

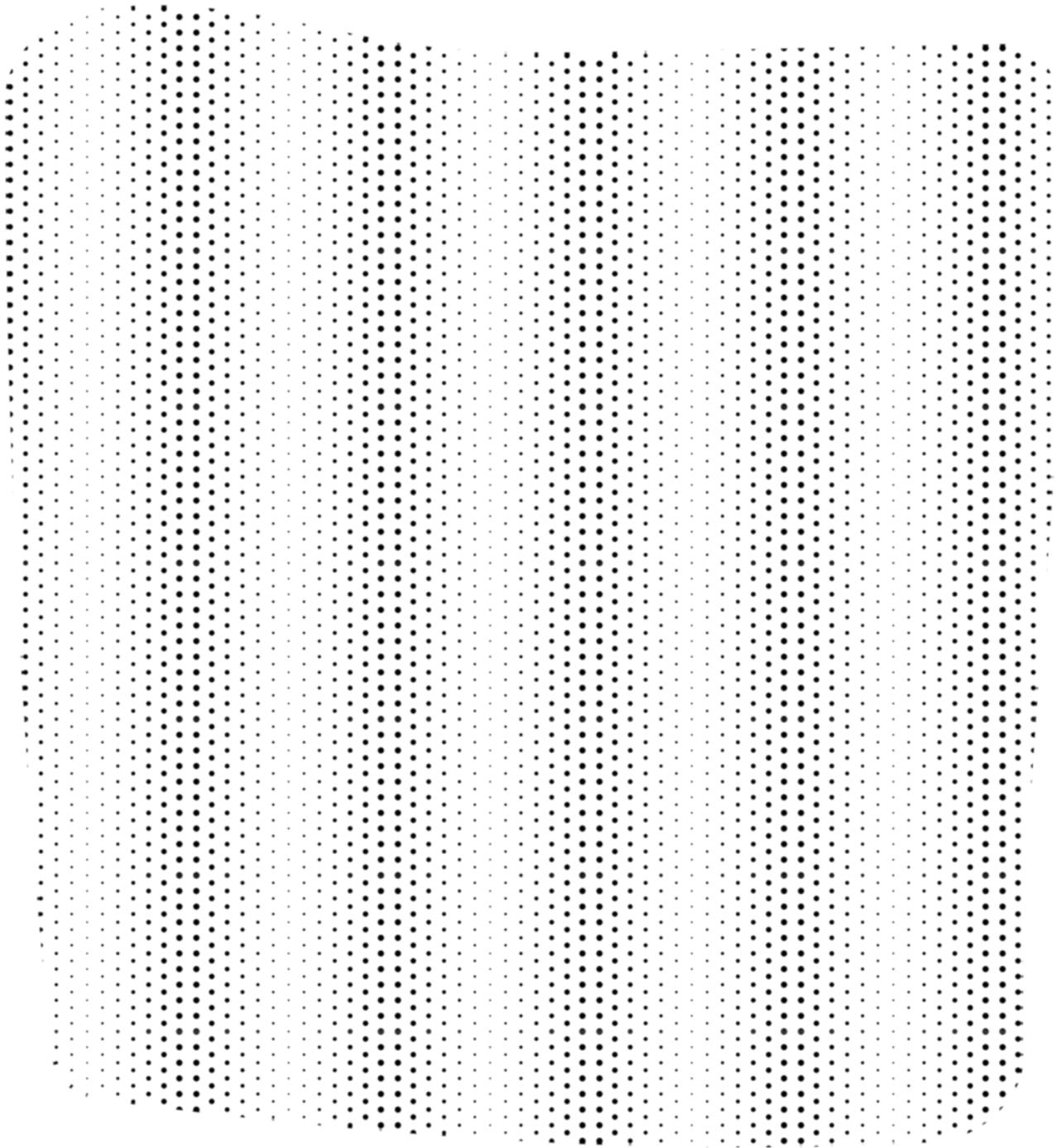
Conceptions of Music in a Constantly Changing Landscape

Molly McLennan

Summer Research Scholarship Report 2022

University of Auckland

Faculty of Creative Arts and Industries



Career Development

My three month summer break is usually a period that balances celebration and reflection; considering the close of one phase of life and the beginning of the next. Prior to this year, I would maximise time spent on dance floors, grooving with friends, discussing dreams and sharing tunes. Instead, this summer I was fortunate in having a very different and very welcome opportunity to delve into how these practices came about, what people have thought and currently think about musical praxis in Aotearoa, and discover terminology that accurately describes phenomena I have noticed but not before been able to name. As the reverberations of Covid-19's impact on all areas of life continue to be felt on a global scale, I acknowledge that I had a rare chance to utilise this time as a period of reflection and learning. Out of the conclusions generated via the process of this literature review, one has left a lasting impact that I would like to acknowledge. That in Aotearoa, interconnectivity is a universal component across all music genres, expressions and communities. I have witnessed this sense of interconnectedness in action via the many opportunities I have had to casually discuss my scholarship with friends both working within and externally to the music industry; their eagerness to pass me to other contacts; the familiar names of venues and artists that crop up in articles and literature; and the willingness to collaborate across medium, genre and field. I characterise this experience as enlightening two reasons, the first being the inspiration for further research and the second being discovering career paths I had not realised were out there.

At points during this project, I struggled particularly with communication. Mostly, I found it difficult to ascertain what my role was and what was expected of me prior to undergoing the literature review. From this experience I recognised that it is invaluable for me to communicate effectively in moments where I need to seek clarification. I recognise and am trying to continuously counteract my ongoing imposter syndrome as a non-binary and neuro-divergent student within an academic environment. I am grateful for Fabio Morreale's continued support, even when communication became difficult.

Undergoing a literature review confirmed for me my own discomfort that arises out of analysing subcultures from an academic lens. It is difficult to fully communicate how and why I perceive a sense of discomfort with certain experiences being made the subject of academic research, but I believe that the at-times inaccessible language of academic literature is a contributing factor. However, through the process of reading a number of sources from a range of fields and approaches, I have begun to feel more comfortable using academic terminology to describe experiences, methods, approaches and theories.

Overall, the process of generating my own research question, curating materials and extracting relevant data has been enriching. I hope to have the opportunity to do this again, albeit with a slightly longer timeframe and a better understanding of personal time-management!

Summary

Using a combination of constant comparative and chronological analysis, this literature review focuses on tracking changes in language used to describe music praxis across a mixture of academic and non-academic literature. The process for analyses is frameworked through an approach based upon a critical hope as defined by Fast and Jennex (2019) Grennell-Hawke's application of positionality (2018). If the context surrounding the production and consumption of music is under constant negotiation, then one would expect the nature of the terminology used to describe musical praxis to be mutable. The review process sought to link changes in language used to describe tensions and concurrences between theory and practice to the growing utilisation of streaming platforms. Peer-reviewed and informal texts were selected on the basis of ensuring both conceptions developed through theoretical knowledge and practical experience were considered by the review. The decision to include informal texts was predicated on the relatively small number of academic publications published within Aotearoa on the impacts of streaming platforms on the music industry. Additionally, by approaching the literature review from the perspective of critical feminist theory, I hoped to discover instances of disidentification, which tends to happen external to the confines of academic discourse. Muñoz defines disidentification as moments of renegotiation: when those who experience life outside of the hegemonic paradigm choose to engage with mainstream culture on their own terms (1999). In order to identify underlying hopes and fears for the future of music in Aotearoa, a consideration of plurality and recognition of disidentification was necessary.

The application of a critical hope framework to music practices in Aotearoa builds upon a pre-existing body of knowledge completed by Māori and Pasifika academics, as well as researchers who have experiences bridging formal academic settings, transient subcultures, and plural identities. Much of this research has been qualitative and observational in nature, whereas the only precedent study of artists engagement practices with a streaming platform (Bandcamp) gathered data using a quantitative method. The major finding of this review is that Aotearoa's status as a colonised nation means that conceptions of music are pluralistic and difficult to delineate. Certain themes do recur across most of the texts, but they are very much shaped by the temporal and spatial contexts surrounding their application. The three central themes are: defining authenticity and its relevance; economic mechanisms governing music production and consumption; and venues as sites of contestation, emotion and opportunity. Across these three central themes is a preoccupation with the power dynamics that arise between those perceived as inside industry and government and those perceived as being excluded from positions of power.

Abstract

This study reviews literature relating to the production and consumption of music in Aotearoa through the lens of post and pre-implementation of streaming platforms. Although the digitization of music and its movement to predominantly online spheres has altered praxis surrounding music, those closely involved with production and distribution still remain concerned with key issues such as lack of venues and support domestically via institutions such as government and local councils. The affordances of streaming platforms, such as the formation of global networks of artists and listeners has altered perceptions of New Zealand-made music. Using a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2014) in order to identify key themes and keywords, the literature was reviewed against a rubric and then key themes extracted and grouped. The literature was also analysed chronologically to examine whether the certain preoccupations continued into the post-streaming era, or became redundant in the face of emerging technologies.

The implementation of music streaming platforms in Aotearoa has altered the landscape - musicians have had to become more cognizant of their rights under copyright and creative commons. A greater emphasis is now placed on monetizing content, as the global pandemic and a reduction in viable venues across urban centres has narrowed financial opportunities for musicians. Yet, the music industry is starting to report its first period of economic growth since the internet boom of the early 2000s. More research is needed in Aotearoa in the area of consumers' perceptions of how streaming services have altered their listening habits, particularly from Māori, Pasifika and Queer consumers. Additionally, observational and participatory studies of music communities in Tāmaki Makaurau, particularly as it is the nation's hardest hit city by the pandemic, will be enlightening in order to understand whether streaming services can serve as an intermediary between audiences and artists in the absence of live shows.

Aims

This project aims to understand how conceptualisations of music have been shaped by the implementation of music streaming platforms in Aotearoa. Via an analysis of descriptive language, praxis and identification of recurring themes, changes in conceptions of music from the late 1990s to the current day will be identified and discussed.

Method

As an avid user of user-uploaded streaming services (SoundCloud), a supporter of and DJ on student radio, and a constant trawler of TradeMe for new vinyl and CDs, I have spent much time considering ways in which my music consumption practices could better support the local music industry. I have frequently worried about the impact of Spotify, Apple Music and YouTube's unsustainable methods for distributing content, and potentially unethical practices surrounding Artificial Intelligence and algorithms. I hoped that in the process of this review, my anxieties that we are heading in the direction of a homogenised sonic landscape would be dispelled. Therefore, I sought to understand the interrelationship between conceptions of music and the current dominant, and highly criticised, streaming method. This literature review sought to answer the question: how has the implementation of streaming platforms continued to shape interactions with and conceptualisations of music within Aotearoa?

I believe that a researcher's relationship to their subject matter holds brevity. As a Pākehā student, it is important for me to be cognizant of my obligations as tangata Tiriti in upholding tino rangatiratanga. Thus my methodology and approach considers my primary positionality, as someone who does not experience oppression from racism and colonialism but benefits from it. I acknowledge that this review is not comprehensive, and although I draw upon research that refers to literature that discusses Kaupapa and Tikanga Māori, these are not discourse to which I can contribute (Grennell-Hawke, 2018). Rather these texts serve as my guideline through which texts from Pākehā perspectives can be analysed. Additionally, as Aotearoa is a diverse nation, I have attempted to seek out literature discussing the experiences of Tauīwi and Pasifika artists, industry members and music listeners.

Throughout the course conducting this literature review, I have found the process of identifying and analysing materials extremely rewarding and challenging. Seeking out sources that discussed explicitly the impact of streaming platforms from a historical or sociological perspective was difficult. In the process of collecting resources, I discovered a number of texts that were concerned with subject matter I had not expected to be included within academic discourse. In particular, McIver's thesis *WaveShapeConversion*, which covers in great depth underground dance music culture at the turn of the millennium was a pleasure to read and reiterated for me the potential for disidentification and research to be a process of celebration. As a person who identifies as non-binary and queer, many of my most memorable moments of connectivity and belonging have been facilitated through dance music. Occurrences of belonging transpire online and in the transient contexts of parties and festivals. The clandestine nature of such events have embedded within me a discomfort in discussing these experiences in academic contexts, McGregor and Gibson describe this tension as a form of 'liminal identity' (284). McIver also attempts a reconciliation of 'feelings of community...that take place during these transcendent moments ... with 'everyday life...' and questions whether 'we just content ourselves with

Conceptions of Music in a Constantly Changing Landscape

temporary respites that balance out the monotony of urban life?’ (199). My hope is that a methodology that approaches analysis via critical hope will help to answer McIver’s inquiry.

As a design and history student, I felt ill-equipped to embark on an analysis of music without having a solid understanding of an appropriate methodology upon which to base my research. The introduction to Fast and Jennex’ *Popular Music and the politics of hope* was immensely useful as an analytical framework, with the concepts of citation and homage as a form of feminist practice being particularly relevant to this project. In addition, Taiuru’s guideline for the ethical application of Artificial Intelligence, Algorithms, Data and IOT in accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi served as a foundational tool for analysis for texts concerning streaming platforms (2020). Gathered materials were classified as either formal academic texts or informal publications. An analysis rubric typical of a literature review was applied to academic texts. When analysing informal literature, the style of analysis was primarily concerned with the style of language, highlighting recurring themes, and seeking perspectives from musicians, industry-members and consumers.

I identified a number of key search terms relevant to the research question. I prioritised texts authored by those residing in Aotearoa, and particularly sought out texts from a Māori, Pasifika, Queer and feminist perspective.

Method for Identifying Relevant Materials

Databases	Search Term(s)
Google Scholar; University of Auckland Library	Copyright Music Streaming (Spotify, Bandcamp, Soundcloud, YouTube, Apple Music, Deezer, Napster) Aotearoa/New Zealand Community Recommendation Algorithm Artificial Intelligence Creative Commons Sustainability Orangatanga/Wellbeing Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi Critical Hope Feminist Theory

Method for Analysing Materials

Academic Texts	Informal Texts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Identifying the key problem addressed by the author. b. Identifying key concepts defined by the author. c. Understanding central theories, models and methods used by the author. d. Ascertaining whether the approach is innovative or utilises an established approach. e. Evaluating the results and conclusion of the research. f. Extracting themes, tone of language, and how its findings challenge or contribute my understanding. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Identify recurring words, headlines and emphasised bodies of texts b. Quotations and Anecdotes c. Identify recurring themes.

Materials were grouped chronologically and thematically, as the research question was concerned with ongoing impacts of streaming platforms, I felt it necessary to first grasp how conceptions were debated and negotiated prior to this technological development. Fast and Jennex argue that ‘engagement[s] with the past’ are crucial to understanding cultural and social phenomena from a feminist perspective (5). Such a perspective provides an analytical framework that recognises the state of identity and experience as subjects of an ongoing conversation. Repetition and invocation of words, phrases, imagery and artistic gesture within the conversation reveal the network-like nature of conceptualisation of cultural phenomena (5).

Data relevant to answering the research question was extracted from the texts via a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2014). The key data points were the terminology used to describe the production, distribution and consumption of music; emphasis placed on sites of interaction with music; tone of the text (Fast and Jennex, 2019); considerations of non-hegemonic perspectives and experiences. From these data points I drew conclusions on how conceptions of music have changed since the inception of streaming platforms, and how those conceptions currently function to shape our interactions with music in Aotearoa.

Results

A. A Nation of DIY Gigs, Independent Labels and Hope for Future Generations

The turn of the millennium saw the dial-up internet become the standard for most New Zealanders. In 2001, recorded music revenue primarily occurred via the sale of physical products such as CDs and merchandise (The New Zealand Music Industry Report, 2019). However, even prior to the onset of music piracy through sites such as Napster and BitTorrent, conceptualisations of music and its role in New Zealand society were pluralistic. Pākehā and male perspectives, and the genres they favoured, were prioritised in mainstream media and academic research and their concerns about lack of venues, lack of money and preoccupation that music made in New Zealand was derivative in nature, tended to dominate public discourse (McIver). Yet, in both academic and media settings, increasing attention was being paid to other genres that spoke to the diverse range of identity and experience in Aotearoa (Zemke & Televave, 2007). Zemke and Televave's account of hip-hop and rap and McIver's study of dance music festivals in Te Wai Pounamu align with Fast and Jennex' argument that the celebratory nature of popular music can serve as an antidote to the 'overwhelmingly negative critique in academic work' (2). The political necessity of critical hope positions texts from subaltern perspectives as antithetical to 'dominant perspectives' that 'flatten out diversity' and crucially dismiss 'political possibilities that exist therein' (6).

Selling Beats and Pacifications is a study of the production of Pacific and Māori hip hop and pop through 'Pacific' and 'Māori' distribution houses and record labels. Primarily focused on how New Zealand hip hop and Pacific pop function as 'cultural products' (107), the record labels that were the subject of the study were independent, and specialised either in a particular genre or centred around artists' ethnicity (107). Zemke and Televave describe the dualistic nature of record companies that act at once both as curators and creators. At the independent level, labels such as Dawn Raid Entertainment's ability to capture a wide audience for their acts is attributed by the authors to their proximity to and shared experience with their audience. Authenticity is both central to the identities of the subjects of the study, but also a potential marketable commodity, thus creating a bi-directional flow of influence described by Negus as 'industry produc[ing] culture and culture produc[ing] industry' (1999: 490). Zemke and Televave demonstrate that research that aims to define relationships between music and its cultural context, must take into account 'the economic production mechanisms' surrounding them (107). Forces acting upon those mechanisms originate both within the 'board room', and also outside of the 'comprehension' of those acting within the 'requirements of capitalist production' (107). Authenticity then becomes a valuable cultural product from the perspective of consumers and taste-makers, as it makes claims to define what it 'means to be a participant in a culture threatened with assimilation' (McLeod 1999: 147). Crucially, the observational and participatory research method used to gather the data for this study aligns with the values of the communities it focuses on. In particular, the authors' method of data collection via

Conceptions of Music in a Constantly Changing Landscape

tracking website and social media publications gives space for self-representation of the subjects of the study outside of the realm of formal academia (108). The importance of relationships, interconnectivity and authentic representation to both the researchers and the different independent labels, companies and collectives leads to a compelling study on the depth to which politics and structural social inequities shape both the musicological sound of Hip Hop in Aotearoa, and also the ways in which labels may operate in order to circumvent and oppose systemic pressures such as racism and colonialism.

Mclver's thesis *WaveShapeConversion* also takes an observational and participatory approach to research on the dance music community it focuses upon, and the author acknowledges their positionality as a Pākehā graduate student. The subject of the thesis is the utopian dreams of dance music crews across Te Wai Pounamu from 1997-2007, Mclver is careful to be transparent in her position of privilege as a Pākehā person on colonised land. Dialectic terminology fills Mclver's study as utopian visions are balanced against dystopian realities of colonisation, ecological destruction and social inequalities (3). Mclver's uses Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ) as a framework for defining the Pākehā myths that permeated contemporary Aotearoa that often further obscured the violence of our colonial history (2). Festivals, parties and gigs that fit within the framework of TAZs defined by Hakim Bey are carnivalesque in nature, are formed around neo-tribal and anarchist values, and are utopian in vision (1991). Mclver's description of the vibrant and thriving dance music that permeated the South Island festivals recalls the landscapes within which they were created, and in particular, she compellingly describes the 'distinct Aotearoa sound' that emerged out of the burgeoning dance music scene (5). The sense of positivity and inclusion that she experienced on outdoor dance floors is a crucial component of the, at times problematic, utopian visions of a future Aotearoa. However, Mclver notes musical practice based on utopian visions are subjected to the same economic pressures as their more commercially focused counterparts. Successful parties either moved toward a completely DIY model, or incorporated instances of monetisation such as charged ticketing and bars (261).

Mclver's ability to draw connections between the economic recession of the eighties and the aura of depression that permeated the rock music of that decade (2), jarringly contrasts with Shuker and Pickering's characterisation of a struggling New Zealand rock scene as a derivative of contemporary popular American and UK sounds (262). In their 1994 chapter on 'Kiwi Rock', Shuker and Pickering question 'if the New Zealand music industry is in good heart?' (262). The authors' interpretation aligns with Fast and Jennex' observation that academic critique tends to be 'overwhelmingly negative' (2), as they depict the 'local scene' as unable to support full-time performers, due to a lack of opportunities for exposure and initiatives to support industry (262). The 'Do-It-Yourself' mentality that Mclver and Zemke-White cite as a source of empowerment, subversion and authenticity, is criticised by Shuker and Pickering as being somewhat subpar to top-down intervention by record labels and government bodies (264). Yet, the authors acknowledged that an artist's live-profile was still crucial to their success in a country with 'no MTV channel and few television profiles dedicated to pop/rock' (264). In addition, the question of authenticity, particularly in colonised contexts, is of concern to Shuker and Pickering (274-275). Authenticity is positioned as the potential antithesis of cultural imperialism in the form of imported commercialised media from overseas. This tension is complicated by the relationship between national identity's connection to popular music and increasing

globalisation (275). Whether or not the solution to this tension was government enforced quotas ensuring New Zealand music received the same level of airplay as overseas acts is redundant to the authors (274). The country's small population meant that those who remain 'at home' would be marginalised on the global stage, until the inevitable exodus offshore (276).

B. Making Sense of a New Era: The Onset of Streaming Services and Piracy

By 2006, over half of New Zealand homes had access to broadband internet and legal digital music services, such as iTunes, became available (The New Zealand Music Industry Report, 2019: 34). Piracy rose in popularity as revenues for recorded music halved and by 2011, and approximately 800,000 New Zealanders used BitTorrent as revenues declined to two-thirds of their peak in 2000 (34). Concurring with the shift to online distribution and consumption of music was the introduction of smartphones to the New Zealand market in 2007, leading to the development of on-demand streaming services (34).

Brannick's 2011 study of New Zealand musicians in the digital age attempts to determine exposure methods used by creatives in Aotearoa via the site Bandcamp. The paper begins with a historical overview of the music industry spanning the last century, with particular focus given to means of distribution via technologies such as radio, television, the internet and social networking sites. Brannick's avoidance of taking a stance on piracy's impact on the decline of music industry revenue is striking, with the author citing several studies that either find no correlation between torrenting and decreased album sales (Tanaka, 2004; Oberholzer-Gee & Strumpf, 2007; Rutten, et al., 2009). The first section concludes that the extent to which piracy contributed to declining revenue over the decade is secondary to the lack of research available on the impacts of different distribution models in the post-internet age (9-10). Using a quantitative approach, the paper tested several hypotheses in order to understand effective distribution and exposure methods for artists using the Bandcamp platform (4). Bandcamp affords artists four models to choose from: the 'Free' Model; the 'Name Your Price' Model; the 'Set Price' Model; and the 'Set Price or More' Model. Additionally, Brannick surveyed whether artists chose the copyright or Creative Commons licensing options available via Bandcamp; and whether artists used secondary social networking sites to distribute and promote releases. The study was limited due to its focus on a then-emerging platform and on a country with a small population size. However, Brannick's conclusion that many of the artists involved in the study (who were primarily young, up-and-coming or independent) did not understand their rights under copyright and Creative Commons Licences is of note (61). Additionally, reasons provided by the participants as to why they selected particular models corroborated with Zemke and Televave's study into the financial mechanisms that underpin the continuation of music production (45). Yet making and releasing music 'for the love of it' is a recurring theme across McIver's text - it is mentioned six times, and this sentiment is recalled by the artists who selected the 'Free' and 'Name Your Price' Model who do not 'create music with the intention of making money' (44). The sentiment of doing something 'for the love of it', popularised by the 1999 Salmonella Dub track of the same name, is familiar to most New

Zealanders. Whether this is a constraining imposition of humility on New Zealand creatives or an anti-capitalist approach to craft, it continues to permeate contemporary conceptions of music in Aotearoa.

Returning to the genre of dance music, McGregor and Gibson's study of the spaces and practices of Ōtepoti (Dunedin) Disc Jockeys (DJs), is an exploration of how urban spaces are 'created, transformed, challenged and remade in the musical nightlife economy' (279). Approaching their research from a positionality as DJs embedded within the local community, McGregor and Gibson methodological approach is participatory, stemming from a goal to map the cultural contexts that produce cultural work across specific geographic contexts (279). McGregor and Gibson note the difficulty in attempting to analyse informal industries, such as nightlife scenes in small urban areas, from a formal approach. Using methods such as surveys can prove to be problematic due to the potential to misinterpret crucial and at times esoteric subcultural phenomena and terminology (279-280). The authors' experiences of bridging the liminal identity as DJs and academics shapes their perspective on the interrelation between the production of musical work and the 'networks of people, institutions, spaces, and actors' within and across specific geographical spaces (279-280). Additionally, the authors cite precedent sociological and geographical studies on how musicians secure work within subcultures as a framework for their argument that 'network sociality' is paramount in making it past industry gatekeepers (Wittel, 2001; Bankset et al, 2000; Brennan-Horley, 2007). DJs and musicians seeking to circumvent the limited gig opportunities in a small and tight-knit community increasingly turned to the internet, using sites such as MySpace and Facebook in order to maximise opportunities for audience connection (278). At the time of writing in 2009, physical sites of music making and consumption remained crucial to the 'health' of the scene (286), with the authors comparing the sites of music practices in Ōtepoti to Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington), whose greater populations afforded more numerous opportunities (286). In addition to having larger clubbing scenes and more numerous record shops, nationally broadcasting radio stations were based in the larger cities (286). These compounding factors created an exodus of DJs from Ōtepoti who sought full-time work or more regular opportunities. This phenomena recalls the tension described in Shuker and Pickering's text, where New Zealand artists moved overseas in order to realise dreams of full-time musical careers (Shuker and Pickering, 1994: 276). At this stage, the question of how to support creative industries remains relevant. McGregor and Gibson final remark invokes the ongoing plea for attention to be paid to the conditions in which music is practised:

'If creative industries are increasingly being seen as new growth engines of cities and regions (as is the case in Dunedin), then sensitivity is needed to know how creative industries emerge in specific places, the conditions of work they support, and how participants negotiate careers within them'
(286).

In May of 2012, Spotify launched in New Zealand. In a New Zealand Herald article announcing the arrival of the service to the country, the new era of streaming and

on-demand music was described as a 'game changer' by Sonos New Zealand's Jason Lake.

C. Spaces and Places for Music

Although covered in the previous section, McGregor and Gibson's research is applicable to this section of the review that analyzes texts with geographical preoccupations. By situating the conceptions of music within a geographical context, instances of subversion, renegotiation and opportunity become apparent. Brunt's chapter 'Urban Melancholy' investigates interactions between music and urban policy, and when cities' identities are misaligned with the local body government decisions that aim to manage them. The dischordance that arose from the marketing of the city as a 'cultural capital' by the Wellington City Council and the loss of two iconic venues, Mighty Mighty and Puppies, within a week led to a melancholic aura falling across the city (121). Brunt cites several newspaper articles discussing this phenomenon to support this proposition. However the author's use of the term melancholy, which at first recalls Baudelaire's and Georg Simmel's association between modernity and isolation, is intended to encompass a broader sense of self-reflection - although, with elegiac undertones (125). Criticising the use of social and cultural spaces as branding tools for tourism, Brunt evokes the same preoccupation with 'authenticity' as Shuker, Pickering and McIver, if Wellington truly is "the coolest little capital", why do venues remain unsustainable? (121). Stahl's fixation on melancholy is not a reflection of pessimism, but rather a description of how the rhetoric in media and from local figures impacts conceptualisations of vibrancy, urban memories, and creative scenes (124, 129). The passing of Puppies and Mighty Mighty from physical spaces into urban memory invokes inquiries into why the venues reached levels of iconicity and how that status ignited conceptions of a flourishing creative scene. Ian Jorgenson's strategy for running Puppies and events such as Camp-A-Low-Hum is infamously outlined in the zine *The Problem With Music In New Zealand and How To Fix It & Why I Started And Ran Puppies* (2014). Jorgenson's series of essays is a treatise to the DIY mentality of running underground events. As a long-standing supporter and promoter of independent music in Aotearoa, Jorgenson is critical of the intertwining of the liquor industry and live venues, and the lack of transparency in how Australasian Performing Right Association Limited (APRA) collects and distributes royalties to musicians. Incongruity between the practices, hopes and actions of those proximate to music subcultures, and the bodies that provide the legal and economical framework they exist within remains an ever present tension. Gussie Larkin, of Mermaidens and Earth Tongue, describes the closure of Puppies and Mighty Mighty, and later Bodega as 'ominous', yet the scene was supported by a 'grassroot' network of house parties and collectives (Barlow, 2018).

In 2017, Tāmaki Makaurau joined the UNESCO Creative Cities Network as a city of music. Spearheaded by Mark Roach of Recorded Music NZ and a collaboration across 50 organisations, the Auckland Music Strategy Report - *Te Rautaki Puoro o Tāmaki Makaurau*, was released in 2018 (28-29). The strategy outlined within the report is based on a number of ngā mahi (actions): collaboration with other cities across the globe; strengthening the

ecosystem that supports music; championing Māori music on a global scale; supporting networks across the Pacific; encouraging music in public spaces; and improving preservation of the musical heritage of Tāmaki Makaurau. The language used within the report is hopeful and positive, recognises the diverse ‘voices of the Auckland community’ and commits to ensuring Te Ao Māori perspectives guide the actions of the strategy (21). Providing an alternative strategy to the DIY ethos championed by Jorgenson and McIver’s conclusion to *WaveShapeConversion*, the report highlights the potential in collaboration that is not constrained within the networks of smaller sub-cultures. Across these texts, the accessibility of physical spaces for performance is positioned as crucial to the health of local music. Increasing accessibility remains to be a central goal and while access to venues remains precarious for urban inhabitants, streaming platforms will continue to provide an alternative means.

D. Covid-19, Copyright, Curation and Compliance

Since the iTunes and Spotify streaming services launched in Aotearoa nearly a decade ago, terminology used within informal literature to describe the ongoing impacts of those services has grown in sophistication. Within the last five years, music industry organisations have remained optimistic, citing increasing revenue from streaming platforms. Whereas musicians have increasingly reported their dissatisfaction with the current ‘digital industry’ model, in which subscription based streaming platforms pay on a per-stream basis. In 2017, The Recorded Music Report described the shift of Aotearoa’s creative sectors into digital spheres as ‘innovat[ive], adapt[ive] and evolved’ (8). Whilst the streaming platform’s contribution of \$61.3m to the local economy is celebrated, it is worth noting that streaming represented 70% of overall revenues. It is worth inquiring to what extent artists believe that streaming is now the primary means to earn a livelihood in the wake of the global pandemic. Iconic musician Hollie Smith describes the impact of Covid-19 on recording artists as part of a compounding list of woes that they face in an industry dominated by the streaming format:

We’re pretty limited here with ways we can make money,
I don’t see anything from Spotify.
(Smith in Chumko, 2021).

For session musicians and lesser-known artists, the global pandemic has hit much harder, as they are even less likely to see any returns from streams (Chumko, 2021).

The New Zealand Music Industry Report from 2019 was a document produced via a collaboration between The New Zealand Music Commission, APRA AMCOS, Recorded Music New Zealand, Independent Music New Zealand and the Music Managers Forum New Zealand. The report calls upon the perspectives of established musicians, from JessB to Don McGlashan, as sources of cultural expertise. These invocations of expertise take the form of quotations with emergent themes recurring across different sections of the report. Quoted artists seemed to be particularly concerned with copyright; the connection between music and identity; a constantly evolving music industry; lack of financial returns from streaming platforms; and algorithms increasing presence as arbiters of taste. Overall, the

Conceptions of Music in a Constantly Changing Landscape

tone of the report is positive, noting a “record number of local artists” in the main Top 40 Charts (11), and a growth in revenue for the local music industry (8). Under the section outlining fair market conditions, a distinction is drawn between digital piracy, streaming platforms that host user-uploaded content such as YouTube, and audio streaming services that negotiate with licence holders. Within the document it is argued that ongoing protection of certain platforms under safe harbour privileges results in the distribution and monetisation of copyright breaching content (92). The report argues that the current model benefits large tech companies to the detriment of artists (65), and suggests amendments to the Copyright Act 1994 that better protect artists’ rights and reflects Aotearoa’s cultural diversity (10). Underpinning the desire to protect New Zealand music is the conception that musical perspectives “inform and tell our stories, reflect us back to ourselves and place our existence into context” (65).

Increasingly, the misalignment between current industry practice across big technology and Tikanga Māori is being criticised. Taiuru’s definition of digital colonisation builds upon Avila’s description of the term as the obfuscated deployment of quasi-imperialist power across large groups of people via rules, designs and systems by the primarily dominant power (Avila, 2017). For projects employing artificial intelligence, automation and algorithms in the context of Aotearoa, digital colonisation must be considered ethically where Māori data is to be used:

‘Māori Data contains wairua, mauri and is tapu. Therefore, Māori Data is a Taonga. Māori Data is a property and a commodity and therefore all principles of Te Tiriti are applicable’
(Taiuru, 2020).

Mejias states that digital colonialism emerges in instances of appropriation of human life for the extraction of data to make profit (2019). In the instance of streaming platforms, the mechanisms and functions of recommendation algorithms remain opaque, and currently a legal regime that reflects the kaitiaki status of Tangata Whenua over Taonga works and Mātauranga Māori is needed (NZRMI Report, 12). This indicates that audio and video streaming platforms have the potential to operate as tools of digital colonisation, if they are not doing so already.

E. Summary

The constant renegotiation of conceptualisations of what the phrase ‘New Zealand music’ encompasses is beholden to many factors. Technological developments, increasing awareness and consideration of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, more representation of diverse experiences across public platforms, and the global pandemic have created a shift in how hopes and expectations for the future are communicated. A more equitable and inclusive model for distributing and accessing music remains as pertinent as ever. However, both artists and industry organisations seem increasingly resigned to adapting to the streaming model, rather than adapting the streaming model for the context of Aotearoa. The need for artists to become increasingly literate about legal rights reflects a digital climate where the

extraction of data and intellectual property is commonplace. However, across these texts, is the theme of connectivity. In Aotearoa, music's continuing ability to connect people to places, each other and a broader sense of belonging cannot be understated.

F. Limitations of the Review and Recommendations for Further Research

This literature review was limited primarily by time, and was conducted over approximately five weeks. The selected texts were analysed in depth in order to gain a basic understanding of key concepts and terms that recurred across sources from different fields-of-study, particularly sociological and geographical concepts. In addition to the limitation of time, there are few studies of major streaming platforms within the context of Aotearoa, and none that I could identify that take into account Aotearoa's status as a colonised land, from a Māori, Pasifika, queer or disabled world view. This was particularly difficult to navigate as I had hoped to be able to prioritise these perspectives, as they are more likely to provide counter narratives and instances of critical hope. Moreover, Aotearoa is land of many experiences and many peoples, and the texts selected for this review are predominantly from a Pākehā perspective. The review could have been improved by incorporating more informal resources that contained interviews from artists and consumers that align with aforementioned experiences. In particular, the social media posts from collectives across a diverse range of music subcultures could have been analysed via the method demonstrated by Zemke and Televave in order to get a more detailed understanding of changing practices over time. Finally, Grennell-Hawke's description of positionality is insightful, but the review would have been strengthened by gathering more resources on this theory.

Although my review was limited in many respects, an exciting outcome of this process has been a number of potential lines of further inquiry relating to the original research question. Inspired by McGregor and Gibson's study of DJs in Ōtepoti, research into the listening habits of streaming service users who self-identify as goal oriented listeners, such as DJs, Radio Presenters and 'superfans' may uncover potential subversive or alternative user habits in the age of streaming. Additionally, a comparison of user habits across streaming platforms that operate using different models is yet to be done in Aotearoa. Although only briefly touched upon within this review, a major criticism of Spotify and YouTube from an artist perspective is the role of algorithmic recommendations in taste curation. This criticism evokes the preoccupation with authenticity, as well as community building and musical praxis, and thus is worth further exploration. Lastly, a collaborative approach to research design that incorporates a wide range of knowledge and lived experience would be beneficial to any subsequent inquiries.

References

- Auckland Music Strategy: Te Rautaki Puoro o Tāmaki Makaurau*. (2018). ISBN 978-0-473-46203-1
- Avila, R. (2020). *Against Digital Colonialism*. Retrieved from: <https://autonomy.work/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Avila.pdf>
- Banks, M. et al (2000) Risk and trust in the cultural industries, *Geoforum*, 31(4), 453–464.
- Barlow, J. (2018). *Wellington's live music scene at risk due to lack of venues*. Radio New Zealand.
- Bey, H. (1991). *T.A.Z. the temporary autonomous zone, ontological anarchy, poetic terrorism*.
- Brannick, K. (2011). *Is Anyone Listening? An Examination of New Zealand Musicians in the Digital Age*. Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington. Master's Thesis.
- Brennan-Horley, C. (2007) Work and play: Vagaries surrounding contemporary cultural production in Sydney's dance music culture, *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy*, 123(1), 123–137.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd ed., Introducing qualitative methods). Sage.
- Grennell-Hawke, N. (2019). *The Qualitative Report Being Māori and Pākehā: Methodology and Method in Exploring Cultural Hybridity* (Vol. 23). 1531-1542.
- Fast, S. & Jennex, C. (2019). Introduction. *Popular music and the politics of hope : Queer and feminist interventions*. 1-18.
- McGregor, A. & Gibson, C. (2009). Musical work in a university town: The shifting spaces and practices of DJs in Dunedin. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 50(3), 277–288.
- McIver, S. (2007). *WaveShapeConversion: The Land as Reverent in the Dance Culture and Music of Aotearoa*. University of Canterbury. Thesis.
- McLeod, K. (1999) Authenticity within hip hop and other cultures threatened with assimilation. *Journal of Communication*, 49(4), 134-150.

Conceptions of Music in a Constantly Changing Landscape

- Mejias, U. (2019). Some thoughts on decolonizing data. Retrieved from: <https://data-activism.net/2019/10/bigdatasur-some-thoughts-on-decolonizing-data/>
- Muñoz, J. (1999). *Disidentifications : Queers of color and the performance of politics*.
- Negus, K. (1999) The Music Business and Rap: between the street and the executive suite. *Cultural Studies*, 13(3), 488-508.
- Oberholzer-Gee, F. & Strumpf, K. (2007). The Effect of File Sharing on Record Sales: An Empirical Analysis. *Journal of Political Economy*, 115(1), 1–42.
- Recorded Music New Zealand Annual Report*. (2017). Retrieved from: https://www.recordedmusic.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/RecordedMusicNZ_Annual_Report_2017.pdf
- Rutten, P. et al. (2009). *Ups and downs Economic and cultural effects of file sharing on music, film and games*.
- Shuker, R. & Pickering, M. (1994). Kiwi rock: Popular Music and Cultural Identity in New Zealand. *Popular Music*, 13(3), 261–278.
- Spotify NZ launches today*. (2012) NZ Herald.
- Taiuru, K. 2020. Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti and Māori Ethics Guidelines for: AI, Algorithms, Data and IOT. Retrieved from <http://www.taiuru.Maori.nz/TiritiEthicalGuide>
- Tanaka, T. (2004). *Does file sharing reduce music CD sales?: A case of Japan*. IIR Working Paper.
- The New Zealand Music Industry, Te Ahumahi Puoro o Aotearoa*. (2019). Retrieved from: <https://www.recordedmusic.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/The-New-Zealand-Music-Industry-WEB.pdf>
- Wittel, A. (2001) Towards a network sociality, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 18(6), 51–57.
- Zemke, K. & Televave, S. (2007). Selling Beats and Pacifications: Pacific music labels in Aotearoa/New Zealand/ Niu sila. *MEDIANZ: Media Studies Journal of Aotearoa New Zealand*. 10. 107-129.