

[Re] Creating the Existing

Bachelor Thesis in Digital Cultures

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Examinor: Sara Tanderup Spring semester 2022 There is no such thing as a new idea. It is impossible. We simply take a lot of old ideas and put them into a sort of mental kaleidoscope. We give them a turn and they make new and curious combinations. We keep on turning and making new combinations indefinitely; but they are the same old pieces of colored glass that have been in use through all the ages.

- Mark Twain

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Abstract

There is extensive research on creativity and innovation, as well as the question of whether UGC and social media platforms foster creativity or dumb down culture. There is however a gap in research on how creative and innovative UGC is. The purpose of this study is therefore to investigate the creative motivations behind creating UGC and whether the UGC on TikTok is applicable to creative and innovative assessments. The study is conducted through a netnographic observation. Specifically, it is a case study of the content and creative process of Swedish creator Björn Holmgren on TikTok. This study observes the process of Holmgren first posting a tiktok (video on TikTok) where he added his own verse to the popular song "Satan i gatan" by the Swedish artist Veronica Maggio, to releasing his own song "Ut med allt", based on that first tiktok. The findings of this thesis demonstrate that motivational factors vary, but the importance of place, i.e., the infrastructure of TikTok as well as cultural perspectives and contexts are strong contributing factors. Through creative assessments, the UGC on TikTok could be considered creative from the extent of everyday life expressions of creativity, to professional-level creativity, which the netnographic observation on Holmgren's content proved. Lastly, by definition, UGC in the form of Holmgren's finished song "Ut med allt" could be considered innovative. Whilst the existing forms of innovative assessments are not really applicable to UGC today, however, we do not see how they could not evolve to be in the future.

Keywords: Creativity, Innovation, User-generated Content, Gatekeepers, Intellectual Property, Copyright, Convergence Theory, Participatory Culture, Spreadability.

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1. Introduction

The field of creativity and innovation constitutes a vast research landscape. People have always been creative and innovative: it is a vital part of our evolution and progression as a society. We live in a creative age, where "creativity has become a major driving force behind economic growth" (Gruszka & Tang, 2017, p. 51). Thus, terms such as "creative industries" and "creative economy" have been introduced to specify businesses thriving from the individual's talent and imagination (p.51). Just as in previous epochs with expansions in knowledge-technologies, such as the agricultural and industrial ages, this new creative age enabled by Web 2.0 could be seen as just an important part of history (Hartley et al., 2015, p. 6). Web 2.0 has enabled more people to be creative openly, bringing with it both opportunities and several new issues. When defining Web 2.0, terms such as "user-generated content", "convergence culture", "participatory media" and "social media" are often used (Fuchs, 2021, p. 28). The crucial thing with social media users is that they "as a collective intelligence, co-create the value of platforms" (Fuchs, 2021, p. 26). Thus, users of social media challenge the traditional hierarchies of preexisting media companies, where producers and consumers are no longer separate entities. There is no need to be a creative professional to participate when anyone who has access to a device connected to WiFi can use social media as a creative outlet and share their artistic expression. Furthermore, social media allows for collaboration and crowdsourcing. With the opportunity to connect to other people from a vast network, the possibility of harnessing insights and knowledge of peers working in both similar and different areas, are no longer dependent on aspects such as time differences and where in the world they're situated (Tapscott & Williams, 2006, p. 269). Collaborating accelerates growth, encourages innovation, and allows for a more extensive business ecosystem (Tapscott & Williams, 2006, p. 27).

However, this digital age does not come without its challenges. Enabling users to post content online, sometimes without needing to give any identification of who the original author is, has led to conflict regarding intellectual property, piracy, and illegal copyright. It is difficult to determine others' ideas and bits of content that continuously circulate on the internet. The enabling of cut and paste has made it easier to make other people's content appear as our own (Keen, 2007, pp. 23-25). Furthermore, everything users do online, from uploading content, liking and writing comments, using search engines, browsing profiles, etc., generates a form of audience commodity which can

then be sold to advertisers (Fuchs, 2021, p. 85). Posting online could be motivated out of fun, from social pressure, to encourage interaction or provoke controversial thoughts or share divisive content. This, some critics argue, has become a threat to culture in the sense that yielding profit and exchange value has replaced the importance of posting and creating cultural assets on the internet. Instead of perceiving culture as creating meaning-making, corporations exploit cultural workers for commercial consumption in order to make money (Fuchs, 2021, p. 79). Thus, critics would argue that social media is flattening culture, undermining intellectual property, and blurring the lines between experts and amateurs.

1.1 Background

We live in an era where being social equals participating in the digital landscape. We are encouraged to participate, share, like, give feedback and react to everything we see online. This digital change, in the amount of data and information we absorb, defines a new age. Daniel Pink (2005) coined the term "conceptual age" in his book *A Whole New Mind*. The conceptual age is defined by the constant process of receiving an overflow of data and facts and in order to cope with this, we create *meaning* out of the results. The new conceptual age allows our minds to draw associations to create value from the information we receive. We are constantly seeking new and improved solutions - "The human does not settle for barely results anymore" (p. 1).

TikTok, also recognized as Douyin in China, is a social media app made for creating and sharing shorter videos, usually referred to as a *tiktok*. The platform was originally launched in September 2016 and is owned by the Chinese company ByteDance Ltd. A tiktok is somwhere between 15 seconds to 3 minutes long and the content varies from being entertaining such as sketches or reaction-videos, to more educational tutorials. TikTok has over 1 billion users and is available in 150 countries. TikTok describes its platform as an online culture that acts as an extended version of real-life social structures: "The TikTok community is a reflection of our communities at large - diverse ecosystems of creators, people, culture drivers, and everything in between" (TikTok Newsroom, 2021). The platform encourages engagement on an enormous scale and requires new and different thinking. Challenges and hashtags are a successful way of creating user engagement which many brands use in their marketing strategy (Kantar, 2022).

TikTok is a business thriving on the individual's talent and imagination. Therefore, the platform could arguably be seen as part of the *creative economy*. The creative economy is rooted in culture. More specifically, it is "a system for the production, exchange, and use of creative products" (Howkins, 2013, p. 6). Creativity becomes economic when there is a value put upon it, meaning when it can be owned, exchanged, traded, and shared. A common presumption is that the creative economy simply implies copyright, trademark, and patents, i.e. selling intellectual property which according to Hartley et al (2015) some argue is a legal construct made by governments, to protect the economical rights of producers (p. 3). United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) on the other hand claims that the creative economy "is an evolving concept which builds on the interplay between human creativity and ideas and intellectual property, knowledge, and technology" (UNCTAD, 2022). The creative economy is the sum of all the creative industries and therefore includes advertising, architecture, arts and crafts, design, fashion, film, video, photography, music, performing arts, publishing, research & development, software, computer games, electronic publishing, and TV/radio (UNCTAD, 2022). The creative economy accounts for 3% of the global GDP, and the Cultural and Creative Industries generate 2,250 billion USD annually (UNESCO, 2022).

Andrew Keen (2007) expresses that Web 2.0 facilitates the creative amateur and thus, is dumbing down culture. Starting with the use of blogs, people have realized they can share their opinions and hobbies online (pp. 3-5). According to Tapscott and Williams (2006), Keen's worry is that the amateurs will drown out the authentic talent as he argues that Web 2.0 "suggests that everyone - even the most poorly educated and inarticulate amongst us - can and should use digital media to express and realize themselves" (p. 272). The idea that mass media and an overflow of information are dumbing down our culture, is not a new conception. Perspectives like these have been around for decades. The opinion that popular culture is killing "culture" is an idea that a few theorists have expressed throughout the evolution of the society we live in today. Adorno and Horkheimer (1944), marxist philosophers of the Frankfurt School, for one, criticized the media and mass production of popular culture for exploiting the creative industry. They argued that traditional creative forms lose their value when all products of the culture industry are designed for economic profit, and therefore become a part of the capitalistic rationality (pp. 94-136).

1.2 Purpose and Research Question

Creativity, its business-like cousin innovation, and the internet are not new, but the dynamic relationship between them is. How the expression of one's own ideas can generate both entertainment and profit for a lot more people are new (Howkins, 2013, p. viii). Creative thinking turned to innovative thinking is what has enabled the rise and continued success of social media companies like TikTok, which now dominates the market. TikTok enables the production of short video clips with added sounds of different characters. There is much attention in research and literature given to the question of whether user-generated content (UGC) and social platforms foster creativity or dumb down culture. There is however a gap in research on how creative and innovative UGC is. As each platform's infrastructure and content are unique, we see the need to study each platform independently. Our purpose with this essay is thus to investigate how creative and innovative the user-generated content on the platform TikTok is - if it is even possible to apply creative and innovative assessments to UGC? To be able to determine this, we first need to explore the possible creative motivation and factors behind creating UGC. Secondly, we intend to examine the level of creativity and innovativeness of the creative outcome of UGC. To conduct this study, we have chosen to do a case study on the content of Swedish creator Björn Holmgren on TikTok, as his content reflects some of the different content and trends that circulate on the platform. Furthermore, we chose Holmgren to be able to raise cross-cultural perspectives on UGC. We will especially focus on a song he released, called "Ut med allt", which is based on a tiktok he made re-creating a popular Swedish song called "Satan i gatan" by Veronica Maggio. With the purpose stated, this study aims to answer the following research question:

- What are the possible creative factors motivating the creation of user-generated content on TikTok?
- Is it possible to apply creative assessments to user-generated content on TikTok?
- Is it possible to apply innovative assessments to user-generated content on TikTok?

1.3 Delimitations

This study is delimited to the UGC of the social media platform TikTok. While it briefly discusses the general content of the app, it specifically focuses on the content presented by Björn Holmgren. After a thorough research period, we chose Holmgren and his content as our case study for the

reason that we observed creative and innovative characteristics in his content, as well as we could follow the whole creative/innovative process of having an idea to releasing a finished product. When referring to the creative process, we refer to the process of the motivation behind the idea, implementing the idea, improving it, and then finally releasing the final product. A qualitative study, which this essay is, does not intend to find an absolute truth. Thus, the result in this essay will be based on the experiences and prerequisites that existed at the time of the study. The Internet is a dynamic, ever-changing place, and the way the digital culture seems at this given moment in time might be completely different in a couple of years. Furthermore, the fields of creativity and innovation are too immense to be able to fit into this essay. Thus, we cannot, with the limited timeframe and the extent of the essay, take into account all of the possible theories that would suffice for this sort of study. Depending on the subject of the research, and not understanding the nature and limitation of the theories, the risk of excluding theoretical consideration otherwise increases. Finally, we will not take into account the economical revenue expected from user-generated content.

1.4 Key Concepts

1.4.1 Creativity

Creativity is often synonymous with terms such as imagination, talent, inventiveness, and originality. Most research on the topic does not include a definite definition which Plucker and Makel (2010) deduce may be due to the vast variety of research that is made on the topic. Rather than having a set definition, each researcher defines creativity based on the conception used in their work (p. 49). Plucker and Makel (2010), therefore, suggest that creativity be defined as the "interaction among aptitude, process, and environment by which an individual or group produces a perceptible product that is both novel and useful as defined within a social context" (p. 49). According to Sternberg & Lubart (2005) creativity could also be defined as "the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)" (p. 3). Creativity expresses ideas and feelings. Often it is associated with art, but according to Howkins (2013), it as often leads to innovation. Both art and innovation have the same thinking process, to first imagine and then present the idea of one's reality. Creativity on its own however does not have any economical value, not until it is embodied into shape or product. A creative product is an economic good, experience, or service resulting from creative activity and whose main economic value is also based on creativity (pp. 4-5). Howkins (2013) proposes three propositions: the first

include that children are born with a natural capacity for creativity, and an instinct to use it, the second includes the freedom to exercise imagination and cultural expression and the third proposition is the need for a market which allows for an exchange creative goods based on supply and demand (p. 11).

1.4.2 Innovation

The difference between creativity and *innovation* lies in that creativity is subjective, independent, and personal while innovation is objective, public, and requires agreement. Innovation is repeatable by anyone, while it is hard to exactly repeat creativity, even by its original creator (Howkins, 2013, p. 5). There are many definitions and claims about what innovation is and what it does. There has been a formal definition in the Oslo Manual (OECD's Innovation Manual) since 1992. The first definition was on the other hand limited mainly to manufacturing, process innovation, and putting new products on the market. It was later revised in 1997, and again between 2003 and 2005, following new findings, guidelines, and the influence of service industries (Gault, 2016, pp. 1-2). The definition in paragraph 146 from OECD/Eurostat, as cited in Gault (2016) is:

An *innovation* is the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations. (p. 3)

The definition is broad enough, but it is with the added definition of *implementation* in paragraph 150 that Gault (2016) asserts that the definition solely applies to the Business enterprise sector of SNA, The System of National Accounts (p. 3), ("the internationally agreed standard set of recommendations on how to compile measures of economic activity" (UNSTATS, 2022)). The paragraph reads:

A common feature of an innovation is that it must have been *implemented*. A new or improved product is implemented when it is introduced on the market. New processes, marketing methods or organisational methods are implemented when they are brought into actual use in the firm's operations. (p. 3)

The indicators of this being applied solely to the Business enterprise sector are terms such as "on the market", "the firm's operations" and "marketing method". Gault (2016) suggests that there could be a more generalized definition of innovation for measurements proposed which would be applicable in all sectors of the SNA. Even though they would, later on, need to be rephrased in each sector to reflect the different contexts, the definition could be supporting an international comparison of innovation in each sector (p. 3). This, for example by replacing "firm" with "institutional unit" and "introduced on the market" with "made available to potential users". Innovation would then instead be defined as:

An *innovation* is the implementation of a new or significantly changed product or process. A product is a good or a service. Process includes production or delivery, organisation, or marketing processes. (p. 11)

And implementation would be defined as:

A new or significantly changed product is *implemented* when it is made available to potential users. New or significantly changed processes are implemented when they are brought into actual use in the operation of the institutional unit, including the making of product available to potential users. (p. 11)

1.4.3 User-generated Content, UGC

User-generated content also referred to as UGC, is the content made by users on digital platforms. Previously, big media companies, publishers, and other professionals within their subject were solely in control of producing content and culture in radio, television, and publishing. While these acted as producers and manufacturers, the consumers acted as the receivers (Fuchs, 2021, p. 157). With the rise of Web 2.0 and social media, however, individuals can create and generate their own content in the form of text, images, videos, music, stories, etc. UGC is for example when someone posts a photo on Instagram or writes and shares a review on a restaurant on Trustpilot. The content can be entertaining in ways of publishing funny clips on TikTok or YouTube or it could be for educational purposes. The structure of the internet and the allowing for many-to-many communication has moreover opened up new opportunities for advertising. Companies like Google cracked the code to a

billion-dollar business idea, simply linking their user's own content to other preexisting content. Thus, everything users do online, from uploading content, using search engines, liking and writing comments, etc, generates a form of audience commodity which can then be sold to advertisers (Keen, 2007, pp. 135-136). Furthermore, UGC is used for cheaper marketing by companies. According to Fuchs (2021), celebrities and influencers, being the embodiment of success, happiness, and social recognition, "are supported, represented and paid for by capitalist companies that sell entrainment, lifestyles, brands or ads" through social media platforms like Instagram and Youtube (p. 174).

1.4.4 Gatekeepers

In traditional media, there are *gatekeepers*, credentialed people who are entrusted to evaluate quality and originality in work (Tapscott & Williams, 2006, p. 271). There are gatekeepers in every sector, maintaining values and standards of practice within those sectors. This involves for example editors and reviewers of books, newspapers, and patent lawyers. These gatekeepers are now being exchanged for bloggers, vloggers, people who produce their own music in their bedroom, and self-publishers. With the internet undermining these gatekeepers, users can directly reach their audience, whoever they are, and they will be the judge of their work. While Keen argues that the overflow of content created by amateurs is drowning out the authentic talent. Tapscott and Williams (2006) proclaim that the chance of finding talents might be even bigger now than ever (p. 272). As gatekeepers are the ones that decide what could be seen as quality or not, they are also enablers and controllers of access. They have an important filtering rule, which could benefit the right people and discriminate against others. Furthermore, even works of art which have met the supposed required high standard by gatekeepers can be flawed (p. 274). They are still human people who make mistakes and errors. People are now no longer hindered by aspects such as limited shelf space, funding, or even the ignorance of the gatekeepers who might still be influenced by their own presumptions and preferences (Shirky, 2008, p. 77).

1.4.5 Intellectual Property

Then there is the subject of *intellectual property*. Creative outputs (outcome) often qualify as intellectual property. When an individual's talent and creativity are generated into an idea of economic value, it must be monetized and protected. Hartley et al., (2015), argue that this is less

about creativity in itself and more about the shift between culture to the economy and private-property rights (p. 31). Enabling users to post their own content online has led to conflict regarding intellectual property, piracy, and illegal copyright. Parts of the creative economy such as books, film, and music can be copied, illegally uploaded, and watched for free by users (Keen, 2007, p. 117). Napster is of course an early example of how traditional media can be exploited online by users, as a free streaming service enabling file distribution. This sort of property can be protected through copyright, trademarks, and patents (Tapscott & Williams, 2006, p. 25). What is more difficult and less obvious to determine are other ideas and bits of content that continuously circulate on the internet. Who really owns the pictures and text being spread? Social media makes it easier to share, repurpose and replicate the content without needing to give any identification of who the original author was. The enabling of cut and paste has made it easier to make other people's content appear as our own. This raises the question of authorship online (Keen, 2007, pp. 23-25).

1.4.6 Copyright

No creative work is protected automatically by *copyright law* worldwide, but certain international treaties can protect them. As soon as the creative work is in a *fixed* medium it can be protected. Meaning, that the work must be in a tangible medium of expression e.g. that it can be communicated, perceived, or reproduced (Goldstein & Hugenholtz, 2019, p. 26). According to World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), the Berne Convention, from 1886, have 179 contracting countries agreed on the treaty (WIPO, 2022). Wikström (2020) argues in his book The music industry: music in the cloud, that the contemporary music industry has become a "copyright industry". That copyright is a part of the music industry is not a new finding, but Wikström reasons that instead of being called a cultural or creative industry, it should be labeled as a copyright industry based on the environment the products are created and traded in, which is a consequence of the rise of streaming services. He points out that products in this industry are often categorized as information goods since "they are intangible and can be digitized" (p. 23). TikTok's own intellectual property policy declares that "generally, copyright protects an original expression of an idea (e.g. the specific way a video or music is expressed or created) but does not protect underlying ideas or facts" (TikTok, 2021). TikTok does not allow any content that infringes copyright, however, they also declare that "not all unauthorized uses of copyrighted content constitute an infringement". In many countries, there are exceptions under certain circumstances regarding the allowed use of copyrighted

works without authorization. For example, the fair use doctrine in the United States and the permitted acts of fair dealing in the European Union. Users located in the European Union are therefore allowed to use copyright works for the purpose of pastiche, caricature, or parody as well as quotation, review, and criticism, provided that such use is fair. By fair use they mean that the copyrighted work must, where applicable: "(i) be no longer than necessary; (ii) be accompanied by sufficient acknowledgement of the source material and (iii) not unreasonably harm the legitimate interests of the rightholder" (TikTok, 2021).

1.4.7 Convergence Theory and Participatory Culture

The Convergence culture theory refers to the cultural process or development of the fusion between old and new media. According to Jenkins (2006), convergence signifies, among other things, the opportunity to gather information, old as well as new, on the same platform. Previous "rules" and practices do not necessarily apply as people are now able to participate beyond the limitation of time of day, or where in the world they are situated. For example, people are able to read the news on a website instead of in a physical newspaper (p. 5). The sharing culture and participatory culture are consequences of convergence culture. Participatory culture is based on the involvement of audiences and users. Christian Fuchs (2014), a critical theorist of communication and social media, proclaims that the model of participatory culture often opposes mass media and the traditional forms of media because it claims that society becomes more democratic when audiences and consumers are able to create content on their own (p. 52). Jenkins argues that we are expected and expect others to share and disseminate information to our network and others. The sharing culture thrives on the desire of users to co-produce and share resources including information, knowledge, services, and experiences out of solidarity rather than for economic profit. "Participation is organized in and through social collectivities and connectivities" (Jenkins et al., 2013, p. 163). Fuchs critically questions Jenkins's model of participatory culture as it ignores aspects such as the ownership of social media platforms where participatory culture takes place, especially how either users or waged employees are participating in economic decision-making within these platforms. Furthermore, Jenkins, Ford, and Green (2013, as cited in Fuchs, 2014) claim that we "do not and may never live in a society where every member is able to fully participate" (p. 56) as if that is a natural feature of society. Fuchs state that participation is about every human's right to be a part of decision-making and to be able to govern the structures which affect them (p. 57). Keltie (2017) further attributes the idea of the

participatory culture introducing a new term: *authorized participatory*. Authorized participatory is a term for analyzing the effects participatory culture has on the culture industry as well as the opposite (p. 133). Further concerns regarding what effect participatory culture has on the culture industry can refer back to Adorno and Horkheimer's (1944) theories that users of digital platforms are being exploited by big media companies.

1.4.8 Spreadability

In the book Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture, Jenkins et al., (2013) introduces the concept of *spreadability*, which they argue is a corrective to the idea of stickiness, which is an established term when talking about media studies. Stickiness refers, briefly, to the content that people want to spread. That is the content that attracts and engages a large audience, which makes users stay on a certain platform or webpage, creating a stickiness. Spreadability, which is a development of the previously mentioned concept and a way to answer the limits of this, refers to the technical and cultural potential of spreading media content in the user's own interest. It refers to the possibility of wide circulation and distribution of information on a platform (p. 4). This theory suggests that in a contemporary media landscape audiences are crucial for the spread of media and data. The concept of spreadability and stickiness is often mentioned when discussing "virality". When talking about content that has had a huge spread, it is often said that something has "gone viral". It is viewed as a phenomenon that often "can transform society by changing people's awareness, norms, and behaviors around events and issues" (Nahon & Hemsley, 2013, p. 15). Some factors affect whether content goes viral or not on social media platforms, such as Tiktok. These factors include likes, shares, comments, and re-watchings, that is, the more interaction, the more likely the content is to reach a larger audience. Another factor is categorization, which TikTok uses to sort videos into different "sections" or "groups". Furthermore, TikTok is dependent on its use of sounds. The attribution of "use this sound" is a way of boosting sounds to go viral. When a sound is trending, the more likely a video using that sound is of going viral. TikTok is dependent on an algorithm that recognizes certain device settings such as posting location and language. Hashtags, captions, user activity, and a "not interested" feedback for each user are a further part of this algorithm control. TikTok uses the previous activity, i.e what sort of content a user likes, comments, or re-watch, to create a relevant "for you" page for each user (Valdovinos Kaye et al., 2021 pp. 3195-3197). Algorithms, with other metadata and interfaces, encode social

values in the digital landscape that surrounds us. That, together with user activities, co-creates the social and cultural patterns on platforms (Haider & Sundin, 2016, p. 3). From this perspective, one could say that algorithms control large parts of how our online society works.

1.5 Previous Research

As mentioned in our purpose, there is much attention in research and literature on whether user-generated content and social platforms foster creativity, or are instead dumbing down culture. Examples of this view are Andrew Keen's (2007) *The cult of the amateur: how today's internet is killing our culture and assaulting our economy*, Don Tapscott and Anthony D. Williams, (2006) *Wikinomics: how mass collaboration changes everything*, and Christian Fuchs (2021) *Social Media: A critical introduction*, which we introduced briefly in our introduction. Likewise, there is a lot of research on creativity, which will be introduced in order to give some background to the field. While most research regarding innovation focuses on business and firm levels, as will we mention more in our theoretical framework, there is some research carried out on innovation in culture as well as innovation and creativity online. Moreover, we will present some previous research made on social media platforms. However, little research has been done on the UGC on TikTok. There is one article by Xu et al., (2019) who have examined why TikTok has become popular: "Research on the Causes of the 'Tik Tok' App Becoming Popular and the Existing Problems".

1.5.1 Previous Research on Creativity

To be able to grasp the research field of creativity, it is important to understand that there are many approaches to this study. According to Sternberg and Lubart (2005), the interest in studying the subject began to grow in the second half of the twentieth century when J.P Guilford challenged the field of psychology to focus more on the neglected, but nonetheless important subject of creativity. Sternberg and Lubart (2005) appoint six roadblocks or paradigms that have been used to understand creativity in the *Handbook of Creativity*. The first is that the origins of the study of creativity often is associated with *mystical beliefs and spirituality*, based on a divine intervention of inspiration. This way, it has been hard for creativity to be taken seriously as a scientific study. Equally damaging is the *pragmatic approach* according to Sternberg and Lubart (2005). This approach seeks primarily to develop creativity, and even though it had some commercial success it lacks validity in any psychological theory or research. Edward De Bono is perhaps most associated with this approach

with his ideas of lateral thinking and "thinking hats" to help with being creative (p.5). The psychodynamic idea was later proposed by Freud, which considers creativity as something rooted in the tension between the conscious reality and our unconscious wishes. This was the first major twentieth-century theoretical approach to the study, and although it offered some new insights it is seen as peripheral to the center of the emerging scientific field of psychology (p. 6). The psychometric approach was then initiated by J.P Guilford who tried to define and measure creativity through pen-and-pencil tasks. Building on Guilford's work, Ellis Paul Torrance later developed a test on his own, the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking, scoring the participant on fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration. These psychometric tests were on the other hand criticized by researchers as a trivialized and inadequate way of measuring and capturing the concept of creativity (p. 7). The *cognitive approach* views creativity as extraordinary results of ordinary cognitive processes, as a special case of what is already studied in the cognitive field, making it not really necessary to study the subject separately. Lastly, there is a social-personality approach, focusing on certain personality traits that characterize creative people, "motivational variables and the sociocultural environment as sources of creativity" (p. 8). Meaning that viewing a part of the phenomena as the whole phenomenon only results in a narrow, unsatisfying vision of what creativity is (p. 8).

1.5.2 Innovation in Culture

Daniela Jelinčić (2017) presents in her book *Innovations in culture and development - The culturinno effect in Public Policy*, a new term called "the culturinno effect" - a combination of the words culture and innovation. She starts by raising the issue that if all sorts of cultures have intrinsic, internal, values, then it is not up to the law, scholars, or the public to define which is of value. It is instead up to each individual to judge and reflect upon which cultural innovations that are of great value to themselves. "In traditional societies, too much innovation was often seen as disruption, but in modern times, creativity and innovation are seen to help individuals, communities, and societies alike to tackle the new challenges and constantly confront them" (p. 10). Moreover, she argues that the concept of innovation often is related to research in the economic field, but previous literature and studies that deal with innovation in culture are rather scarce (p. 28).

1.5.3 Creativity and Innovation Online

Jaakola (2022), has in her book *Reviewing Culture Online*, given a new and unique perspective on user-generated content, focusing on user-reviewing and reviewing online culture. She discusses platformized cultural production and points out important key aspects. She suggests looking beyond the binary of professional and amateur production. The digital culture we live in has created a tool for enhanced communications and self-expression. Jaakola continues to point out valuable insights on the digital development opening up for culture industries extending online and as a consequence of this is being affected by the present platform society, what she terms as "platformized cultural production" (p. 72). She further develops this concept and points out that the boundaries between the frequently used notion of "professionals" and "amateurs" are being blurred as an effect of social media such as TikTok (p. 122). This gives us valuable insights, which we will be able to build upon and link to our own findings when applying the concepts of user-generated content and online creation being affected by platformization.

1.5.4 Platform Research

In "You made this? I made this? Practices of Authorship and (Mis)Attribution on TikTok" written by Valdovinos Kaye et al., (2021) point out how easy it is to replicate someone else's work on a platform such as TikTok, and the consequences of this phenomenon. The article studies how a TikTok creator called out a verified user (someone who has many followers) for recreating his content without giving credit to the original creator. Valdovinos Kaye et al., discuss relevant terms such as "credit", "copyright", "platformization" and "authorship". It is hard to take authorship over your own content on TikTok. However, there is a moral code of giving credit when taking inspiration from someone else's work. This is something that can be seen in the different types of content on TikTok. It applies to everything from humor videos to music content. Valdovinos Kaye et al., is an essential starting point when continuing this paper, as it is based on the platform TikTok because it is important to consider the environment of the digital culture that is being researched. This paper, however, is not focused on TikTok creators "stealing" (or getting inspired by) others' work on the platform and not giving credit but rather seeking to study how a creative individual is being inspired by a "professionals" creative work and examining how its outcome can be motivated and measured.

2. Theoretical Background

Chapter 2 will present the theoretical framework on which this study will be based. The first part of this chapter will focus on the creativity theories, models, and assessment techniques relevant to studying the level of creativity of user-generated content. Secondly, we will present innovation and the theory of diffusion of innovation as well as some ways of assessing innovative outcomes. This is done in order to be able to investigate if user-generated content can be considered innovative. Thirdly, the uses and gratification theory will be presented to explain the possible motivation for creating and sharing UGC. Furthermore, we will take into account Bourdieu's theories on capital, field, and habitus when looking at individuals' social structure and taste. Finally, Lessig's theories on Read/Only and Read/Write will be essential when studying how people are being encouraged to participate in a digital culture.

2.1 Creativity

2.1.1 Theories of Creativity

There is an array of theories about creativity. The theories are not all alike, which Kozbelt et al., (2010) deduce has something to do with the complexity of the topic itself (p. 21). Since there are many definitions and conceptualizations of creativity, the theories will vary. To avoid entangling ourselves too much in the web of creative theories, we have chosen to analyze creativity through two models and one theory. The theory of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation describes the possible motivation behind creating, while the 4 Ps explain the factors that weigh in when creating. The model of 4 Cs helps map different creative outcomes and finally, we discuss techniques for measuring these outcomes.

2.1.1.1 Extrinsic and Intrinsic Theory

Theorists have been studying the reasons behind creative behavior which has led to the conclusion that internal factors (e.g. traits, motives, or attitudes) and external situations (e.g. norms, pressure, or environment) affect the motivation of these practices. Around 1970 the terms *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* began to appear more frequently and they are now dominating the discussion when talking about the association between creative behavior and motivation (Hennessey, 2010, p. 350). The biggest difference between these two terms is that while intrinsic motivation is internally rewarding,

extrinsic refers to a person that does an activity to gain external reward. Someone who perceives their motivation as intrinsic rather than extrinsic tends to have a sense that they are playing instead of working. Extrinsic motivation focuses on outcomes such as money, power, and fame. On the other hand, intrinsic motivation is when someone does something out of pure enjoyment in order to satisfy basic psychological needs. This is often based on curiosity, passion, and self-expression (Legault, 2016, pp. 2-3).

2.1.1.2 The 4 (or 6) Ps of Creativity

Creativity may also be considered in relation to which aspect of creativity they emphasize. Mel Rhodes's (1961, as cited in British Council, 2022) model of the Four Ps of creativity positions creativity as an outcome of one or several of the four Ps: person, place, process, and product. The model has been referenced regularly since it was first published by researchers, and more recent versions have extended it with two more Ps, adding persuasion and potential (Kozbelt et al., p. 24). Although they often overlap, they offer a way to categorize creativity. *Person* refers to the longstanding idea of the creative person. Much of the early research, as described in previous research on creativity, focuses on personality, individual traits, intrinsic motivation, and emotional openness. Any given trait, however, is valued differently depending on the domain-specific context (Gruszka & Tang, 2017, p. 60). Personality is now usually more perceived as an influence rather than an explanation for creativeness. Physical and social aspects can also influence the ability to be creative, thus place (or press as it was called in the original model since the environment is pressing on the individual) has an important role in the research when defining interaction between people and environments (Kozbelt et al., p. 24). These influences do not shape the creative outcome directly, but rather they are either supportive or constraining. However, they mediate or moderate the creative ability by affecting variables related to the creative process or person (Gruszka & Tang, 2017, p. 61). The creative environment can be both analog and digital. The third P, *Process*, relates to the understanding of the behavioral factors and cognitive mechanics behind creative thinking or activity. Lastly, *product* references the outcome of the creative process (e.g. works of art, inventions, music, etc.). Being the most objective approach to creativity, it permits quantitative objectivity and is available for assessment in terms of productivity, level of innovation, and value to society. The later attribution of *persuasion* was made with the argument that creative people influence and change the way others think, therefore they must be persuasive (Kozbelt et al., pp. 24-25). Thus, creativity may

be seen as a form of leadership (Gruszka & Tang, 2017, p. 54). The *creative potential* refers to the process, person, and place and focuses on the yet unfulfilled possibilities (Kozbelt et al., pp. 24-25).

2.1.1.3 The 4 Cs of Creativity

The model of the 4 Cs of creativity (See Figure 1) developed by Beghetto and Kaufman (2016, as cited in Britsh Council, 2022), helps conceptualize the different levels of creative magnitude. The "little - c" focuses on everyday life expressions of creativity, accessible to almost anyone. It describes everyday innovations and ideas that are new and valuable to the local community and solve localized problems. The "Big - C", on the other hand, refers to the more domain-specific knowledge and are specific examples of creativity. The creators on this level are international professionals whose ideas have transformed the field (British Council, 2022). These two levels are however considered to be too limited in some ways and too inclusive in others. To resolve this constraint, Kaufman and Beghetto (2007, as cited in Kozbelt et al., 2010) argued that there should be two additional levels: "mini - c" and "Pro - C". Adding the "mini - c" helps distinguish the subjective and objective of "little - c", while also fitting the more individual expression and emotional forms of creativity (pp. 23-24). "Mini - c" is personal insight, which if explored and developed, leads to "little - c". Adding the "Pro - C" helps fill in the gray area between the "little - c" and the "Big - C". "Pro - C" is for the professional-level artists that are beyond the "little - c", but that is not yet, or might never be, on the same level as the greatest artists (British council, 2022).

Creativity Type	Description	Evaluation & Impact
Big-C	work that transforms a field of expertise	global, professional
Pro-c	robust ideas that add to existing field	professional community
Little-c	everyday, localised problem solving	local community
Mini-c	novel and personally meaningful learning	the individual

Figure 1
(British council, Beghetto & Kaufmans' 4 Cs of Creativity, 2022)

2.1.2 Measuring Creativity

There are multiple theories on measuring creativity. The traditional areas of psychometric study in creative research often include the creative processes, behavior and personality, attributes of creative products, and the characteristics of creativity-fostering environments. While all of these are interesting and possibly applicable to user-generated content, this essay focuses on the creative outcome, thus the product. From a general perspective, creativity is often associated with the creative product - a physical object, an idea, or a process (Greszka & Tang, 2017, p. 54). While Plucker and Makel (2010) consider assessing products the most appropriate measure of creativity, it receives much less attention in research and literature than process or personality does (p. 58). The creativity of artistic products, in particular, generates a hot debate in general, since while it is considered the most objective approach (Greszka & Tang, 2017, p. 55), personal taste is seen as subjective and personal (Plucker & Makel, 2010, p. 59).

2.1.2.1 Assessing Products

Multiple techniques for assessing creative products have emerged in recent years after some stagnation in the 1990s. One of the more advanced techniques for assessing creative products is the Consensual Assessment Technique or CAT for short. As pointed out previously, there have been some difficulties in defining creativity, which has created a criterion problem when designing assessments. CAT is based on the assurement that people know creativity when they see it, therefore it uses the combined assessment of expert judges on a certain domain without being tied to a specific theory. While CAT has been proved to be a reliable technique across diverse research contexts, there is still an issue of who constitutes a suitable expert. Determining the level of expertise required by the judge is dependent on a variety of factors and will differ with the domain-specificity of the product that will be assessed. Findings also show that experts and novice judges tend to differ quite a bit in their assessments. Depending on the domain, the ratings sometimes do not correlate at all. Runco and his colleagues (1994, as cited in Plucker & Makel, 2010) have for some time questioned why "expert" opinions should be deemed more valuable or more useful than those of peers or teachers (pp. 58-60).

2.1.3 Cross-cultural Perspectives

It is important to point out that creativity is contextual. Creativity is based on culture, which could be defined as: "shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experiences of members of the collective and are transmitted across age generations" (Lubart, 2010, p. 265). Creativity differs in different cultures in multiple ways. Some cultures allow for everyday creativity, while in others it is seen as an exclusive ability. It is valued and recognized differently and while there might be some universal component of creativity, for example, the degree of novelty or adaptive value, it will still be different in different domains and fields. For example in technology, adaptiveness is higher regarded than novelty. In other domains, the notion of adaptive value is regarded higher in relation to its societal utility - how much it contributes to society. Another difference can be found in product versus process. Especially Western cultures focus more on the creative outcome and give little thought to the creative thought process of the production. From an "Eastern" perspective, the process is the main focus of creativity. The Eastern perspective is insight-oriented in the way that it involves connecting to a larger reality, finding new interpretations, and rediscovering existing elements (Lubart, pp. 267-268). Even the

conception of characteristics of creative people may vary. Research done on a variety of countries has shown that while they share the same conception of cognitive skills, motivational attributes, and characteristics, some cultures mentioned some characteristics while others mentioned others. For example, some regarded "aesthetic" as important, while others again, favored "makes a contribution to the progress of society" (Lubart, p. 270).

2.2 Innovation

2.2.1 Everett Rogers' Diffusion of Innovation

Everett Rogers (2003), a professor of communication studies, has developed the theory of diffusion of innovations which seeks to explain how, when, and at what rate new ideas spread. There are four elements: innovation, communication channels, time, and social systems that make up the process of diffusion. Rogers (2003) defines diffusion as the process in which "an innovation is communicated through certain *channels over time* among the members of a *social system*" (p. 11). Rogers defines the first element, innovation, as: "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (p. 12). He argues that what identifies as "new" is based on whether an individual perceives it as new, and if they do, it is innovation. Innovation is often associated with technology. Rogers points out that while we often associate technology with hardware, the software is equally important (p. 13). There are five different perceived attributes of innovation that will either help the innovation be adopted more quickly or reasons for it to be rejected. "The characteristics of innovations, as perceived by individuals, help to explain their different rates of adoption" (p. 15). The first one: Relative advantage is the degree to which an innovation is perceived to be better than the idea it came from not only in economic terms but also in terms of social prestige factors and satisfaction. It is not about the objective advantage but rather the advantages perceived by the individual. The second one: Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being compatible with the values, norms, and experiences of potential adopters. The third one: Complexity is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as complicated to understand and use, and thus, adopted more slowly. The fourth one: Trialability is the degree to which an innovation might be experimented with. An innovation that has been tried in the installment plan, represents less uncertainty to the potential adopter and therefore might be adopted more quickly. Finally, observability is the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to

potential adopters. The easier the results are presented, the more users are likely to adopt it (pp. 15-16).

The second element is communication channels. Diffusion is a special type of communication concerned with new ideas. When communicated, new ideas are adopted or rejected, and whether spontaneous or planned, they lead to consequences, and finally, some sort of social change occurs (pp. 5-6). The essence of the diffusion process is made up of "(1) an innovation, (2) an individual or other unit of adoption that has knowledge of, or has experienced using, the innovation, (3), another individual or other unit that does not yet have knowledge of, or experience with, the innovation, and (4) a communication channel connecting the two units" (p. 18). If and how the message will be received is then based on the nature of the information exchange relationship between the individuals. The most efficient way of creating awareness-knowledge about an innovation to potential adopters is through mass media channels where one can reach many. The diffusion process is mostly social and depends on the ability to connect to people with whom they relate in some way. Diffusion investigations have shown that people are more likely to adopt an innovation this way than through scientific studies. Communication is likely to have a greater effect if it occurs between people who share beliefs, social characteristics, socioeconomic status, or subcultural language. However, a new problem arises if the individuals are too alike because then there is no new knowledge to be exchanged (pp. 18-19).

Time is the third element. While much other behavioral science research usually ignores the time aspect, it is included in three stages of diffusion. First, it is involved in the *innovation-decision process*, i.e. the process of the individual first gaining knowledge about the innovation, forming an opinion about it, deciding whether to adopt or reject the innovation and then finally implementing the idea and confirming it. Secondly, it is involved in *innovativeness*, which is the degree to which an individual adopts an innovation compared to others members of a social system. Rogers specifies five adopter categories on the basis of their innovativeness: innovators, early adaptors, early majority, late majority, and laggards. Finally, *the rate of adoption* is the speed an innovation is adopted by members of a social system.

The fourth and final element, the social system, is "a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem solving to accomplish a common goal" (p. 23). The members may consist of individuals, organized or informal groups, but in some way distinguished from other units. The seeking to solve a common problem is what binds the system together. The social structure, norms, opinion leaders, change agents, innovation-decisions and consequences of innovation, and the boundaries within the system, affect the innovation diffusion (p. 24). There are three types of innovation-decisions since innovation either can be adopted by one individual member or the entire social system. The latter can be determined through either a collective or authority decision. The so-called *optional* innovation-decisions are choices made by an individual to either adopt or reject the innovation. The choice is independent of the other members, but might nonetheless be influenced by the norms in the system. The *collective innovation decisions* are decisions made from a general agreement among the members to adopt or reject the innovation. Once the decision is made, all members must comply. The *authority innovation-decisions* are choices that are made by a few individuals in the system. These individuals possess some sort of higher status through power or technical expertise. In the same way as the collective innovation-decisions, all members must then comply once the decision is made (p. 29).

2.2.2 Measuring Innovation

There are several issues when trying to measure innovation. Firstly, as Smith (2009) points out: "measurement implies commensurability: that there is at least some level on which entities are qualitatively similar so that comparisons can be made in quantitative terms" (p. 149). The problem with this is that innovation is about novelty and creating something new. How do you compare something new? This raises another issue in what exactly identifies as "new". Does something have to be a new radical principle to be defined as innovation - or where do you draw the line between reproduction and novelty? Smith points out that most statistics rest on some sort of conceptual foundation. The attempt to measure innovation is based on indicators. For innovation indicators, Nathan Rosenberg (1976, as cited in Smith, 2009) has been a prominent figure as he has challenged the idea that research-based discovery is the driver of innovation. Rosenberg, in collaboration with Steven Kline (1986, as cited in Smith, 2009), came up with the so-called chain-link model of innovation, which is an attempt to describe the complexities in the innovation process. According to Smith (2009),

the model stresses some basic aspects of innovation that could assist in indicator development. Firstly, novelty does not only imply the creation of completely new products or processes but also includes relatively small-scale changes in an already existing product's performance. These products may over a longer period of time have major technological and economic implications. Secondly, the innovation process is not linear, it is a learning process involving multiple inputs, interactions, and feedback. Lastly, Smith (2009) concludes that "innovation does not depend on invention processes (in the sense of discovery of new principles), and such processes (involving formal R&D) tend to be undertaken as problem-solving within an ongoing innovation process rather than an initiating factor" (p. 150). He stresses the importance of non-research and development inputs to innovation, for example, engineering developments and experimentation, exploration of markets for new markets, and design activities (p. 150).

There are two types of surveys for innovation, both of which explore the innovation process itself, i.e. users of innovation, external inputs, and the source of innovative ideas. The surveys define innovation as the commercialization and industrial growth of a new product or process. However, they differ in the way that the subject approach focuses on small-scale changes while the object approach focuses on significantly new products (p. 161).

2.2.2.1 Subject Approach

The "subject" approach focuses on the innovating agent. It centers around "firm-level innovation activity and general innovation inputs (both R&D and non-R&D) and outputs (usually of product innovations)" (p. 160). This is where the Oslo Manual comes in as the OECD has attempted to synthesize prior and more trivial versions of innovation surveys to create a common basis for innovation. Joint action between The European Commission, Eurostat, and DG Enterprise has followed up on the manual and later implemented the CIS - Community Innovation Survey (p. 162). The CIS collects comparable direct measures of innovation outcomes of business economy sectors internationally to give information on the innovativeness of different regions and sections. It incorporates data on expenses related to the innovation of new products, the outcome of gradual and radically changed products, and different perceptions of obstacles and factors promoting innovation and technological collaboration. Since the CIS focuses on technologically changed products, for the

availability of economic measures, it asked the firms to put their products into different categories of change, such as unchanged products, products that had been changed in minor ways, or new or radically changed products. Furthermore, it asked firms to estimate the proportions of sales that came for these different categories. Looking at this collected data allows for at least some economic commensurability across firms and industries. But what is more, when asking firms to categorize their products as "new to the firm only, products new to the industry, or products that were wholly new" (p. 165), the Oslo Manual and CIS permit for a definition of what is "new" about an innovation.

2.2.2.2 Object Approach

The object approach, on the other hand, focuses on technological innovations and new products, i.e. the objective outcome of innovative processes. The approach is based on the appraisal of experts or through announcements in trade journals and other literature. One of the advantages includes the importance of the technology itself, allowing for an external appreciation of innovation. Secondly, as Smith points out, "the fact that an innovation is recognized by an expert or a trade journal makes the counting of an innovation somewhat independent of personal judgments about what is or is not an innovation" (p. 161). However, this also raises the weakness of the approach, as the innovation must prove itself to be significant enough to be published in a journal, which conveys a sample selection bias. Furthermore, in contrast to the subject approach, it only applies to completely new outcomes, disregarding important incremental innovation outcomes which otherwise are normal competitive activities in firms (pp. 162-163).

2.3 Motivation

2.3.1 The Uses and Gratification Theory

The theory of uses and gratification, UGT, tries to answer the question/answers the question "why do people use media and *what* do they use media for?" It is used for understanding mass communication and discusses users choosing media to satisfy given needs. Katz et al., (1973) deal with "(1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities) resulting in (6) need gratifications and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones" (p. 510). Katz presents a few basic assumptions:

- The audience is conceived as active.
- In the mass communication process, many initiatives in linking gratification and media choice lie with the audience member.
- The media compete with other sources of satisfaction.
- Methodologically speaking, many of the goals of mass media use can be derived from data supplied by individual audience members themselves.
- Value judgments about the cultural significance of mass communication should be suspended while audience orientations are explored on their terms.

According to the research, goals for media use can be grouped into five uses. The audience wants to:

- be informed or educated
- identify with characters in the media environment
- simple entertainment
- enhance social interaction
- escape from the stresses of daily life (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 295).

However, critics have argued that the term "gratification" is an ambiguous concept and has, in the uses and gratification theory, been defined too vaguely. The uses and gratification theory can, with the gratification predicament in mind, be interpreted in many ways which are why critics find it difficult to see it as a favorable theory (McQuail, 2005, p. 426). Another perspective writers are concerned about is media hegemony, meaning that the audience is not able to choose which media channel/outlet they use themselves (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 298). Since the new digital landscape has changed massively over the last two decades it now allows for individual interest-controlled media consumption, rather than the traditional mass media. This means that we are in control and in charge of what we want to consume because of digital development, e.g, streaming.

The uses and gratification theory is developed in the article "Understanding the appeal of user-generated media: a uses and gratification perspective" written by Shao (2009), which studies how and why user-generated content has become so popular. He tries to pinpoint the purpose behind creating the platforms that encourage content made by users. Shao identifies three main usages of

UGC, the first one being the need to fulfill an information or entertainment requirement. The second one deals with the social aspect of enhancing connections in virtual communities and the third involves the importance of producing content for self-actualization and self-expression. When a platform is "easy to use" and "lets users control" it is more likely that users feel a greater gratification from creating UGC (p. 7). By "control" Shao refers to the platforms that let "users control what they want when they want, and where they want. In other words, users are not constrained by the computer systems" (p. 17).

2.3.2 Bourdieu and Taste

Bourdieu's theories on taste include what he terms habitus, field, and capital. Habitus is a term that is created by social patterns, or socially learned ideas and conceptions. He divides the concept of capital into three parts. Economic capital is a person's financial assets with material supply and income. The expected inheritance may also be included. Social capital includes family, friends, and acquaintances, i.e. a person's social relations and group affiliations. The last capital, cultural capital, includes a cultured approach to the so-called fine culture or "the 'fine' or 'good' taste" and is measured by how "cultivated" an individual is. The three parts are fluid and can be changed over time and in new life situations but together they create a *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6).

Bourdieu's theory is based on the anthropological approach which studies action patterns in different contexts. These socially structured schemata are integrated into an individual's habits and skills. Bourdieu argues that we are not always aware of these dispositions, which may subconsciously impact the way people act and make choices. Our social backgrounds i.e., class and upbringing also affect our capital and habitus. One can also reach a higher symbolic capital through achievement, such as higher education. Another important concept Bourdieu coined is the concept of taste, which indicates an individual's preferred consumer choices as an acquired disposition. "Taste is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intuit what is likely (or unlikely) to befall-and therefore to befit-an individual occupying a given position in social space" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 483). We do the most fundamental things, act, walk and talk in a way without even knowing why, how, and where we learned it. We do these things, these small acts of living to, in a sense, belong within our social groups whether we are aware of it or not.

2.3.3 Read/Only vs Read/Write

Lessig (2008) presents two new concepts of passive and active audience which he labels as "RO" (Read/Only) and "RW" (Read/Write). While the first one mentioned is fueled by professionals, the second one is fueled by both professionals and amateurs (p. 84). These two cultures symbolize different values. Value does not only refer to the *worth* of something e.i, the economical or cultural value but also to the one that Lessig calls "Is it any good?" value. What Lessig means with the latter is that we can value something by asking ourselves if we find any joy in it and if we do, it surely can be of worth. The RO culture is crucial for the spread of knowledge and culture while the RW is important for engaging and asking for something more from the audience that has gone from passive to active. The biggest difference between the two is that RO emphasizes learning while RW focuses on learning by speaking or learning by doing (Lessig, 2008, p. 87). Lessig then goes on to discuss Andrew Keen's (2007) book *The Cult of the amateur* and his important notion that "amateur culture" is killing "our culture". The internet allows for a surplus of information that cannot be overlooked. Keen is not the only one that has expressed his fears about this latest form of creativity. However, Lessig (2008) is critical of this view:

But anyone who thinks remixes or mash-ups are neither original nor creative has very little idea about how they are made or what makes them great. It takes extraordinary knowledge about a culture to remix it well. The artist or student training to do it well learns far more about his past than one committed to this (in my view, hopelessly naive) view about "original creativity". And perhaps more important, the audience is constantly looking for more as the audience reads what the remixer has written. (p. 93)

Lessig here argues that remixed work, even though it is not "original creativity", takes knowledge and gives valuable insights. He points out that the work put into learning from the past can be even more valuable than the novelty. In today's digital landscape it is hard to reach originality and novelty in its original significance. The debate of whether we are becoming dumber or smarter from the mass of information is divided among theorists.

3. Methodology and Method

In the following chapter, we will present the methodological approach and strategy of the study. We first describe the research approach and ethical considerations. Secondly, we explain the chosen method for collecting the empirical material as well as the data collection process.

3.1 Research Approach

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate if user-generated content can be assessed through creative and innovative assessments. To do this, we have collected data from the app TikTok. A quantitative method would suffice if the purpose of the study only intended to look at statistically comparable elements of the creative outcome, such as views, or economic profit. This thesis, however, has a qualitative research design to be able to discuss different aspects of creativity and innovation. It is important to study TikTok in its own discourse to be able to draw valid considerations. Norman Fairclough (1995) points out the importance of studying media language to understand socio-cultural contexts. He argues that we can learn a lot by looking, not only at texts or the spoken language but also at images (photographs, videos, films) and non-verbal communication (gestures) as semiotic activities (p. 55). Rogers (2013) discusses in *Digital Methods* the importance of studying online culture. Internet research provides the opportunity to "diagnose cultural change and societal conditions using the means of the Internet" (p. 21). He suggests that one can make grounded claims about cultural and societal change by tracking and measuring the actions of the users through studying hits, tags, likes, and similar algorithms (p. 21). A netnographic method has the same foundation as the ethnographic method, but this method further highlights the conditions and confines of digital environments (Bengtsson, 2011, p. 118). Kozinets (2015) argues that online society could differ enough from its more solid variant that it justifies a new "mapping of reality" (p. 4). Netnographic research requires the interpretation of human communications through not only words but images, audiovisual presentations, sound files, and other website creations (p. 5).

3.2 Research Method

3.2.1 Data Collection

Based on our subject, a non-participant netnographic observation method is fitting as it seeks to gain an understanding of cultures and human characteristics and behaviors in virtual environments without actively participating. An observation was conducted on the platform TikTok, in the interest of studying the different types of creative expressions made on social media. We began by studying the structural character of the app and how it encourages creative expression and whether it in any way hinders it. An issue often resulting from netnographic observation is not that there is not enough to observe, but to figure out what is in fact relevant to observe (Berg, 2015, p. 89). Furthermore, Kozinest (2015) deems it important that when we are "sorting, categorizing and classifying, we must remember and be attuned to the uniqueness of individuals, interactions, experiences and moments" (p. 163) We, therefore, decided it would be efficient to find specific examples of UGC which expressed different levels of creative expression and initiated an observation on the different kinds of user-generated content on TikTok. We later found that the content of Swedish content creator Björn Holmgren had commonalities with the genre of the content we wanted to study. His published content showed signs of both being in the lower stages of creative expressions, as well as having some innovative quality to it. We observed the creative process of Holmgren posting a tikok where he added a verse to Veronica Maggio's song "Satan i gatan", the response to this video, and the process of him trying to release a song based on this idea.

3.3 Research Considerations

3.3.1 Ethical Considerations

The research ethics issue in netnography is complex but necessary. For the study to relate fundamental ethical guidelines, several considerations have been made. The primary data has been collected on TikTok without interaction with any of the users. All collected comments have been published under the posts of public actors and can thus be seen by everyone with or without a TikTok account. No password or membership is required to view the information. When one chooses to publish a comment on a public page, it will be available to anyone able to access the platform It can be argued, however, that this goes against research ethics guidelines on protecting research

objects' identities. We have therefore chosen to neither show usernames nor profile pictures of the ones that have commented on Holmgren's tiktok.

Kozinets (2015) proclaim that is important to remember that when undertaking research, "it is particularly 'you' who becomes the netnographer" (p. 164). We will keep an objective approach throughout our study, and since we already are aware of our preconceptions we will not let ourselves be influenced by these. However, we inevitably observe through our own consciousness. This does not result in bias or contamination, it is just the true nature of observation (p. 164). We would also like to stress the fact that this paper is not a text analysis of the different versions we analyze. Nor is it a comparison where we let our own opinions influence the discussion of the work and the creative process. Since we do not know either our person of study Holmgren personally, our theories are only hypothetical. We cannot know the intrinsic motivations of Holmgren since we can only observe from an external perspective. His published content on TikTok is only used for the mere purpose of trying out our thesis.

3.3.2 Delimitations

As mentioned in the introduction, TikTok's infrastructure is based on algorithms. To prevent our own user activity to influence what we observed, we did not use TikTok logged in with an account. However, because of the algorithm, we can not ensure that it did not influence which, and in which order the comments appeared in each tikok we observed. To increase reliability we scrolled through the comment section thoroughly to get a wide idea of the reactions and then handpicked a few of them that we found representative. Albeit we can not either assure that there could have been some negative feedback, which may have been deleted (either by Holmgren himself, or removed by TikTok for breaking any community guidelines), which in turn could influence the general appearance of the reactions.

4. Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents and critically analyzes the findings of the netnographic observation we conducted. The analysis' structure is based on the theoretical framework presented in the second chapter and includes the central concepts of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, cultural perspectives, the infrastructure of TikTok as an app, copyright issues, and the assessment of creative outcomes.

4.1 External Motivation

We have observed Björn Holmgren's account on TikTok. On May 16, 2022, Holmgren had 162,1 thousand followers and over 5,2 million likes. At the top of his page, there are multiple collections of different videos and sounds he has created. These are named "Veronica Maggio-verser" (Veronica Maggio-verses) "Popcorn duet", "Remixer/Mashups" (Remixes/Mashups), "Översättning" (Translation), "Spela upp ljudet" (Play this sound) and "Såhär hade det låtit" (It could have sounded like this) (See Figure 2 and Figure 3).

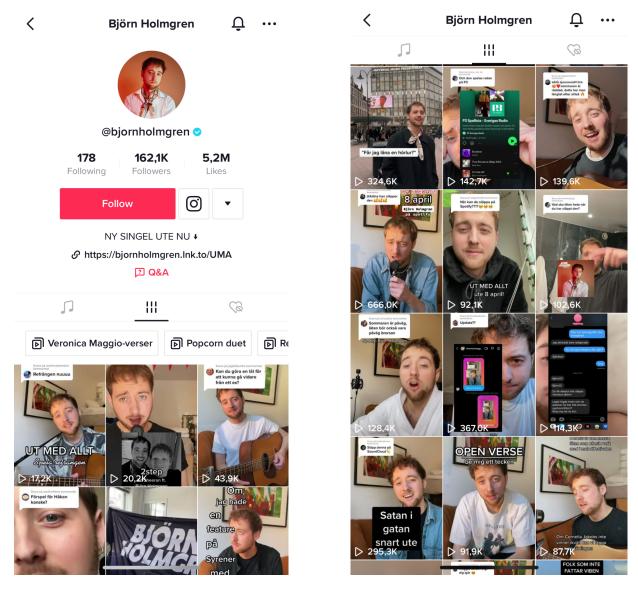


Figure 2 Figure 3

We observed that most of these collections include characteristics of popular sounds within the app. Popcorn duet, for example, is a trend that encourages co-creation as it is based on dueting a tiktok. One person posts a video with a song playing and the lyrics written out on the screen. Some of the lyrics are then highlighted with blue and other lines with red, and then they proceed to sing only the blue lines. Other users then duet that video and fill in the rest. The hashtag #popcornduet has over 5,8 billion views (See Figure 4 and Figure 5).

Printscreens from #popcornduet:

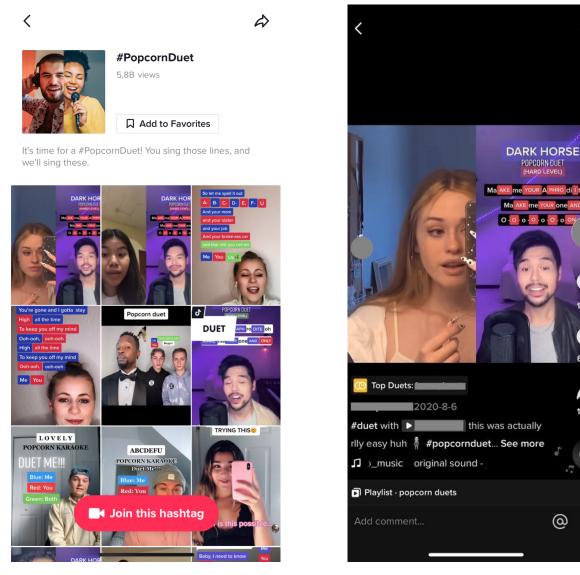


Figure 4 Figure 5 Q

@

Remixes and mashups are also popular sorts of music content that travel around the platform. Users simply merge existing songs they find sound good together. The results of these sorts of videos, we observed, usually divide the crowd, as users' reactions to them vary from being really positive to being really negative.

There are multiple motivations why people create this sort of user-generated content according to the theory of intrinsic and extrinsic presented by Legault (2016, pp. 2-3). Both internal and external factors affect the motivation behind producing content in digital environments. Looking first at the

external factors, we first wanted to investigate how, and if, the infrastructure of TikTok influences the type of creative outcome that is produced. "How individuals engage with their environment during the creative process is not incidental to the nature of the products they create" (British Council, 2022). While the infrastructure might not shape the creative outcome directly, it either mediates or moderates it in some way according to Gruszka and Tang (2017, p. 61). TikTok could be described as "easy to use" since it "lets users control" according to Shao (2009), and therefore it constitutes the perfect place for user-generated content. From what we observed, TikTok differs from other social media platforms such as Youtube in the way it encourages active users rather than passive users. The app allows users to host lives, publish, like, comment, save, duet, and react to videos. Furthermore, all tiktoks made on the app have an added sound. A user can either choose the music made available by TikTok, record a sound themselves or use sounds posted by other users. We noticed that the sounds that go viral i.e sounds that people use the most, are mainly cutouts from songs, remixes/mashups, bits of conversations taken from movies or series, sounds made by users, or other random clips from the internet. We, therefore, deduce that the attributes of "Use this sound", or "Join this hashtag" as seen in Figure 4, are an easy way to encourage people to produce content. Another attribution we noticed was the "Send to" feature situated below the comments. It is in the shape of an arrow, which can be seen in Figure 5. The "Send to" feature allows for users to share the content, both within and outside the app. Since TikTok has a lot of different content appealing to many, the "for you-page" algorithm helps customize the content users are exposed to.

TikToks' easy way of sharing content both on the platform to other users and outside the platform keeps the audience active. This promotes the motivated sharing culture and creates a "stickiness" of the app. According to Roger's second element, communication channels are an important factor when an idea spread. He claims that the most efficient way of creating awareness and knowledge about an idea to potential adopters is through mass media channels where one can reach many. Xu et al., (2019) have in their article presented a SWOT analysis on TikTok. Discussing the threats, advantages, as well as opportunities including users' decreased attention, they deduce that an environment like TikTok is the ideal domain for the present digital landscape:

With the continuous development of mobile terminals and big data technology, users have higher requirements for content on the Internet and increasing social demand, and consumption habits are constantly changing and upgrading, no longer satisfying text and picture forms, and more preference for stereoscopic Vivid short videos, especially UGC (user-generated Content) short videos. (Xu et al., 2019, p. 60)

The decreased attention span makes it hard to keep users on a certain account, thus there is too much data and information to reach. Based on this, we see a trend that people are expecting more, more meaning of quantity and not necessarily quality. Holmgren however, has been able to reach people's attention and keep them throughout his creative process, particularly in the evolution of "Ut med allt". This takes us further to the concept that there is a participatory culture on TikTok demanding social connections which henceforth controls people's consuming habits.

According to the uses and gratification theory (Katz et al., 1973, p. 510), people consume and create content on social media to satisfy specific needs. This could either be to enhance their social interaction, to identify with others, or simply to be entertained for a while. We observed that for the most part content on TikTok is consumed for entertainment purposes, based on content such as "popcorn duets". Like any other form of tangible or intangible resource, financial or non-financial, connections can be profitable in the way that they "force" people to stay on a certain platform. People want to socialize with others online as well as be part of something bigger. Recalling the concepts of participatory culture, according to Jenkins (2006) we live in a sharing culture which means that people are more willing to contribute than before. A motivation for creating content is therefore that people want to share out of solidarity rather than for economic profit. This we could partly observe on TikTok as some people contribute for solely entertainment purposes and, what we presume, do not get economic compensation out of the work that they put in. However, is this still considered true that people want to create and share content solely out of solidarity? Keen (2007) argues that before, a web page's success was determined by how many views it got today, however, it is instead "determined by the number of pages of user-generated content potentially available for advertising (pp. 136-137). Yielding profit and exchange value has somewhat replaced the importance of posting and creating cultural assets on the internet.

This brings us to Bourdieu's forms of capital including social, economic, and cultural which can be used when analyzing how and why people participate on the app. The three capital form one special:

symbolic capital. A "high" symbolic capital can be conceived differently depending on which domain you look into. The symbolic capital can shift throughout time and life situations, and someone can for example reach a higher capital through education. Holmgren could be motivated to express and create UGC in order to get a higher symbolic capital. We observed that Holmgren has some status on the platform on account of the number of followers, likes, and comments he has. By commenting, sharing, and liking people create social structures and stratifications on platforms according to Bourdieu's theory. An external motivation for Holmgren to create content on a platform such as TikTok could therefore be to build a reputation. The symbolic capital is often based on recognition, honor, or prestige, altogether creating a value within a culture. By going viral for example, one can get recognition and fame on TikTok. According to Nahon and Hemsley (2013), "for something to go viral, it must not only get our attention in the first place, but it must overcome our resistance to sharing it" (p. 61). This implies, however, that the possibility for something to go viral lies in the power of the beholder rather than the creator himself.

4.2 Internal Motivation

The "Veronica Maggio-verses" are based on the Swedish artist Veronica Maggio's songs where Holmgren adds his own verses which, based on the cover of the videos' are called "Om Veronica Maggios ... var en duett med en kille" (if Veronica Maggio's ... was a duet with a guy). He has so far made six of these, with "Om Satan i gatan var en duett med killen" (If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy) being the most popular one. The tiktok is originally titled *Kommer skriva verser tills vi släpper nåt ihop @veronicamaggioofficial* (Will write verses until we release something together @veronicamaggioofficial), but will henceforth be referenced to as "If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy" which is the name published on the cover of the tiktok. It was published on February 25, 2022, and had on May 6, 2022, 855,5 thousand views, 91,5 thousand likes, and 1405 comments. Observing Homgren's content online, and not knowing him personally, it is hard to know what internal motives lay behind creating this sort of content. Recalling the need for self-expression, he could use this creative outlet which TikTok enables for his own recognition. Shao (2009) argues that "in addition to self-expression, people's producing activity is also driven by self-actualization, which is reflected in such goals of online producing as seeking recognition, fame, or personal efficacy" (Shao, 2008, pp. 18-19). While there is not a definite number of when a tiktok has gone viral, we

declare that "If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy", with its almost 1 million views, has indeed gone viral.

Looking at one of the added Ps of Rhode's 4 Ps of creativity, persuasion refers to a creative person as one who influences others. Holmgren therefore must be persuasive in his work, in order to persuade others of his creativity. Referring back to the intrinsic motivation theory, on the other hand, internal components such as traits or attitudes also factor in when studying creative motivations. This way, a reason for producing content for Holmgren could be that he finds it internally rewarding. Likewise, according to the uses and gratifications theory, a goal for using this sort of media could derive from the simple act of being entertained or entertaining others. On the viral tiktok "If Satan i gatan was a duett with the guy", he got positive responses from viewers, with comments such as:

"Släpp denna på SoundCloud"" - "Release this on SoundCloud""

"Tagga Veronica under denna kommentar" - "Tag Veronica Maggio under this comment
@veronicamaggioofficial"

"Lyssnat kanske sådär 40 gånger nu wow" - "Have listened to this song about 40 times now wow"

"Du har utan tvekan en av de bästa rösterna jag hört Så känslosamt - "You have without a doubt one of the best voices I've ever heard So emotional"

See Appendix A

After the positive response, Holmgren updated his followers in a tiktok letting them know he was going to release the full version of the song with his added verse on the popular distribution platform SoundCloud. When Holmgren's tiktok got such positive feedback and he realized people were enjoying his content, he could have been motivated by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors to continue his work.

4.3 Remixed Work and Copyright Issues

However, since the original "Satan i gatan" is protected by copyright laws, it was soon taken down. Again, one of Rhodes' Ps: press or place, i.e. the structure of TikTok as a creative outlet comes to mind. The app allows for re-using others' content or even encourages users to it, supporting the idea of a gatekeeper-free community, but it is only allowed within the app. Björn Holmgren is permitted to make a sound with the use of "Satan i gatan" and his added verse on TikTok for others to use. However, he can't publish the song on other platforms, claiming it as his song, without it leaving the medium of being a sound to a video. This is of course due to the laws of the international treaties regarding copyright, stating that as soon as a creative work is a fixed minimum, it can be protected. Or, in this case, already is protected. Posting his added verse with the original sound from Maggio's song without the approval of Veronica Maggio or her record company is illegal. Thus, supporting Wikström's (2020) proclamation that the music industry has become a copyright industry. The reactions to the tiktok he made updating his followers of the situation on March 16, 2022, were as followed:

"Men snälla, är ju en remix, alla gör remixar. Bah för din låt är bättre ? - Please, it's a remix, everyone does remixes. Just because your song is better?

"Youtube då???" - "What about Youtube???"

"Inte ditt beslut... eller låt;" - "Not your decision... or song;"

"Så du kan inte släppa den. Jag hörde låten idag och är min favorit låt nu" - "So you can't release it.

I heard the song today and it's my favorite song right now"

See Appendix B

We observed through the comments that the reaction to this announcement was mixed. Some were disappointed that they would not be able to listen to the entire new version of the song while others expressed their anger towards Holmgren "stealing" an original work. Recalling what Valdovinos Kaye et al., (2021) addressed regarding the environment on TikTok, there is an unspoken rule that

people expect others to give credit when getting inspired by someone else's work. Just like the remixes and mashups we mentioned at the beginning of the analysis, some find those as an improvement and some think that the original should have been left alone. According to the comments, and the general success of "If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy", most people do not mind that Holmgren picked an already existing song and made his own version. As Howkins (2013) declares: "creativity happens whenever we give an old idea a new meaning and test how it might be used" (p. 18). Further, he argues that it does not matter where you get the idea, but what you chose to do with it (p. 22). In this case, the general impression is that "If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy" works as an improvement.

According to another tiktok, posted on March 22, 2022, Holmgren decided to start working on his own song after realizing he wouldn't be able to release the song with the original artist. In the tiktok, he declared that he had now included his own verse as the chorus, and furthermore wrote verses on his own. Could this song be considered new? Rogers (2003) for one, argues that what identifies as "new" is based on whether an individual perceives it as new, and if they do, it could count as innovation. According to Smith (2009), Rosenberg's chain-link model of innovation implies that novelty is not limited to the creation of completely new products or processes but also includes relatively small-scale changes in an already existing product. This way, "If Satan i gatan was a duet with a guy", could also be perceived as a novelty. As Lessig (2008) points out, it is hard in today's digital landscape to reach novelty in its original significance and it can be even more valuable to develop an already existing idea than to start something from scratch. Shirky (2008) further builds on this idea when he argues that people rather continue working on someone else's idea and revise it than start something new. "Many more people are willing to make a bad article better than are willing to start a good article from scratch" (pp. 121-122). No matter how short or uninformative the remixed work may be, it is free and easy to do it. Shirky suggests that people want to create even if they are not experts in the area. They are not afraid to do something even though it might not be a success or masterpiece from start. Holmgren's process of continuously improving, remixing, and evolving demonstrate that creative individuals thrive by learning by doing.

According to TikTok's own intellectual property policy, exceptions to copyright infringement allow for some use of copyrighted works without authorization. Pastiche, for example, acts as an exception

as long as the source material is sufficiently acknowledged and no unnecessary hurt is put upon the author. A pastiche will usually imitate or incorporate distinctive elements from other works or styles into a new work, but unlike parody, it usually celebrates the work it imitates, rather than mocking it (TikTok, 2021). On April 2, 2022, Holmgren announced that his own song would be released on Spotify on April 8, 2022. While it has some distinctive elements, such as the chorus still sounds like the verse i.e. the music from Maggio's song, it can now be acknowledged as Holmgren's own song.

4.4 Finished Product

On May 10, about a month after its release, "Ut med allt" had been listened to over 4,5 million times on Spotify. Some of the responses to the tiktok published on April 2, 2022, announcing his new song were:

"Veronica går miste om något riktigt stort.." - "Veronica is missing out on something huge.."

"Någon annan som har väntat på detta??!!!" - "Someone else who has been waiting for this??!!!"

"DU HAR RÄDDAT MIN SOMMAR "- "YOU HAVE SAVED MY SUMMER ""

"Det bästa med 2022 helt klart" - "The best thing about 2022 no doubt"

See Appendix C

Recalling Rogers' (2003) five attributes of making an innovation adapt more quickly, *Trialability* is the degree to which an innovation might be experimented with. Rogers claims that an innovation that has been tried in the installment plan makes the adopter less uncertain, and therefore more likely to adopt the idea more quickly. Allowing Holmgren's followers to follow along in the process of him first trying to release the song with the added verse, and then making his own song out of it, Holmgren probably made his followers more invested in hearing the results. The same goes with *observability* - the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to potential adopters. The easier the song was presented, the more likely people were to listen to it and use it on TikTok. Moreover, Rogers' third element, time, both the *innovation-decision process*, as well as the *rate of*

adoption, are relevant when studying how long it took for the users of Tiktok to adopt "Ut med allt". The *innovation-decision process* is applicable when studying the comments of each tiktok showing the process of the first verse to the finished product. The comments convey how users first gained knowledge about the song and how they later formed an opinion about it. The positive comments on the finished products expressed the decision to adopt the innovation and then confirm it. The *rate of adoption* is the speed an innovation is adopted by members of a social system, which we deduce could be described as quite quickly. Furthermore, the creative process of Holmgren goes in line with Rosenberg's notion that an innovation process is not a linear process. It could be perceived as a learning process for Holmgren, involving setbacks and copyright issues as well as interactions and feedback from his followers and others invested in the process.

4.5 Other People Using Holmgren's Sounds

On May 6, 2022, the song "Ut med allt" had been used as a sound on 12,7 thousand tiktoks (See Figure 6 and Figure 7). The tiktoks that feature Holmgren's sound vary from cooking content, "GRWM" (Get Ready With Me, which are skincare and make-up videos), "hauls" (where people show what they bought recently (See Figure 8)), as well as interviews on the street (people approaching others on the street to ask questions about common assumptions or likewise (See Figure 9)).

Printscreens from tiktok users that have used "Ut med allt" in their videos:

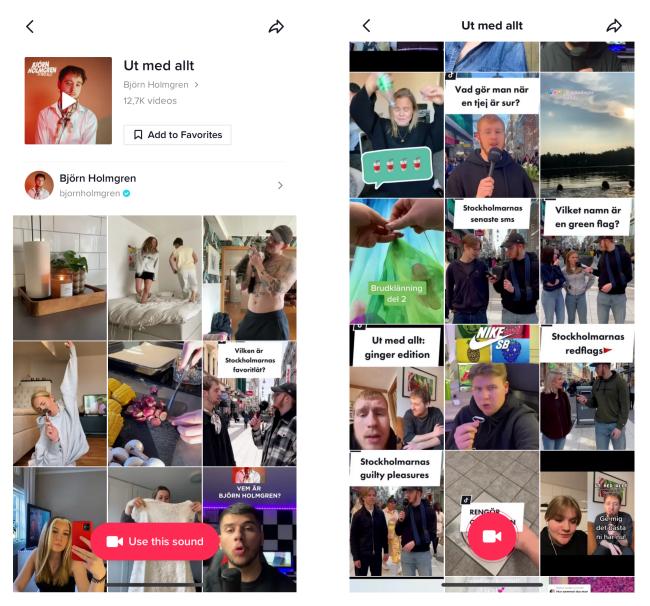


Figure 6 Figure 7

Printscreens from "Interviewing people on the street" tiktok and "haul" tiktok:







We observed the difference between users using Holmgren's sound in comparison to Veronica Maggio's original "Satan i gatan" and discovered that Maggio's song had been used far less, even though the song was released more than 10 years ago. According to Rogers (2003), "Ut med allt" could be perceived as *relative advantage* in the way that it is perceived to be better than the idea it came from. The song is perceived better, not in economical terms or cultural value, which can be concluded by Figure 10, but by social prestige factors. It is not about objective advantage, but rather the advantages perceived by the individual. In this case, it could be perceived as an advantage for other users to use Homgren's popular sound in the background on their tiktok to boost their own chance of going viral. Since it is presently a popular sound, it attracts and engages a large audience and therefore a user using that sound has a bigger chance of going viral.

Spotify streams Tiktok sounds 60000 20000

Spotify streams and Tiktok sounds

Figure 10

Veronica Maggio - 'Satan i gatan'

Björn Holmgren - 'Ut med allt'

Chart of Spotify streams and TikTok sounds of Björn Holmgren's version compared with Veronica Maggio's. *Note: The "TikTok sounds" refers to how many videos on TikTok have had each song featured in it on May 6, 2022.*

Furthermore, we noticed that many users have also dueted Holmgren's verse on "If Satan i gatan were a duet with a guy" and made their own verse to that "remixed" version. Holmgren encourages his followers to do the same he did on "If Satan i gatan were a duet with a guy" with "Ut med allt", where he starts to sing his first verse and then points to the camera which indicates that it is the dueting person's turn to sing their own made-up lyrics, while the instrumental melody keeps playing in the background. Again, the attribution of "use this sound" encourages people to use Holmgren's sound. One example of a user who added her own lyrics to "Ut med allt", is "Allahatarbell" (See Figure 11). Her tiktok has as of May 16, 2022, 55,4k likes and comments that praised her version. Holmgren also commented: "Du är bäst" (You are the best) (See Figure 12).

Printscreens from allahatarbell and her version on "Ut med allt" and Holmgrens comment:

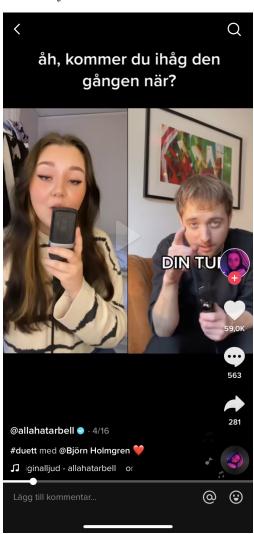


Figure 11



Figure 12

4.6 Cultural Perspectives

Cultural perspective is a recurrent aspect in theories regarding creativity and innovation. Creativity may differ in cultures both as in countries, but also in different domains and fields. Western culture, in general, focuses more on the creative outcome, rather than the creative process behind it according to Lubart (2010). According to Roger's second element, communication channels, if and how an idea will be received is based on the nature of the information exchange relationship between the users in a social system. A social system may consist of organized or informal groups or individuals. In some way, the people in a social system distinguish themselves from other units. The social structure, norms, opinion leaders, boundaries within the system, and innovation-decisions and consequences of innovation affect the innovation diffusion. Therefore, the users of Tiktok can be seen as a social system of its own, and further Björn Holmgrens's followers could be seen as a separate social system. Communication through a communication channel like TikTok is likely to have a greater effect and spread if it occurs between people who relate to each other in some way, i.e. if they share beliefs, subcultural language, or social characteristics according to Rogers. This goes in line with another of the attributes of innovation that will help an innovation be adopted more quickly, compatibility, the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being compatible with the values, norms, and experiences of potential adopters. Innovation decisions can either be adopted by one individual member or the entire social system. The so-called optional innovation-decisions are choices made by an individual to either adopt or reject the innovation. The choice is independent, thus some chose to use Holmgren's sound and listen to his song on Spotify, but it might nonetheless be influenced by the norms in the system. Why people use Holmgren's sound, and furthermore why "Ut med allt" has seen such success could also be perceived from a cultural perspective. While it goes across geographic borders, people who use the app share a sense of what sort of creative outcomes are desirable. We noticed that adaptiveness rather than novelty is often favored, as people like to follow trends. Everyday creativity such as the popcorn duet with its 5,7 billion views is an example of that. However, the conception of characteristics of creative people may vary on the app. Some might favor specific content based on the personality of the person who posts it.

Does the fact that Holmgren picked Veronica Maggio's song "Satan i gatan" have anything to do with the success of his song "Ut med allt"? Veronica Maggio is a Swedish singer-songwriter who has produced 7 albums and 19 singles and EPs, all sung in Swedish. In total, her songs have been

streamed on Spotify over 1 billion times and she has more than 1 500 000 listeners a month on Spotify. The song "Satan i gatan" was released on 27 April, 2011, and featured on the album with the same name as the hit - Satan i gatan. On 6 May the same year, the album reached first place on the Swedish top hits list. The song had been streamed on Spotify more than 53 million times on the 11th of May, 2022 (Spotify, 2022). Recalling that creativity often is based on culture, which could be defined as the shared identity, beliefs, and interpretation of certain events or common experiences of a collective, which are transmitted across generations. An important factor in the success of "Ut med allt" might be that Veronica Maggio is such an integrated part of Swedish culture. People relate to her songs and associate them with certain events or parts of their past. This could additionally be a reason why Björn Holmgren picked to make verses to her songs in the first place. After all, this is not the first time Maggio's songs have been covered which proves the influence the album and her as an artist have had on Swedish culture. In 2021, ten years after the album was first published, four songs from the album were interpreted by four Swedish artists who made their own versions. The artist Daniela Rathana made her own version of "Satan i gatan" which has had almost 5.5 million streams on Spotify. This is another example of a "remixed" version of her song that was appreciated by the public.

Wikström (2020) asks himself the question of whether it is "really possible to create 'authentic art' in organizations where profit maximization is one the most important goals?" (p. 30). He then claim that, "to achieve authenticity, culture has to be created by a symbol creator who is independent of any commercial pressure" (p. 30). We introduced in our introduction the fact that most companies and platforms earn money on user-generated content which Wikström argues reduces the potential for creating "authentic art". When Holmgren's released "If Satan i gatan were a duet with a guy", it had no commercial pressure other than perhaps the pressure of succeeding. Users where able to follow along as Holmgren met obstacles including copyright issues when trying to publish the remixed version, and finally releasing his own song. In these tiktoks, we observed that Holmgren promotes "Ut med allt" saying things like "go and listen to it now on Spotify" and "duet my song here on TikTok, let me hear you add a verse to it". One could argue that, with Wikström's notions in mind, somewhere in the process, Holmgren's art stop being "authentic". On the one hand, it could be perceived that Holmgren is under commercial pressure from making his song a success, both by record labels and fans. On the other hand, one could argue that his approach promoting the song

came from a place of authenticity and pride. Again, we do not know Holmgren personally so the notions discussed are only hypothetical. Where do you draw the line between a creative work being "authentic" or not? If Holmgren has made a song and released it, could that not be enough for a work to be classified as a commodity of value?

The discussion of producing creativity in a capitalistic society is nothing new. Keltie (2017) argues that people are fooled by platforms designed to let their users do all the labor by contributing, consuming, and distributing. "The discourse of participatory culture creates a false view of the freedoms made possible by the cultural uses of convergent media technology (p. 136). People are easily led astray thinking that they are the ones in charge when they are in fact doing free labor for a platform that thrives on social structures, and in other words, exploitating individuals. Keltie argues that the more one contributes, the more they are disconnected from the work, "the more a worker produces, the more they are separated from what they produce" (p. 138). Keltie continues to quote Karl Marx: "labor produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as commodity" (p. 138). The internet is a space for creative expression as well as a power struggle. Adorno and Horkheimer's apprehensions and concerns are still relevant, even to this day. Marxist views of free labor in relation to mass media argue that it is an exploitation of cultural and self-value.

Some could, however, argue that the added verse on Maggio's song in Holmgren's first tiktok, is somewhat of an improvement to the original song. This is of course based on taste, whether one thinks it is good or not. Be that as it may, according to other users' comments on the tiktok, a deduction can be made that some thought of it as an improvement. Taste is an underlying cultural preference that is determined by different factors such as education, upbringing, socio-economical origin, and others, or as Bourdieu calls it "habitus". Habitus is an individual's habits, likes, dislikes, traumas, fascinations, and everything that makes that person be who they are. Social status and class are factors that, subconsciously and consciously, can affect our taste because of the symbols and metaphors that are shared amongst groups. According to Bourdieu, people who are close in a social space tend to judge cultural goods in position to each other. This can be seen as a class issue as people in the "higher" class tend to like a certain type of cultural good, e.g. typically "fine" culture while another class might appreciate the different values in creative industries. These boundaries have been decreased as social systems grow online, where it can be harder to see them. The social

groups do not tend to be on a whole platform, but rather in a certain place. Applying these theories to Holmgren and his tiktoks' comment section, we can perceive that people have interacted with each other, both agreeing and disagreeing on opinions, and thus demanding social connections and distinctions in our platform society.

5. Concluding Discussion

The purpose of this thesis was to study user-generated content in relation to creativity and innovation. There is an overall consensus amongst theorists that creativity and innovation are a vital part of our progression as a society and a major driving force behind economic growth. However, the discourse regarding user-generated content is divided. While some researchers such as Tapscott & Williams and Jenkins argue that UGC challenges the preexisting hierarchies of culture, allowing anyone to be creative and participate, there are critics such as Keen, Adorno, and Horkheimer who argue that user-generated content is simply dumbing down culture. Our purpose with this thesis has been to investigate whether UGC is measurable by creative and innovative assessment. We, therefore, conducted a case study through a netnographic observation of the content of Swedish creator Björn Holmgren on TikTok. To determine whether creative and innovative measures could be applicable to UGC, we first needed to explore the possible creative motivation and factors behind creating UGC, which included both internal and external motivations. Secondly, we intended to examine the level of creativity in the creative outcome of UGC based on creative and innovative measurements. We have, therefore, throughout this essay presented the creative process of Björn Holmgren, from the motivations behind creating his first tiktok adding his own verse to the original song "Satan i gatan" by Veronica Maggio to the outcome of his creative expression which was him releasing his own song "Ut med allt".

5.1 What are the Possible Creative Factors Motivating the Creation of User-generated Content on TikTok?

We have demonstrated that the motivations behind creating user-generated content could be both external and internal. We have discussed through the intrinsic and extrinsic theory, that a reason for creating UGC could be out of enjoyment, curiosity, passion, or self-expression. The intrinsic motivation for Holmgren could be based on traits or attitudes. There is also a possibility that he finds it internally rewarding or, as mentioned, the need for self-expression. Be that as it may, based on our analysis, we argue that the extrinsic motivations are the possible driving factor for him to continue his work. Unlike intrinsic motivation, where an individual performs an action out of interest or enjoyment, extrinsic motivation is the result of external or socially created reasons to do something. The extrinsic motivations are in this case based on the social aspects of TikTok. According to the

uses and gratifications theory, a motivational factor could be social interaction and identifying with others. Holmgren could also create UGC in order to get a higher symbolic capital and to build a reputation for himself. The symbolic capital is often based on recognition, honor, or prestige. A more humble perspective, however, is that people share UGC out of solidarity rather than for economic profit. Nontheless, as Wikström (2020) argues "authentic" art is created when it is independent from commercial pressure. One could say that when Holmgren's had created "Ut med allt" he was influenced by capitalistic profit motivations.

5.2 Is it Possible to Apply Creative Assessment to User-generated Content on TikTok?

How creative is the user-generated TikTok content of Björn Holmgren? Considering Kaufmann and Beghetto's 4 Cs, it is with little doubt that the sounds on the TikTok app will never reach Big-C creativity. TikTok in itself could arguably be defined as a Big-C, since it has transformed the field of expertise, but the platform's structure does not really allow for Big-c inventions. Or maybe it does, it may simply not have happened yet. Most of the created sounds plausibly have the creative magnitude of little-c and Pro-C. Since mini-c refers to personal insights, it might translate to having an idea for a sound. When explored and developed, it turns into little-c, since it now is considered to be a new and hopefully valuable idea to the community. Considering "If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy" compared to "Ut med allt", they fit into different creative types in the model. "If Satan i gatan was a duet with the guy", would fit into little-c since it focuses on everyday life creativity. It started out as a mini-c magnitude idea and turned into a creative expression published online. Even if it is unique and appreciated in the community, it still is an everyday creative idea. "Ut med allt", on the other hand, would arguably fit into Pro-C. This is because while it is a personal expression, it still adds something to the existing field, which in this case is a song entering into the music industry.

Referring back to Rodhes' 4 Ps of creativity, he argues that creativity is an abstract outcome resulting from one or more of the four Ps: place, person, process, and product. Our findings show that the most relevant ones for this user-generated content are place, product, and person, i.e TikTok as a platform, the creative outcome of user-generated content and Björn Holmgren as a creative person. While we have discussed person, and how Holmgren's personality traits and attitude could be a motivational factor for creating UGC, we conclude that person is hard to assess since we do not

know him personally. We can, however, establish that place, TikTok as an app, plays a very important part in the creation of user-generated content. The infrastructure encourages its users to post tiktoks and interact with others. It is easy to use, save, duet, share and react to other tiktoks. The algorithm allows for some content to go viral and therefore motivates the users to post often and the stickiness of it encourages them to continue to stay on the app. Furthermore, we have deduced how social media platforms make it easier to share, remix and replicate others' content and the copyright issue that arises from this.

The finished product or creative outcome is easier to assess. "Ut med allt" permits quantitative objectivity. "Ut med allt" is perceived to have gone viral, whether it was because of the recognized song it originated from or if it was because Holmgren's own re-made, re-mixed, and re-produced song was "better" could be argued for back and forth. Be that as may be, one thing can be certain: it is up to the beholder to decide whether "Ut med allt" would go viral or not. Recall Bourdieu's taste and symbolic capital concepts. The taste of the observer has the power to steer the direction of reaching "success", not implying that it was success in that significance that Holmgren was after. One of the more advanced techniques for assessing creative products is the Consensual Assessment Technique or CAT for short. It is based on the assurement that people know creativity when they see it. CAT, therefore, uses the combined assessment of expert judges on a certain domain. This raises the question of who constitutes a suitable expert. Once again we come back to the notion of novice versus expert. As Runco and his colleagues questioned, why do we value the opinion of the 'expert' higher than those of our peers? If an expert would deem "Ut med allt" as bad, but people stream it on Spotify millions of times, whose opinion matters the most?

While critics such as Keen argue that the overflow of content created by amateurs is drowning out the authentic talent Tapscott and Williams (2006) proclaim that the chance of finding talents might be even bigger now than ever. Recalling Jaakola (2022) and her thoughts on amateurism and professionalism, due to digitalization and its opportunities, we can now reach knowledge, skills, and information easier and on a bigger scale than before. Jaakola points out that with invested time, creators of UGC can develop not only deepened expertise but also enhanced interactions which result in a view of the so-called "amateur". Web 2.0 has made it possible for more people to review and more people to create. This new era emphasizes specialization which makes the line between

professionals and amateurs increasingly smaller (p. 122). Since it is easier than ever to find new talents, more people gain specialization in different fields and domains, which could consequently mean that there is now a surplus of "experts". TikTok as a gatekeeper-free community makes it possible for users like Holmgren, who are trying to get recognition now directly can reach their audience who will be the judge of their work. The attention that Holmgren got for his creativity, emerging from the need for a creative outlet and self-accomplishment, resulting in a viral tiktok which gained recognition amongst users, goes to show that even user-generated content made by an "amateur" can be successful. With this in mind, the idea of this the CAT technique is applicable to UGC in the way that creativity could be measured by a consensual assessment.

5.3 Is it Possible to Apply Innovative Measures to User-generated Content on TikTok?

First, we need to consider if user-generated content could be considered innovative? Recalling OECD/Eurostat's definition: "An innovation is the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations" (Gault, 2016, p. 3). An innovation is an implementation of a product, good, or service. According to Howkins (2013), a creative product is an economic good resulting from creative activity and whose main economic value is also based on creativity (p. 4-5). However, the content of Björn Holmgren is not a product implemented into business practices, workplace organisation, or external relations. Looking instead at Gault's (2016) suggested definition for innovation: "A new or significantly changed product is *implemented* when it is made available to potential users. New or significantly changed processes are implemented when they are brought into actual use in the operation of the institutional unit, including the making of product available to potential users" (p. 11). "Ut med med" is a creative product that was implemented when it was made available to other users to use. Rogers (2003) simply defines innovation, as: "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (p. 12). Here we arrive at the issue of what is perceived as novelty and new. We have discussed that most theorists agree that an idea does not have to be completely original to be considered innovative and creative. What is considered new includes relatively small-scale changes and is based on whether an individual perceives it as new, and if they do it is innovation.

Furthermore, we have demonstrated that the creative process of the song "Ut med allt" is in accordance with Everett Roger's theory of diffusion of innovations. Holmgren's "Ut med allt" has been communicated through the communication channel TikTok among other users of the app. We have discussed how "Ut med allt" has been adopted quickly in relation to the concepts of relative advantage, trialability, compatibility, and observability, and similar to Rhodes' place, we have thereafter demonstrated the importance of the communication channel. Furthermore, our findings prove Rogers' point that an innovation has a bigger chance of being adopted if is communicated through a communication channel like TikTok where it can spread between people who relate to each other in some way, i.e through cultural perspectives.

While "Ut med allt" could be considered an innovation - is it possible to measure it? Based on the subject and object approach to measuring innovation, the two types of surveys both explore the innovation process itself, i.e. users of innovation, external factors, and the source of innovative ideas. The surveys define innovation as the commercialization and industrial growth of a new product or process. The subject approach centers around both firm-level innovation as well as general innovation inputs and outputs. The CIS, Community Innovation Survey, the joint action between The European Commission, Eurostat, and DG Enterprise collects comparable direct measures of innovation outcomes of business economy sectors internationally. What does have to do with user-generated content on Tiktok? Well, we have established that creativity has become a major driving force for economic growth. Recalling the definition of the Creative economy - it is "a system for the production, exchange, and use of creative products" (Howkins, 2013, p. 6) or it is "an evolving concept which builds on the interplay between human creativity and ideas and intellectual property, knowledge, and technology" (UNCTAD, 2022). Furthermore, the creative economy is the sum of all the creative industries and therefore includes business sectors such as advertising, arts and crafts, design, video, electronic publishing, and music. TikTok is a business thriving on the individual's talent and imagination. It is a platform for producing creative products and exchanging information. It is a platform that is built on the interplay of creativity, ideas, intellectual property, and technology. The purpose of the CIS is to give information on innovativeness and gain insight into some economic commensurability across firms and industries by incorporating data on expenses, obstacles, and factors promoting innovation and technological collaboration, and the outcome of gradual and radically changed products. This is applicable to UGC. However, the CIS mainly

focuses on technological innovations on firm level, and while, Holmgren's content is proof that innovation can be born from an idea published on a platform such as TikTok the current form of the CIS might not be applicable to user-generated content today. Nonetheless, we do not see any reason why this could not be extended to self-employed businesses based on user-generated content in the future.

The object approach is plausibly more applicable for user-generated content since it focuses on the objective outcome of innovative processes. Again, it tends to focus rather on technological outcomes, this approach is based on the assessment and appraisal of experts in a specific domain, or through announcements in trade journals and other literature. This raises a similar question as with CAT. First of all, the innovation must prove itself to be significant enough to be published in a journal or recognized by an expert, and then, the fact that an innovation is determined by an expert makes the assessment of innovation somewhat independent of personal judgments of what exactly counts as innovation. Thus, we conclude the same answer as with the creative assessment, the idea of CAT could be applicable to UGC, but it depends on the human factor of the chosen expert.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of this thesis demonstrate that motivational factors vary, but based on our analysis, we argue that the extrinsic motivations are the driving factor for Holmgren to continue his work. We therefore deduce that the importance of the infrastructure of TikTok is an undeniable strong force. We further conclude that creative assessments are applicable to UGC. UGC could begin on a mini-c magnitude, where an idea is born, and then turn into to little-c creative expression published online. "Ut med allt", on the other hand, is an example that UGC could arguably also fit into Pro-C. This is because while it is a personal expression, it still adds something to the existing field. Creative assessment are applicable to UGC in the way that creativity could be measured by a consensual assessment. Lastly, by definition, UGC in the form of Holmgren's finished song could be considered innovative. While the measurements might not be fully applicable, we don't see any reason why it should not be in the future if they continue to develop.

T5.5 Final Thoughts

One could argue that there are no new ideas, only ideas from already existing ones. In the "conceptual age", individuals want to keep evolving and keep improving. The competition is harder in a world where everything has been made, built, constructed, fabricated, and created. But let us not be frightened or taken down by that. Daniel Pink (2005) advocates for the basic concept of learning by doing. We need to go back to the mere notion of using our hands, or in this digital age our devices, experimenting, and being creative. The participatory culture encourages individuals to be part of something bigger. The barrier to artistic expression is lower which enables creative expression and self-actualization. In the participatory culture, the contributors believe that their additions matter as well as there is strong support for sharing creations both for the boosting of the ego as well as solidarity contributing to the collective good. A big part of the participatory culture is that members feel (or at the very least they care what others think of what they have created) and creates some sort of social connection to one another. Another length of the participatory culture is that it opens up for some type of informal mentorship where skills, knowledge, and experiences are shared and passed along to novices.

The field of user-generated content is rather a fact of a socio-cultural "issue". Technology does not create geniuses, it simply provides space for self-expression and self-actualization. The internet is not social, it is the people who are using it who are. User-generated content provides *more* people the opportunity to succeed which ultimately will benefit the creative economy. When information and opportunities are at a human's fingertips, or at least a larger scale of people's fingertips, the ones that reach out for knowledge and skills will be the ones who create something with it, either if it is something big or small. TikTok is a platform that foster creativity and when used rightfully user-generated content empowers individuals. In fact, it is what we make *meaning* of that matters when contributing and evaluating UGC.

6. Future Research

We are aware that we have not covered all topics and fields that could be discussed in this area of research. As mentioned in chapter "1.3 Delimitations", the fields of creativity and innovation are too extensive and immense for us to be able to fit in within the limited timeframe of this essay. Nonetheless, we saw a gap in research regarding the innovative and creative assessments of user-generated content. There is a lot of research on how individuals are motivated to create user-generated content both internally and externally. Bourdieu's theories on social distinction and the uses and gratification theory have been used many times before when studying a digital phenomenon, but we perceive that more research could be conducted on TikTok.

However, we discovered an inadequate field of studying the *whole* creative process of producing user-generated content, from the motivations behind it to the outcome of the creative expression. Based on our findings, with the theoretical framework and literature used, we propose the following directions for future research:

- Comparing different kinds/sorts of user-generated content on TikTok (and other related platforms) and applying the chosen creative and innovative assessments to explore how and if this differs or are of similar attributes, and further discuss whether it has any value.
- Because of our limited timeframe, we were only able to apply our theories to a Swedish
 creator and from a Swedish cultural perspective. It would be of value to apply these theories
 to other cultures to determine whether the motivations are the same across cultures.
- We did not take all external/extrinsic motivations into account when we investigated
 Holmgren's content since we focused on the individual's incentive behind sharing creative
 work online. Therefore we suggest looking further into these external motivations,
 particularly the economic aspect, which could be a strong driving force for creating
 user-generated content.

- This essay is written from a web 2.0 perspective, which there provides a lot of research regarding user-generated content and social media. However, it would also be of value to consider aspects concerning web 3.0. We suggest taking this direction for further research.
- Lastly, we have throughout this essay lifted aspects concluding that "nothing is new". Further interesting perspective that we did not take into consideration are Jean Baudrillard's theories on *simulacra and simulation*. His theories argue that nothing is "new" but rather reproduced from a copy.

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Appendices

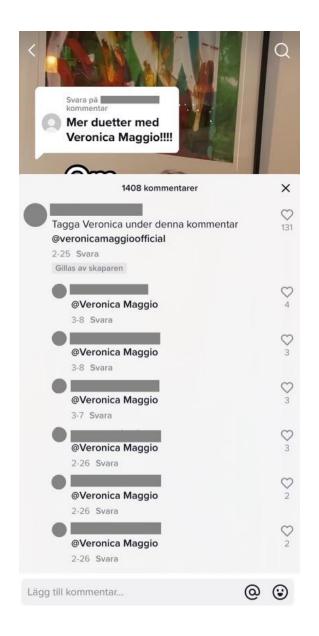
Appendix A

Comments on Holmgrens tiktok *Kommer skriva verser tills vi släpper nåt ihop* @veronicamaggioofficial (2022, February 25):





More comments on Holmgrens tiktok *Kommer skriva verser tills vi släpper nåt ihop* @veronicamaggioofficial (2022, February 25):





Appendix B

Comments on Holmgrens tiktok jag är så jävla ledsen (2022, March 16):





Appendix C

Comments on Holmgrens tiktok *Förhandslyssna genom att klicka på ljudet!* (2022, April 2):



