and some that the site has been known for at different points in its history, there is one genre that stands out as having unambiguously originated on SoundCloud, namely, "SoundCloud rap." Due to its youth, it hasn't yet received scholarly attention, but it has received plenty in the popular press.

So what is SoundCloud rap? Writing for the New York Times, Jon Caramanica describes it as

^{18 &}quot;From SoundCloud to the Grammys — Congrats to Lil Uzi Vert, Khalid, Kehlani and More on Their 2017 Grammy Noms." SoundCloud. Accessed December 15, 2018. https://blog.soundcloud.com/2017/11/28/soundcloud-grammys-congrats-soundcloud-firsts-lil-uzi-vert-khalid-kehlani-2017-grammy-noms/.

"a swelling subgenre that takes its name from its creators' preferred streaming service — which in the last year has become the most vital and disruptive new movement in hip-hop thanks to rebellious music, volcanic energy and occasional acts of malevolence."

Sonically, it's often characterized by its low-fidelity (often featuring heavily distorted sounds, especially in the bass) and insistence. It has been compared to other genres outside of rap, such as grunge, punk rock, and hardcore.

SoundCloud rap's starkly characteristic sound can be tied in large part to the platform it has emerged on. As I alluded to earlier, Caramanica described it as a "logical retort" to the smooth, "Drakeera" rap put out by major labels. In contrast to this polished sound and production environment, SoundCloud rap embodies a do-it-yourself aesthetic which has prompted many comparisons to punk rock and its relatives. This directly relates to the ease of uploading on SoundCloud: the traditional pipeline that comes with a major record label (including sound engineers, production staff, expensive recording equipment, and of course the executives that decide when and if an album gets released) are all absent here. Artists can publish anything, at any time — they can throw together a track and upload it spur-of-the-moment, without going through the lengthy and deliberate process necessary for more traditional means of distribution. In the same article, Caramanica notes "the ease with which music can be uploaded to SoundCloud extends to the ethos of the entire SoundCloud rap aesthetic."

It seems clear that SoundCloud rap constitutes a scene — what's more, one with a highly distinct sound. And certainly, it's on SoundCloud. But that doesn't yet quite prove that SoundCloud is behaving as a scene. Consider, for example, the possibility that SoundCloud rap might indeed have a home, but that home is a physical place rather than SoundCloud itself, and the activity on SoundCloud is just the Internet manifestation of what is essentially a local scene. In fact, Caramanica mentions precisely this possibility, noting that "in some ways, this is a regional scene passing for an internet phenomenon: Most of the crucial artists and producers hail from the Miami area." However, this view is too narrow, as Caramanica is focusing specifically on a subset of the latest wave of SoundCloud

rappers: XXXTentacion, Smokepurpp, and Lil Pump. It's true that these artists all hail from Florida, but in the very same paragraph, he recognizes their immediate predecessors — also active SoundCloud rappers — such as Lil Uzi Vert, Young Thug, and Chief Keef, who are from Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Chicago respectively. Factoring in other contemporary SoundCloud rappers, such as Lil Peep (New York), Yung Lean (Stockholm), and Trippie Red (Atlanta), and it seems clear that, whatever local factors might play a role in the scene, it can't be pinned down to any one place.

SoundCloud rap is an active scene comprising artists and fans, and it really does seem to have its home on SoundCloud rather than in a physical space. Indeed, features of SoundCloud seem to have played a large role in the scene, as it's "the streaming service most oriented toward music discovery, and the one with the lowest barrier to entry," enabling artists to "ascend quicker than ever" and to achieve success "without traditional gatekeepers". The sui generis locality of this scene has shaped everything from its aesthetic sensibilities to its norms of interaction.

Takeaways, Challenges, and Future Work

SoundCloud is a uniquely positioned platform for music distribution and listening. So too, it's a unique kind of scene. Basically virtual, it stands in marked contrast to the virtual scenes previously afforded scholarly analysis, in that it caters not only to fans, but artists as well. And though virtual, it takes on many of the attributes that facilitate local scenes and allows them to thrive. Finally, its suitability as a scene isn't just a matter of theory and speculation — there's clear evidence (afforded to us by a vibrant, active scene) that SoundCloud really does behave as a scene in practice.

With that addressed, there are a few more items worth discussing. As mentioned above, SoundCloud has struggled with monetization since its inception. The service has experimented with

¹⁹ Information about the locations of SoundCloud rappers sourced through Wikipedia.

several subscription and advertisement models over the years, but evidently they haven't kept pace with the costs: back in 2017, SoundCloud abruptly laid off 173 employees (40% of its staff).²⁰

Similarly, it's been an uncertain road for artists on the platform. Most artists put their material up without any expectation of getting paid from the platform; rather, they see it as a free service that allows them to host and promote their music. Back in 2014, SoundCloud initiated an invite-only monetization program dubbed SoundCloud Premier. Four years later, SoundCloud finally opened it up to all artists, ²¹ subject to certain criteria. ²² But it's unclear how much money artists are actually making from the program; if it's anything like the payouts on other streaming services, the answer is probably not much. Thus, the idea that artists should be paid fairly for their work remains problematic in the streaming age, and it's unclear if that criteria still makes sense in an atmosphere where many artists see streaming services as a means of promotion for more tenable sources of income, including live shows, licensing opportunities, and merchandise.

Monetization isn't the only point of uncertainty SoundCloud faces. Though SoundCloud dominates its niche today, it plays in a changing field. Just two months prior to the time of writing, Spotify began allowing independent artists to self-upload their music, an unprecedented move for the company.²³ The barrier to entry is still higher than SoundCloud: a necessary prerequisite for self-uploading is having an artist profile, which entails first working with a record label or a distributor. But it's still a step in SoundCloud's direction.

²⁰ Wortham, Jenna. "The Disappearance of SoundCloud Has Become a Real Possibility. What Would That Mean for the Music Culture That Thrives on the Site?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 6, 2017, 14–17. https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rga&AN=124524133&site=eds-live&scope=site.

^{21 &}quot;SoundCloud Premier Monetization Is Now Available for All Eligible SoundCloud Pro and Pro Unlimited Content." SoundCloud. October 09, 2018. Accessed December 05, 2018. https://blog.soundcloud.com/2018/10/09/soundcloud-premier-monetization-now-available-eligible-soundcloud-pro-pro-unlimited-content/.

²² Upon rollout, these required the artist have a subscription to SoundCloud Pro or Pro Unlimited, no copyright strikes, and age of majority in their country, as well as at least 5,000 plays in the past month. As of the time of writing, this last requirement had been reduced to 1,000 plays in the past month.

^{23 &}quot;Now in Beta: Upload Your Music in Spotify for Artists." Spotify for Artists. September 20, 2018. Accessed December 06, 2018. https://artists.spotify.com/blog/now-in-beta-upload-your-music-in-spotify-for-artists.

YouTube is probably the largest platform supporting self-upload, and it too has been making moves that would cause more overlap with SoundCloud. In 2015, Google rolled out YouTube Music, a service including an app built with music streaming in mind, and it revamped the service earlier this year to make it more competitive. ²⁴ Given that YouTube already has a huge repository of user-uploaded music, introducing an interface primarily designed for music interaction could erode the boundaries that separate it from SoundCloud. All of this is to say that SoundCloud's position may become less unique as competing services expand into its territory.

Finally, I'd like to highlight the potential for future work in this area. Enabled by the Internet, today is a more active time of culture creation than ever before. Indeed, the Internet is full of communities, many of which are collaborative or creative, and it's a space that's only just receiving scholarly inquiry into these communities and how they work. The time is ripe for new studies, perhaps in the ethnographic tradition, that look into these communities and analyze them. Along the lines of my own work, it could be fruitful to consider other streaming platforms through theoretical lenses, such as Spotify, YouTube, and Bandcamp. While these might function less as scenes, it'd nonetheless be interesting to consider them through analytic frameworks of cultural capital and creation. Other likely places to look include Reddit, DeviantArt, Tumblr, and the proliferation of forums across the net, which offer robust platforms for discussion and sharing. In short, given the sheer breadth and depth of the Internet, there is no shortage of opportunities for further study.

^{24 &}quot;YouTube Music, a New Music Streaming Service, Is Coming Soon." Official YouTube Blog. May 16, 2018. Accessed December 14, 2018. https://youtube.googleblog.com/2018/05/youtube-music-new-music-streaming.html.

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