

**TUNESMITHS AND TOXICITY:
WORKPLACE HARASSMENT IN THE
CONTEMPORARY MUSIC
INDUSTRIES OF AUSTRALIA AND
NEW ZEALAND**

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the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

under the supervision of
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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Jeffrey Robert Crabtree, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor or Philosophy in the School of Communications at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

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This is a conventional thesis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

A&R	Artist and Repertoire
AAM	Association of Artist Managers
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
APRA/AMCOS	Australasian Performing Right Association/The Australian Mechanical Copyright Owners Society
BECTU	UK Broadcasting, Entertainment, Communications and Theatre Union
DJ	Disc Jockey
EMB	Emblematic
FEU	UK Federation of Entertainment Unions
GLM	The General Learning Model
IFPI	International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
IMSHO	Integrated Model of Sexual Harassment in Organizations
INC	Incident
IPO	Initial Public Offering
MEAA	The Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance
MU	UK Musicians Union
NAQ-R	The Negative Acts Questionnaire Revised
NET	Network Exchange Theory
NZ MCWBS	The New Zealand Music Community Well-being Study
P2P	Peer-to-peer
PCBU	A Person Conducting Business or Undertaking
PR	Public Relations
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

RIAA	Recording industry Association of America
SAT	Shattered Assumptions Theory
SCT	Status Characteristics Theory
SEQ	Sexual Experience Questionnaire
SEQ-W	Sexual Experience Questionnaire for Workplaces
SIT	Status Influence Theory
SVT	Status Value Theory
SXSW	South By Southwest
SYS	Systematic
WAM	WA Music
WAR-Q	The Workplace Aggression Research Questionnaire
WAS	The World Assumptions Scale
WH&S	Work Health and Safety

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the nature and extent of workplace harassment in the contemporary music industry. There has been no previous research on the types of harassment prevalent and its effects on various music industry stakeholders. To achieve this, a mixed methodology was used, that combined semi structured interviews with 33 participants with an online survey of 145 music industry workers using the Negative Acts Questionnaire. This questionnaire, commonly applied in the field of organisational psychology, was developed to examine the phenomenon of workplace harassment and provides a taxonomy of toxic behaviour types as a framework for understanding harassment in the music industry context.

This research finds that workplace bullying and sexual harassment are widespread, and are perpetrated by patrons, peers and power figures. The most common forms of workplace harassment include withholding information, being ignored, unmanageable workload, humiliation and sexual harassment. In comparison to their male counterparts, women experience harassment at more serious levels and with greater prevalence. Furthermore, the research proves that women are sexually harassed in ways that become normalised in the industry. Finally, the thesis demonstrates the serious personal cost to those affected, including career damage, career abandonment, and various psychological after effects.

This research concludes that asymmetries of power are pivotal to harassment. Furthermore, a pervasive gendered power order subordinates women professionally, and renders them particularly vulnerable to harassment of all kinds. This research has implications for music industry peak bodies and for music education curricula in terms of ethics training, cultural change and remediation. Reporting harassment is problematic, in part because of a fragmented industry, and also because of the absence of an effective industrial or professional organisation. Government policy in the arts sector should review criteria to ensure that funding recipients operate with effective anti-harassment protocols. Inadequate enforcement of existing workplace safety and sexual harassment legislation also places music industry workers at high risk of harassment.

INTRODUCTION

This research aims to investigate the nature and extent of workplace harassment in the contemporary music industries of Australia and New Zealand. It is concerned with understanding the different types of harassment experienced by music industry practitioners, as well as their prevalence. Music is central to the human experience, and as such should be the subject of much inquiry. While popular music research has traversed matters of economy, public policy and technologies of production and consumption, there has not been the same emphasis on the lived experience of music makers in Australian and New Zealand – with the notable exception of research highlighting the inequities faced by women in nearly every aspect of the industry. If one of the goals of research is to point to ways in which we can build a better society, then the dearth of knowledge about the music making workplace should be corrected. To the listener, music is much more than a matter of economics or technology; it is a part of the fabric of everyday life. A just and fair society should seek to establish a just and fair workplace for all, whether that work takes place in an office, factory, recording studio or on one of the thousands of stages, both large and small, that comprise a vibrant night-time economy. Importantly, this study contributes unique understanding about the contemporary music industry workplace in Australia and New Zealand.

Music makers have long endured the disruptions and upheavals brought about by technological change. The most recent of these is the so-called era of digital disruption. The last two decades not only brought change to industry business

models but also brought into focus the experiences of those who work at the grass roots level, including the gender discrimination experienced by women. Positing the advent of peer-to-peer file sharing services as a fulcrum, the first chapter of this thesis will outline some of the changes that occurred to disrupt established ways of conducting a music business. These changes are particularly evident in the recent trajectory of the recorded music industry. Consequently this chapter will trace the narratives co-opted by the recorded music industry during the digital era. Those narratives emerged along with the rise of new music business models and distribution methods. Accordingly this chapter will discuss the impact of change on music business models, and in particular will focus not only on the economic realities faced by working musicians but also on some of the consequences of conducting a music business within those realities.

The second chapter will locate this study within theoretical discourses that contribute to how workplace harassment may be understood. Given that harassment is a phenomenon of power, some brief discussion of the ideas of Bourdieu (a key structuralist thinker) will be used as a starting point for the development and synthesis of a hybrid theoretical framework that will be deployed as an analytical tool to understand workplace harassment. As will become evident, markedly more women than men participated in this research. Accordingly this chapter sets forth how the hybrid theoretical framework incorporates social and cultural understandings gained from gender studies.

Chapter 3 details the research methodology used throughout the study. This chapter will necessarily address the relevance of various survey tools as they apply to the contemporary music industries. Chapter 3 will also report on the quantitative results from a survey that was promoted to music industry workers in Australia and New Zealand. These results will be compared with similar studies in other industries where that is possible and applicable. Finally, some comparisons will be made between the demography of the respondents to the quantitative survey and that of the participants who volunteered to give interviews that comprise the bulk of the quantitative data.

The succeeding four chapters will be devoted primarily to an analysis of the qualitative data. Firstly, Chapter 4 will analyse some of the most prominent types of harm caused by workplace toxicity¹ that was reported by participants. As will become evident, the nature of the harms disclosed by participants is best understood through a narrower theoretical lens than that of the hybrid framework developed in Chapter 2. Therefore, this chapter will draw on theoretical underpinnings from disciplines that rarely appear in cultural studies research and will introduce a specific theoretical approach alongside discussion of the data.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have been organised to reflect the nature of the social and professional relationships and structures implicit to the experiences of participants. Those structures and relationships can be divided into three broad

¹ The term 'toxicity' is used here only in a general sense. In the context of this introduction 'toxic' and 'toxicity' should be taken to include the broad range of aversive behaviours that participants reported.

categories. The first of these is the artist (or crew)/audience relationship, where music industry workers are engaging professionally with members of the public and consequently experience aversive or toxic behaviour. Chapter 5 will describe and analyse participants' experiences in this social context.

The second of these social structures is the peer-to-peer relationship, where music industry workers are engaging professionally with each other. These can be regarded as interdependent and collegiate relationships that are necessary for the production of music. Such relationships can include those between band members, those between crewmembers, and those more specific to particular environments. Chapter 6 will describe and analyse the experiences of participants in this context. For the purposes of framing this chapter these relationships can be held as being proximally equal, although in fact hierarchies exist within them and individual skillsets and contributions may differ widely.

The third group of relationships are those embedded in hierarchies of power, where some individuals, by virtue of their professional position, are able to exercise unequal amounts of influence in their actions and decision making which can affect the careers of others within their purview. Thus Chapter 7 will describe and analyse stories of coercion and the use of power in aversive or toxic ways and will examine evidence for the normalisation of this kind of behaviour in the music industry.

Findings related to each of these discussions will be presented at the end of each chapter; however Chapter 8 will summarise those findings to draw together a single picture that describes the nature and extent of workplace toxicity in the music industry in Australia and New Zealand. Furthermore, Chapter 8 will engage in a wider discussion that includes recommendations for peak bodies, legislative bodies and for the music industry at large – as well indicating directions for future research.

CHAPTER 1

THE STATE OF THE CONTEMPORARY MUSIC INDUSTRY

In the light of massive changes to the contemporary music industries following the so-called digital revolution, which included the rise of entirely new technologies of music distribution and promotion, much of the initial discourse in the study of popular music and other cultural industries was centred on the economic trauma suffered by the large recording industry² players. Later discussion has deconstructed this discourse to some extent, and reframed and redefined our understanding of the form and structure of the contemporary music industries. However, only recently has attention turned to understanding the lived experience of music makers and their collaborators, and how their working environment has been directly affected by new technologies (for example see Hughes et al. 2016c). Strong & Raine (2019), writing about the experiences of women in the music industry, suggest that core issues of gender inequity are in fact unchanged. Notwithstanding, gaps in our understanding of what it is actually like to pursue a career in music remain.

One such gap appeared in a recent Australian study that reported in cursory terms the existence of workplace toxicity in the entertainment industries (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). Further detail about the exact nature of toxicity was not forthcoming. Notably, further detail and examination of what toxicity might entail in the contemporary music industries was specifically

² “The recording industry creates, manufactures and distributes music” (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009) in the form of audio recordings that can be made available in physical form, or in digital form and distributed through a digital music store or via a streaming platform (na 2010).

lacking; however a later New Zealand study (henceforth NZ MCWBS)³ identified bullying (8% of respondents) and sexism (7% of respondents) as causes of stress (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016). Therefore, in the light of the major disruptions to music business structures, this research seeks to investigate and bring into focus one aspect of the lived experience of musicians and music industry workers, specifically the nature and extent of the toxicity experienced by them in their workplaces, in such forms of aversive behaviour as harassment, bullying and the like. Reports of bullying and harassment have only recently been reported in the UK music industry (Perraudin 2019). However, early investigations of the sexual harassment of female patrons at music festivals, as well as in bars and clubs (Fileborn 2016; Fileborn, Wadds & Tomsen 2018), suggests that sexual harassment might also be an aspect of toxicity in the Australian and New Zealand music industry workplace. Moreover, Australian artist Jaguar Jonze⁴ reported in a series of Instagram posts her experiences of sexual harassment, including a post that noted that over 100 women had contacted her with similar stories (Lynch 2020). In a subsequent blog post, a Melbourne based music photographer confessed to being the perpetrator in question, and noted that “the patriarchy absolutely exists” and that he had abused the privilege it afforded him (Stafford 2020). Finally, this research aims to make recommendations for changes to industry and government concerning policy and practice.

THE DIGITAL DISRUPTION OF THE RECORDING INDUSTRY

³ This study was the New Zealand Music Community Well-being Study.

⁴ Jaguar Jonze is the artist name of Deena Lynch.

Upheaval struck the global music industry when Napster launched its peer-to-peer (P2P) file sharing service in 1999 (Arditi 2014b; Langenderfer & Cook 2001; Moreau 2013). Napster's success heralded the beginning of a dramatic decline in the sales of physical copies of recorded music, with some data suggesting a decline of around 10% per annum over a seven year period in the United States (Curien & Moreau 2009; Liebowitz 2006). Napster enabled users to easily share recordings of music because they were now available in a non-material form (Douglas 2004). However, unlike other P2P services, Napster featured an easily searchable database of all music in its network, and this architecture may have contributed to its rapid uptake in the file sharing community (McCourt & Burkart 2003). Furthermore, the advent of the MP3 file format made music available more quickly and for less memory cost⁵. The response of the Recording industry Association of America (RIAA) and sister organisations in other territories⁶ was to embark on legal action as well as initiating a discourse centred on the argument that the music industry was in crisis owing to the threat from 'music piracy'⁷ (Arditi 2014b), and was headed for destruction (Mann 2003). The debate was heated and the voices of those championing a utopian new world of freely available music were as strident as those defending the status quo (Forde 2012). Subsequently, Napster was forced to cease operations under a copyright infringement case brought by A & M Records (Langenderfer & Cook 2001). While this result was regarded as a victory by the RIAA (Rayburn 2001) other P2P services emerged to fill the

⁵ MP3 is a highly compressed file format of small data size, albeit with reduced fidelity, that predated Napster (see IFPI 2019).

⁶ A notable association on this list is the British Phonographic Industry (BPI).

⁷ Music piracy is a term widely used by the recorded music industry (Markiewicz 1999) that encompasses individuals obtaining recorded music without paying copyright owners, including "downloading unauthorised versions of copyrighted music from a file-sharing service [and] illegally copying music using stream ripping software or mobile apps" (see IFPI 2019).

space left vacated by its closure (Douglas 2004) including an encrypted file sharing service known as Megaupload (Dotcom) whose founder, Kim Dotcom, has fought attempts by US government agencies to extradite him from New Zealand to face copyright related legal action (Conditt 2017). At the time of writing, Dotcom's extradition battle is in the middle of an extended process of appeals in the New Zealand Supreme Court (Cooke 2020).

The economic rhetoric of an industry crisis

Estimates of the economic impact of file sharing vary widely and accurate measures of file sharing activity are virtually impossible to obtain (Liebowitz 2006; Vaccaro & Cohn 2004). This lack of accurate data presents researchers with the problem of establishing reliable associations between phenomena. In spite of these apparently insurmountable challenges the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) in 2006 estimated the global cost of download piracy at US\$5.333bn (Siwek 2007). Notwithstanding any debate concerning the extent of illegal downloading, the ongoing impact of Napster and changes in technology is undeniable. Although it lost the legal battle, Napster prevailed in the larger narrative, which was concerned with the nature of music distribution itself. Post Napster, the way that recorded music is distributed has been in state of transition (Aguilar & Waldfogel 2018; Hiller 2016; McCourt & Burkart 2003).

The recording industry alarm at plunging sales figures following the high watermark of 1999 (IFPI 2017) can be comprehended in terms of disruption to

an entrenched business model (Moreau 2013). While, for example, Kim Dotcom's net worth includes assets of \$75 million seized in a raid on his Auckland home (Conditt 2017), large scale job losses in the recorded music industry in the years following are a strong indication of a major transition in the structure of the music economy (Wikström 2009b), with Universal Music reducing its worldwide staff numbers by 45% in 2008 alone (Rogers 2013). However, placing the blame squarely on 'music pirates' appears to be more of an ambit claim, and may be seen as an example of what has been termed the "piracy panic narrative" that has marked the recording industry side of the debate (Arditi 2014b). Arditi asserts that individuals who share music files are not committing piracy in the legal definition of the term, and further cites data from Neilson Soundscan showing an increase in *overall* music sales in the US from around 700 million units in 2003 to over 1500 million units in 2009 (2014b). This data is in stark contrast to the picture painted by other commentators. For example, figures quoted by Forde citing IFPI, conversely reported a decline in global recording industry sales from US\$36.9bn in 2000 to US\$15.9bn in 2010 (2012). The accuracy of those figures can be called into question by a recent IFPI's Global Music Report which puts the decline at under US\$23.3bn to US\$14.9bn over the same period (2017). The ambiguity of financial reporting from within the recording industry itself is not surprising, given the degree to which sales and revenue data has routinely been utilised for marketing and promotion purposes (Osborne 2014), and is in stark contrast to APRA/AMCOS's transparency⁸ (APRA/AMCOS 2017b; Crittendon 2017);

⁸ The entity formerly known as the Australasian Performing Right Society (APRA) merged with the Australian Mechanical Copyright Owner's Society (AMCOS) and is now officially known as APRA/AMCOS and is the Australian and New Zealand copyright collecting society responsible for collection and distribution of broadcast and performing rights as well as acting as a clearing house for mechanical copyright owners (RIAA 2020).

however at least one immediate conclusion to be made from the contradictory data is that the cost to the consumer of recorded music has decreased significantly. Many have argued that the drastically reduced costs of reproduction and distribution should not be passed on to the consumer or the artist (Byrne 2007a). Furthermore, digitisation has also reduced the cost of production (Byrne 2007a; Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 129), and since digital sales were first measured by IFPI in 2004 they increased from US\$400m to US\$4.4bn in 2012 and accounted for 29% of all revenue in that year (IFPI 2019). A significant component of digital sales is collected by Apple Corporation, which in 2003 launched perhaps the best known digital distribution service iTunes (Apple 2003). Its effect on the exchange value of music cannot be underestimated with the disaggregation of songs from albums and comparatively attractive pricing (Fetscherin & Vlietstra 2004; Styvén 2007). However, the most significant shift in revenue and consumption has been the advent of music streaming⁹ services that accounted for US\$11.4bn of recorded music revenue in 2019 (IFPI 2020).

The emergence of Spotify and the subscription streaming of music

Perhaps the most contentious player in the digital distribution of music is the subscription streaming service Spotify, which was launched in Sweden in 2008, and leveraged its initial success to enter the US market, forming a strategic partnership with Facebook (Thomes 2013). Spotify signed deals with the major

⁹ Music streaming is a way of consuming music by means of an application on a smart phone or computer (APRA/AMCOS 2017c). Streaming is paid for by monthly subscription or by ads that interrupt playlists where listeners are using the free service. A distinction between streaming and digital download is that listeners do not purchase the music, but purchase access to the entire streaming catalogue (Smith 2019b).

labels to become what is thought to be the second most important revenue stream after iTunes (Greenberg 2015; Thomes 2013). The dramatic success of Spotify (Forbes 2017) ignited controversy over its benefits and claims. Spotify's founder Daniel Ek, whose net worth is estimated at US\$2.3bn (na 2020a), and who was previously CEO of uTorrent, a popular P2P file sharing service (Marshall 2015), has claimed that the so-called 'freemium' (two tiered) model attracts would-be 'pirates' to become subscribers because they can still access the music for free (Ek 2012). One economic model shows that Spotify's claims of foreclosing piracy have at least theoretical plausibility (Thomes 2013). Early evidence examining the impact of iTunes pointed to digital distribution as a means of combatting piracy (Danaher et al. 2010). However a more recent study demonstrated a positive association between Spotify subscribers and *increased* illegal downloading (Borja, Dieringer & Daw 2015) with another arguing that streaming does not replace music piracy, but in fact that both forms of music consumption coexist (Borja & Dieringer 2016). Poppy Reid has further reported a 16% worldwide increase in piracy (2016), thereby casting doubt over Ek's central claim. Other studies have shown equivocal results, with a demonstrable effect of a reduction in piracy coupled with a displacement of sales from iTunes and similar services, with a revenue neutral net effect (Aguiar & Waldfogel 2015).

The value gap

Music Canada CEO Graham Henderson has described the existence of a 'value gap' that has been created by the digital revolution in all its forms. The

notion of a value gap explains the dichotomy of increased sales and reduced revenues and presents a serious problem for the recording industry (2017). While the recording industry has been forced to come to terms with a new business landscape (Edström Frejman & Johansson 2008), Henderson argues that the value gap is felt most keenly by the music makers themselves (2012). The rapid growth of streaming revenues, such as, for example, that reported by the RIAA – 68% year-to-year growth in music streaming with an 11.4% increase in total revenues from recording in 2016 (FMQB 2017), has been hailed by some as the saviour of the recorded music industry (Ellis-Petersen 2016; Nusca 2019). This view can be in part supported by the fact that the major labels acquired equity in Spotify as a part of their licensing arrangements (Knopper 2018). In a similar period, the APRA/AMCOS noted recent annual gains of 12.5% from broadcast and publishing revenue (Crittendon 2017). While the turnaround reported by the RIAA was heralded loudly in the mainstream music media (Christman 2017), the 2018 value of the global recorded music industry is thought to be only 80% of the 1999 value, and it is not difficult to view the sudden massive rise in the personal wealth of Dotcom, Ek and others in the tech sector through the lens of a value gap, and see that their gain has been in no small part subsidised by the music makers themselves, whose product has not only suffered a depreciation in value (Kowalke 2015, p. 195) but who also deal with an economic environment that is precarious and uncertain (Bennett 2009; Bennett & Bridgstock 2014; Henderson 2012). Given the complex nature of the economics and sociology of 'industrialised cultural production' (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013; Ross 2000), the recording industry may be celebrating the turnaround but the additional question of how successful these

new iterations of music distribution have been is far from resolved (Hiller 2016; Marshall 2013, 2015). Questions have been raised about whether any of the windfall to labels from the Spotify IPO will filter down to artists (Knopper 2018). Moreover the total rate of return to artists across the global music industry was estimated to be a mere 7% of total revenue in 2000, in what were only the very beginnings of the revenue decline discussed earlier (Basinet et al. 2018). This estimate would suggest that the income of artists under the old business models was significantly stifled in comparison to later figures. Notably, these estimates of artist revenues (that compare 2000 and 2017) have been rejected and subject to strong criticism by the labels themselves (Hu 2018). Their reaction is arguably an attempt to control the narrative in a similar way to the piracy narrative discussed earlier.

The recording industry's eagerness to embrace digital platforms can be explained by the significant reversal of revenue trends already described, one which is doubtless fuelled by the attempt to recover revenues that were lost in the wake of peer-to-peer file sharing. This notion can be supported by regular reports in the music press heralding new benchmarks in streaming revenue, including one notable report that the major labels achieved the milestone of jointly earning US\$1million per hour from streaming services (Ingham 2020b). However, additional questions have emerged from artists and promoters concerning how streaming platforms' algorithms work and how playlists are curated (Eriksson et al. 2019; Morris & Powers 2015; O'Dair & Fry 2019; Prey 2018). Even though Spotify is only one of many such providers (McIntyre 2018), it is surrounded by controversy, perhaps because of the rapid growth of its

premium user base, which is the largest of all the music streaming services (Porter 2019). Further, recent estimates put Spotify's share of the streaming market at 37% (Nimmo 2020). Spotify has come under media scrutiny concerning the viability of its profitability at current cost/revenue settings, not only after its 2018 IPO (Statt 2018) but also amidst ongoing legal battles over royalty payments and attempts to renegotiate Spotify's licence deals with labels to reduce operating costs (Sanchez 2019a; Tonner 2016). Additionally, Spotify filed a monopolist lawsuit against Apple Music in the EU (Sanchez 2019b).

Spotify, royalties and payments to artists

The controversy surrounding Spotify extends to the amount of royalties paid to artists and songwriters as opposed to labels (Marshall 2015). This debate has been held in view of the general public with Taylor Swift's negotiations that for a time made her music unavailable on Spotify (Linshi 2014; Tiffany 2017). Swift was forthcoming concerning her motives, declaring that the value that Spotify placed on her work was insufficient, and significantly less than the value she believed should be placed on her work particularly in view of the intangible investment an artist makes in the making of music (Swift 2014). Her remarks predate the terminology, but support the notion of a value gap. Moreover, she was not the only high profile artist to embargo Spotify. She was joined by Adele and also Garth Brooks, the latter refusing initially to make his music available on any digital platform (Purtzer 2015) although he later signed an exclusive streaming deal with Amazon (McIntyre 2017). Adele released her last album across multiple streaming platforms seven months after the initial release (Cox

2016). Various commentators report that Spotify remits 70% of all revenue directly to rights holders (Marshall 2015), a proportion that seems consistent with the iTunes agreement with the majors (Purtzer 2015). However these figures are different from those cited from a recent Bloomberg report into Spotify, which puts Spotify's payments to labels at 55% of revenue, less than the 57.5% remitted by Apple, with payments to publishers undisclosed (Tonner 2016). From that point onward, the formulation of actual returns forwarded to artists and songwriters becomes opaque, as each rights holder has differing agreements with talent. Therefore claims of Spotify royalty payments to artists vary, although a mean figure of US\$.007 per play is cited by most (Marshall 2015). Other sources have claimed that in reality the royalty return is much smaller (Resnikoff 2016a). A more recent UK report estimates Spotify's outgoing payments as follows: 45.8% to labels, 10% for song rights, 4.6% to artists and an average payout to songwriters of US\$.00533 per stream (Nimmo 2020). From a financial standpoint, established artists like Swift and Adele are in a commanding position when it comes to services like Spotify, and can negotiate windows of time after a release where streaming is excluded, presumably so as to maximise other forms of purchase (Singleton 2017). The landscape is entirely different for emerging or independent artists, who are much more vulnerable because of the need to build profile and audience (Eliezer 2019) and the relatively large number of plays necessary to achieve what some regard as a minimum wage (Sanchez 2018, 2019c). Further examples of this dynamic can be found in the ongoing tug of war between Spotify, music publishers and labels, where a Spotify initiative that allowed independent artists to upload their music without the need of a label or

aggregator was recently shut down, in what is widely regarded as a victory for the major music labels (Shaw 2019). Further, Spotify is now making paid playlist promotion available, a move which favours the major labels (Resnikoff 2019). Moreover, other writers have argued that the Spotify model is unfavourable to new artists (Kowalke 2015).

Although Spotify returns to artists are generally small per unit stream, streaming revenue is a relatively recent phenomenon, and there seems little evidence of streaming displacing broadcast royalties, although patterns of listenership and the concomitant advertising revenue may undergo a shift in the future. At this time, broadcast royalties remain viable for successful artists. In Australia, APRA/AMCOS returns in excess of 87% of its revenue to composers and publishers (APRA/AMCOS 2019). Spotify's main intellectual property clientele are the so called 'Big Three' record companies¹⁰ and their attendant labels, so therefore it does not have the same vested interest in the success of artists that performing rights societies do. Although one Australian songwriter has accused APRA/AMCOS of being heavily influenced by the major labels (Elmas 2019), performing rights societies conduct collective bargaining and effectively negotiate royalties for songwriters and publishers as a bloc (APRA/AMCOS 2017c; Elmas 2019). The contention around Spotify however, supports the position taken by Lee Marshall, who has argued that the disproportionate relationship between label/artist uncovered by the Spotify model is no different from the disproportionate power structures that existed in the recorded music industry prior to digital disruption, and in fact can be seen in the light of a

¹⁰ The Big Three are the three largest record companies: Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment and Warner Music Group. Previously known as the Big Five; Universal Music, Warner Music, EMI, Sony and BMG, the so called 'majors' have been reduced by subsequent mergers to only three (Sinclair & Tinson 2017).

narrative that describes the major labels adapting to new platforms in order to maintain their hegemony (2015, pp. 185,6). Marshall's argument is bolstered by reports of the phenomenal revenues being passed on to the majors by Spotify (Ingham 2019; Wang 2019) as well as by reports that the share of streaming revenues that went to DIY artists in 2019 was a scant 4.1% compared to the 67.5% that went to the majors (Ingham 2020a). In summary, apart from the performing right and collecting societies, recent trends have resulted in the preservation of the majors, and musicians or artists without a major label deal are at risk of being marginalised. Therefore, in order to further examine the impact of digital disruption on the experience of the working musician, this discussion turns to examining the nature of the contemporary music industry itself.

WHAT IS THE CONTEMPORARY MUSIC INDUSTRY?

The fact that much of the discourse outlined above has been concerned with the recorded music industry can be attributed to the hegemonic position of music recording in the cultural consciousness of music (Bennett 1980; Kjús & Danielsen 2016) and undoubtedly also to the economic and political power of the major recording companies (McCourt & Burkart 2003). One author, in estimating that the major record companies produced three quarters of the world's recorded music turnover, has described the recorded music industry as an "oligopoly with a competitive fringe" (Moreau 2013, p. 19). Furthermore, securing a recording contract, then making and releasing albums that subsequently receive lots of airplay and high sales figures has for many years

been synonymous with success from the perspective of the music makers themselves (Hughes et al. 2013). However Williamson and Cloonan have argued that to think of the recording industry and the music industry as synonymous is an unhelpful oversimplification of what is a diverse, complex and heterogeneous group of many industries (2007, p. 305). The annual IFPI Global Music Report purports to provide financial data on the state of the music industry, but in fact is concerned only with physical and digital sales, streaming revenue, or synchronization and performing rights income (IFPI 2020).

Understanding the structural realities in the music industry

Paul Hirsch (1970) described a structure of the music industry at that time as embodying a mechanism for preselecting talent that would maximise the possibility of success of its recorded product. According to Hirsch, various levels of filtering and gatekeeping were exercised by different actors such as A&R staff, producers and executives who all worked closely with gatekeepers in the broadcast media. This view of the industry is supported prima facie by the testimony of Australian 1960's pop icon Little Pattie, who was urged by her friends to sing at a local talent quest, was then spotted by a talent scout and in short order found herself with a recording contract which propelled her into a career spanning live and TV performance and radio broadcast of her recordings (Johnson 2004). Hirsch's model was subject to later criticism, partly because it became out-dated (Wikström 2012). Hirsch clearly conceived of the music industry largely with recording companies at the centre, and other separate

aspects of it as peripheral and contingent, largely ignoring the importance of live music as an important phenomenon of culture (Hesmondhalgh 2013).

Williamson and Cloonan persuasively argued that to regard the music business as a single industry is inaccurate to an actuality of multiple industries engaged in different activities and pursuing different revenue streams but with music itself as the common thread between them (2007). They, like Arditi (2014b), also disputed the piracy/death of the music industry narrative, contending that P2P file sharing did not hurt the live performance or copyright ownership industries (Williamson & Cloonan 2007, p. 308). Subsequently, the nature of the contemporary music industry has been described as comprising three industries, specifically - music recording and distribution, music publishing and licensing and live performance. These industries are interconnected but operate on “different logic and structures” (Wikström 2014, p. 10). These views are further supported by Rogers who described the music industries as having their essence in the exploitation of intellectual property (2014). Williamson and Cloonan also cited a 2003 study that estimated the total combined value of the music industries to be US\$48bn (2007). With 2004 as an arbitrary benchmark year, IFPI reported a decline in recorded music sales from 1999 to 2004 of US\$38.5bn to US\$33.6bn¹¹ (IFPI 2004). However, over a similar period the total combined value of the music industries was estimated at greater than US\$60bn (Cammaerts, Mansell & Meng 2013). This difference can be explained by the fact IFPI only measures revenue from sales of physical audio and music video formats as well as digital downloads and subscriptions (IFPI 2004). It is evident

¹¹ The IFPI sales figures extant in the 2004 report seem at odds with the historical data reported in the IFPI Annual State of the Industry report 2017. The difference may be accounted for by the way IFPI defines and measures sales as opposed to revenue however the music revenue data reliability issue has already been discussed.

that the revenue value of live music, music publishing and music merchandise represents a significant percentage of the music business, but not the entire music economy. The other music industries have been collectively described as “booming” economically, at the same time that recorded music revenues have been in decline (Williamson & Cloonan 2007, p. 308). Although, in 2004, the recording music industry still constituted 70% of the combined music industries, Williamson and Cloonan predicted an eventual decline in that proportion (2007). In support of their assertion, they cited music journalist Phil Hardy, who estimated the value of the global live music industry in 2004 at US\$10bn. A later report from Hardy confirms their contention, estimating the value of the live music industry in 2008 at US\$25bn (Reuters 2009). A more recent estimate of the value of the live music industry was US\$27.95bn for the year 2018, calculated by Price Waterhouse & Coopers (Chapple 2019). In Australia, clues as to the value of the live music industry can be gleaned from events following the recent mass cancellation of music events¹² owing to the COVID-19 outbreak¹³. As at 16th March 2020, total *lost* revenue for only a few months of cancellations was reported at AU\$47million¹⁴ (AMIN & AFA 2020). Furthermore, the estimated strength of the music publishing industry represents further evidence in support of a pluralist structure. One estimate of the value of the global music publishing industry puts a figure of approximately US\$7.5bn for 2004, over US\$8.5bn for 2008 and US\$11.34bn in 2014 (Tschmuck 2016). Therefore there is significant economic value in music industries other than the

¹² Many live music events including international tours were cancelled in Australia in the wake of a temporary ban on non-essential gatherings of more than 500 people commencing March 16, 2020 (Resnikoff 2016b).

¹³ COVID19 is an infectious coronavirus with flulike symptoms, where approximately 20% of infected persons experience severe illness; it was pronounced a pandemic in 2020 by the World Health Organization (Broadsheet 2020).

¹⁴ Industry bodies responded to the mass cancellation of music events by launching a website that asked all parts of the Australian live music sector to self report lost work in a bid to calculate lost revenue (2020).

recording industry, although a significant proportion of live performance revenue is centred on high profile artists who have already 'made it', with one 2006 US study finding that the top 1% of artists took 56% of concert revenue (Connolly & Krueger), a situation reflected in a more recent report that observed that the top ten touring acts of 2018 each had ticket sales that exceeded US\$100m, with the top three acts having combined ticket sales in excess of US\$1.03bn (Chapple 2019). A similar pattern was observed in another US study investigating revenue streams for composers, which found that the top 1% of composers attributed almost 75% of their annual revenue to publishing, while the lowest earning group attributed just over 50% (DiCola 2013). The larger disparity behind these figures comes into sharper focus when the actual size of revenue is similarly compared. The top 1% of composers earned an estimated US\$330,000 annually while the range of annual revenue for the lowest earning group was between US\$500 and US\$4,500 for the same period (DiCola 2013). Therefore, although data points to the economic health of the live performance and music publishing industries, it also paints an incomplete picture, which is in actuality one of a vastly unequal distribution of the largesse. The lived experience of contemporary music practitioners is that large numbers of them make very little income from their endeavours, with one recent Australian study finding that non-music work accounted for an average of 89% of the total income of musicians (Bartleet et al. 2020). This pattern is readily apparent in New Zealand where 62% of all performers, songwriters and composers earn less than NZ\$25,000 per year from their music work (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016). DiCola also found that as income from music decreased, so did the proportion of time spent engaged in music activities (2013), a finding

supported by studies in Australia (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010; Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). Thus, the majority of music industry practitioners operate in a climate marked by large disparities that are readily apparent in terms of economy, but that also translate into vast differences in the kind of power available to strategically manage their businesses. This includes being able to negotiate appropriate deals, gain access to important social networks and gain access to wider potentially more lucrative opportunities. The comparatively small numbers of highly successful artists are more easily able to leverage their position as the creators of high value IP, than those who are not in the highest earning categories, and who are therefore far more vulnerable economically as well as socially.

Following the decline of physical sales, and threats to their sustainability, the majors scrambled to maintain their revenue (Moreau 2013). The so-called '360 degree' deal has emerged as a primary strategy of the labels and redefines the label/artist relationship by expanding label revenue streams to include all other music-based income that was previously the domain of the artist (Curien & Moreau 2009). One rationale supporting this kind of deal is that a label has played a significant role in creating and building an artist's career, so therefore should rightly receive a return on their investment from all related sources of income (Marshall 2013). Another hinged on a label being able to offer a more active partnership in an artist's career than has previously been common practice (Marshall 2013). While the 360 degree deal is a tacit recognition that the music industries should be seen in a pluralist framework (Hughes et al. 2016b), from a phenomenological perspective, its emergence (and its

controversy) signal a major shift in how labels see that the label/artist relationship is intended to function in the new music economy (Marshall 2013).

Fragmentation

Wikström's argument for thinking of the music industry as three music industries is strongly supported by recent submissions to the Music and Arts Economy in New South Wales Report which cited separate economic data from several live music bodies, as well as the Australian Recording Industry Association (ARIA) and APRA/AMCOS (NSW Department of Planning and Environment 2018). Additionally Music Australia estimated the value of the contemporary music live performance industry in 2017 at AU\$1.5bn-2bn annually, within a broader sector that is thought to contribute AU\$4bn-6bn to the Australian economy each year (Davidson-Irwin 2017). Furthermore APRA/AMCOS reported financial results for its publishing and copyright collection activities for the period 2018-19. Total revenue for this period was AU\$471.8m including export earnings of around AU\$47.3m across its purview of broadcast, performing right and publishing rights management: a 12.3% increase over 2017-18 (APRA/AMCOS 2019). Significantly, and in the light of earlier discussion, APRA/AMCOS also reported streaming revenue for the 2018-19 period of AU\$105m, up from AU\$2.4m in 2011-12 and AU\$62.6m in 2016-17, a growth rate that is a reflection of increases reported by IFPI (IFPI 2019). The six year trend for APRA/AMCOS is that its revenue has almost doubled since the 2012-13 period, when total revenue was AU\$257.2m (APRA/AMCOS 2019).

Notwithstanding its pluralist structure, an even closer view of the music industries reveals a more heterogeneous and complicated picture, eloquently articulated in metaphor by one music journalist who described the music industries as “an interconnected jumble of small business owners, sole traders, and major corporations, all tangled like guitar leads dumped into a road case” (Jolly 2020). A consistent and defining theme amongst cultural researchers when describing the effects of the Internet economy and the digital revolution is that of fragmentation (Hughes et al. 2016b; Napoli 2016). More broadly, those commenting on the rise of neoliberal economic ideologies have critiqued its dominant myths (McNamee & Miller 2009), including such notions as ‘an equal playing field’ and ‘hard work and talent pays off’, which also fail to account for inequities such as social position, race and gender, and that therefore fundamentally serve to protect the status quo (Littler 2017). In cultural studies, David Hesmondhalgh views social fragmentation as a product of the larger trajectory of capitalism (2013) and changes to the nature of music businesses can be understood in this context. Within this context, a fundamental quality of the business of music making is that it has always been marked by technology driven change (Théberge 1997). Other writers have also noted that the impact of technological change is a constant in the business of music (Frith 2017; Perritt Jr 2006; Ross 2000; Williamson & Cloonan 2016) and furthermore, the experience of large-scale displacement of employment opportunities for musicians has occurred in the past more than once (Ross 2000).

Nonetheless, the fragmentation following the digital revolution within the music industries has been thought to disrupt previously held balances of power,

between artist and label, label and radio station, artist and audience and label and audience (Baym 2010; Hughes et al. 2016b; Vaccaro & Cohn 2004). One example of this can be found in prominent UK artist Imogen Heap, who has altered her engagement with her audience by offering ways of co-creation and collaboration that include profit sharing (Wikström 2012). Heap is by no means the only artist to adopt this kind of strategy, and artists are pursuing a variety of audience engagement methods via social media to create value that is artist/audience specific (Chaney 2012; Sargent 2009) and that also reinforces social structures like affinity, participation and the ability to access unique content (Salo, Lankinen & Mantymaki 2013). Perhaps the most famous shift in the balance of power can be found in the release of Radiohead's *In Rainbows* where fans could pick their own price. Not only did the band achieve chart and commercial success (Bourreau, Doğan & Hong 2015) they adopted a management strategy of bypassing the label to get the album to fans faster, and deliberately withheld advance copies from music journalists and radio stations, thereby generating rapid word of mouth promotional success by means of blogs and social media (Byrne 2007c). Some of the most profound symptoms of fragmentation can be found in the emergence of alternative business models, and the extent of change is best seen in a direct comparison of this plethora to the previously cited experience of Little Patti (Johnson 2004). One strategy has been the creation of independent online networks of independent "bands, fans and stores" (Byrne 2007a, p. 5). Former *Talking Heads* front man David Byrne has also suggested that there are now as many as six models for artists and musicians to get their music into the hands of their audience, including the standard distribution deal (the old model), the aforementioned 360 degree deal,

the licensing deal (where the artist retains copyright in the master recordings), the profit sharing deal, the manufacturing and distribution deal and the self distribution deal, also referred to by Hughes et al. (2016b) as the DIY model where the artist essentially is creating, producing, performing, self managing as well as distributing. The licensing, profit sharing and manufacturing deals are distinguished by the artist retaining copyright, and can be embodied in what has been described as an *entrepreneurial model* (Hughes et al. 2016b) where the artist subcontracts or devolves various operational responsibilities to specialist actors, deploying a flexible set of contractual models that can evolve with a career trajectory.

While established artists like Heap and Radiohead are able to challenge artist/label power structures, they can do so because of a large and established fan base. Fans are known to demonstrate long term loyalty, but in complex ways (Obiegbo, Larsen & Ellis 2019) and generate their own discourse in order to preserve their own fandom (Bennett 2006; Smith 2009). Artists in this category have sufficient economic and cultural power to make a DIY deal profitable in terms of time and revenue. Therefore the devolution of recording deals away from the old model is ultimately of benefit, in part because labels are less able to extract commission from every part of an artist's activity. However, in the same way that reduced economic power creates vulnerability for emerging artists, the DIY business model is not only a means to access audiences without a label, it is also a business model with enormous implications for those who adopt it. One of those implications is the need to access crucial professional networks, a need that can be problematic for those

at the grass roots level, as previously discussed. Further, those who are able to grant access to crucial networks may well be aware of the power inherent in their positions, which can then render music industry workers vulnerable to exploitative behaviour. Finally the DIY model, for those with limited economic resources has implications for the workload necessary to make the model effective.

The implications of fragmentation for individual artists

One criticism of the DIY model is the high time demand in self-management and self-promotion, particularly in managing social media, with a consequent loss of available time to focus on the primary creative pursuit (Bennett & Bridgstock 2014; Hughes et al. 2016c). This can be to such an extent that some artists have essentially had to diversify in order to survive (Hughes et al. 2013) and APRA/AMCOS former Head of Member Services Dean Ormston¹⁵ has further noted that many DIY artists are overwhelmed by the workload (Hughes et al. 2016b) a burden that includes the essential requirement of having to navigate the dynamics of social media (Baym 2010; Wikström 2016). However the career milestones and markers for success have shifted significantly for Australian musicians (Hughes et al. 2013). Formerly gigs, airplay, album sales, chart success and the bestowal of industry awards were widely acknowledged landmarks, that made clear who was achieving success, and by how much. A heterogeneous environment makes the landscape much more complex for an artist to navigate, and commercial success is much more elusive (Wikström

¹⁵ Since that interview Dean Ormston was appointed to the position of CEO of APRA/AMCOS (AMIN & AFA 2020)

2013). Furthermore, success should not be thought of purely in economic terms, as the average income from music work in Australia is less than a third of the minimum wage (Hannan 2017; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010; Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). Many who work in the music industries subsidise their income with other work (DiCola 2013; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010) or diversify (Bennett & Bridgstock 2014; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010) or continue to work in music for intrinsic value reasons other than economic return (Reid, Petocz & Bennett 2016). Many researchers have noted that there are powerful intangible qualities to a music-making career that are frequently a motivating force for working in the music industries despite the stark economic realities (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a). Hesmondhalgh refers to the “satisfactions and rewards” to be gained from playing music, and the “high levels of autonomy, interest, and sociality, combined with opportunities for self-realization” (2013, p. 129), qualities that are associated with “good work” (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013, p. 39) One study found that a music career involved many intrinsic reward mechanisms that include the effect of an identity based in music, a sense of vocation, passion and commitment, and recognition from peers (Reid, Petocz & Bennett 2016). This last goes to the social nature of the music industry, which enjoys a strong sense of networked connectedness, whether real or imagined (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015b). Ian Rogers has written of the indie music scene in Brisbane and found that while musicians he interviewed didn’t necessarily expect to ‘make it’, a large part of their motive for continuing in live performing lay in the valuable experience of being in the network of relationships that formed the music scene (2008). Perhaps more

profoundly, Rogers also noted that for many, the playing of music was a way of soothing the anxiety they felt as the kind of people who didn't fit into the established social groups of their adolescence.

Hughes et al. argue that an entrepreneurial model provides the most sustainable business approach for operating a music business, due to the flexible and contingent nature of the professional relationships inherent in the new music industries (2016b). Any form of an entrepreneurial model however, demands the development of business management skills necessary to execute the 'non-artistic' workload (Hughes et al. 2016b; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010). A widely cited entrepreneurial model is that first articulated in depth by Eric Ries who described what he referred to as the *lean startup* method (2011), one which is based in the development of a business hypothesis followed by testing amongst early adopters using a *minimum viable product* (MVP). Ries' contention achieved widespread acclaim (Blank 2013) although Osterwalder et al. had developed an earlier design thinking based conceptual tool as an adjunct to entrepreneurs attempting to develop and test an MVP (Osterwalder 2004; Osterwalder & Pigneur 2010). There has been some critique of the lean startup approach that directly compares it with a more widely accepted design thinking methodology (Müller & Thoring 2012). While many of Ries' ideas were already extant in design thinking, albeit with different terminology, the fundamental difference was located in the customer centred approach of lean start up thinking as opposed to a user centred approach. A blend of both methodologies undoubtedly would allow an artist to appropriately conceptualise their workflow and stages of development (Ries 2011), while at

the same time exploring and identifying key alliances and partnerships as well as diverse channels of revenue and distribution (Osterwalder & Pigneur 2010). It is noteworthy that even in the face of the learning curve required to develop new skills, the central contention of Hughes et al. was in part supported by the actions of Coldplay co-manager Terry McBride, who advocated for and circulated Osterwalder's framework, known as the *Business Model Canvas*, amongst Australian music managers at the Australian Music Industry Network Control Conference of 2015¹⁶ as the recommended way of managing the complexity of a startup music business.

The shift in the burden of risk

Spotify's business model makes for a disproportionate economic relationship that favours labels over artists, evident from recent controversy over this very issue (Marshall 2015). Marshall further argued that this disparity is no different from the pre existing disproportionate power structures prior to digital disruption, and that new business models (such as the 360 degree deal described earlier) can be seen in the light of a narrative that describes the major labels adapting to new platforms in order to maintain their hegemony (2015, pp. 185-6). The major labels have managed throughout a period of great transition to not only retain market share (Moreau 2013) but also, as previously discussed, to have experienced a major reversal of revenue decline. In seeing the music industry as a landscape of powerful institutions adapting and shifting in response to disruption, Rogers has argued that the highly mediated 'death by digital'

¹⁶ A director of the author's company contributed at this conference and collaborated with McBride in the critique of music managers' models and approaches.

narrative belies a much more complicated set of disparate business activities that can be all thought of as “a functioning intellectual property industry” (2014, p. 40) and one that adapts and changes in order to maintain power (2013, 2014). Moreover, Andrew Ross has observed that the overall trajectory of music industry professionals towards more uncertain employment and reduced incomes is shared by other practitioners in the design industry (2000), a trend now occurring more widely, with the rise of the so-called ‘gig economy’, best exemplified by the ride sharing service Uber (De Stefano 2016).

The adoption of an entrepreneurial approach to managing a music career can therefore be regarded as an attempt to respond to a changed and changing environment on the part of the artist or small music business. Despite the extent of change however, there are some constants; and it has been argued that even within a pluralist understanding of the music industries, the artefact of the music recording will remain central to music making because after so many years of a prominent recording industry, the recorded version of music remains at the core of popular music consciousness (Bennett 1980; Marshall 2013). Arguments in this vein are supported by data showing that in the period 2012-2017, total royalty revenue from recorded music in the USA increased to be virtually double that of music publishing (Basinet et al. 2018). Furthermore, the low cost of access to recording technology (Byrne 2007a) (as noted earlier) has fundamentally shifted the way recorded music is produced away from the large expensive studios once integral to the process (Arditi 2014a, 2016). Moreover, some writers have also noted that there is now a convergence of digital recording technology and live performance, with proprietary recording software

such as Ableton¹⁷ regularly utilised by artists in live shows (Keith et al. 2014; Kjus & Danielsen 2016). This is so despite the health and vibrancy of the live performance music industry noted earlier, and in spite of the fact that live performance has enjoyed a major resurgence in revenue significance (Australia 2016; Wikström 2014). Thus the primacy of the recording of music is not only a phenomenon of cultural consciousness but also of political economy. This can be seen in the way that the majors have attempted to negotiate change in a way that preserved their hegemony and business model (Benner & Waldfogel 2016; Leyshon et al. 2005; Rogers 2014). Therefore the massive shedding of recording company staff referred to earlier can be viewed as a direct consequence of preservation in the face of structural change after a slow initial reaction (Moreau 2013; Negus 2014; Williamson & Cloonan 2007). Another way this preservation of hegemony manifests is the 360-degree deal in which (as noted earlier) the record label demands a percentage of all artist revenue – not just from recordings. The 360 deal has been described as an attempt to encroach on previously sacrosanct revenue rights in order to find alternative revenue streams to support failing ones (Morrow 2006).

The 360-degree deal, along with almost all other models proposed by a number of commentators (Byrne 2007a; Curien & Moreau 2009; Hughes et al. 2016b) represent various degrees of shift in the ownership of risk away from the labels, who have traditionally functioned as investors, towards the artists. Risk reduction as a strategy in the midst of a shifting music industry landscape has taken a number of forms (Wikström 2009a); however the devolution of capital

¹⁷ Ableton Live is a digital audio workstation and recording software that is also used widely in live performance because of its design ethos, in that it is not modeled after traditional analog tape machines and recording desks.

investment in IP risk to the artist is at the very heart of any iteration of an entrepreneurial business model. Artists engaging in these models must either personally fund their MVP, or find other early investors by other means that commonly include crowd funding (McIntyre & Sheather 2013) as well as seeking grants (Hughes et al. 2013). This shift of risk allows labels to act like venture capitalists, cherry picking from amongst an array of new start-ups, instead of investing in untried artists, as traditionally was the case (Hirsch 1970). Furthermore, because the artist/entrepreneur may have had little training in the principles of risk management (Hughes et al. 2016b), the hidden danger of unforeseen poor business decision making awaits the start-up musician. As this phenomenon is relatively recent, there are few writers who have examined the implications of risk devolution in breadth and depth. As previously noted, emerging artists are already at a significant disadvantage in terms of economic power, a disadvantage that can translate into a social disadvantage which renders them vulnerable to exploitation. To this landscape must be added the further dimension of carrying much greater financial risk than prior to the digital revolution, and possibly without the kind of entrepreneurial skills and experience that normally are important to success. Clearly the stakes are now higher for emerging artists and musicians than in recent iterations of music industry business models prior to digital disruption; a situation that renders them even more vulnerable. The obvious questions that arise as a consequence of these new realities are firstly to do with the ways in which the heightened vulnerability of contemporary musicians might be being exploited, and secondly must concern the social and psychological impact on them not only as a

consequence of the substantial increase in the risks of their profession, but also in the face of vulnerability and possible exploitation.

In summary, small music businesses, including individual artists are being subject to significant pressure both economically and structurally. Some commentators, such as artist manager John Watson have described the present landscape in more hopeful terms (2013); however, others have suggested that despite the appearance of democratisation, the large scale power structures fundamentally remain in play (Graham 2016; Rogers 2013). It is noteworthy that Watson's perspective comes from being the owner of a significant artist management company with a small but highly valuable roster of clients including: Cold Chisel, Birds of Tokyo, Peter Garrett, Silverchair, The Presets, Missy Higgins and Gotye¹⁸ (Eleven 2019). With power largely still in the hands of major labels, and the risk of investment fundamentally shifted towards those with little economic reserve, the business environment for artists and other small music industry businesses has been described as precarious (Ballico & Carter 2018). The scale of these problems may well be exacerbated in the light of some industry predictions of a forthcoming period of dramatic revenue growth for labels (Ingham 2017).

WORKING IN MUSIC IN A POST DISRUPTIVE WORLD

“Doctors, dentists and lawyers will complain and tell you how long their training was. She [indicating cellist Tina Guo] was playing from the age of three. Most of

¹⁸ For readers not familiar with the Australian pop music scene, the artist roster of Eleven represents a cross section of some of the most awarded and highest earning as well as enduring Australian popular musicians and bands across a broad range of genres.

us practice for eight hours a day. I can't remember how long ago it was when I first realised I wanted to play music" (Zimmer 2017b)

The raw economics for contemporary musicians

The landscape for the approximately 10,000 to 15,000 Australian musicians¹⁹ (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017), the roughly 1,100 New Zealand musicians and artists²⁰ (Careers.gov.nz 2020) and approximately 45,000 Australian and over 16,000 New Zealand songwriters²¹ (APRA/AMCOS 2019), has been described as a winner take all environment, where long hours of work coupled with very poor pay is the experience of most (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Massive financial return is available for the few artists who become successful in international markets, but large numbers of local musicians miss out on anything remotely approximating the upper echelons of remuneration (McIntyre & Sheather 2013). Recent reports support this assertion, revealing that the landscape of contemporary music in Australia is one of economic pressure, with 56% of all musicians earning less than \$10,000 per annum from their principal creative skillset and with a mere 16% earning more than A\$50,000 (Davidson-Irwin 2017; Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). The Australia Council

¹⁹ Accurate figures for the size of the workforce of freelance contemporary musicians in Australia do not exist. The 2017 Australia Council survey notes that the best estimate for professional musicians is 15,400 (APRA/AMCOS 2017a). The Australian Bureau of Statistics cites a professional musician workforce of just over 6,000 (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017), a number that is used by the MEAA to estimate the size of the music workforce. While further discussion on arriving at the above estimate will take place in Chapter 3, this number was arrived at by reducing the Australia Council best estimate in accordance with the percentage of musicians who reported to be currently engaged in that work (67%) (ABS 2014).

²⁰ Estimates of the number of contemporary musicians in New Zealand are difficult to come by. This number was cited by the New Zealand Government on the basis of a 2015 PriceWaterhouse Coopers Report, and is somewhat supported by the number of respondents to the NZ MCWBS (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017). In 2019, the New Zealand Music Commission annual report for 2018 also estimated that the New Zealand music industry contributed 1860 full time equivalent jobs in live and public performance (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016).

²¹ These figures are the number of songwriter members of APRA/AMCOS who were reported to have earned song writing royalties in the twelve months 2018-2019 in Australia and New Zealand (PriceWaterhouse Coopers Consulting 2019, p. 4).

reported that the median income for a musician in Australia in the period 2014-2015 was just \$9,000 (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017) and a survey of 560 musicians by the MEAA found that as many as 25% of all gigs were unpaid (MEAA 2018). A recent Queensland study paints a similar but more hopeful picture, with 37.4% earning \$15,000 or less, and 23.6% earning \$60,000 or more, although it should be noted that the sample size for these results (n=195) was considerably smaller than the earlier studies (Bartleet et al. 2020). As previously noted, the economic landscape for New Zealand artists is similar (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016).

The Australian/New Zealand landscape is doubtless a reflection of the state of larger music markets such as that in the US (DiCola 2013), where artists received only 12% of all revenue generated by their activity in 2017, with the vast majority of revenues going to intermediaries such as labels and distribution platforms (Basinet et al. 2018). Even though artist share of total revenue is small, there has been improvement from 2000 when artist share of total revenue was only 7% (Basinet et al. 2018) as discussed earlier. It is no overstatement to suggest that this picture has been complicated by the significant decline of artist royalties from sales of physical versions of recordings since the peak of 1999. The economic difficulties for artists are also doubtless multiplied by the impact of the value gap (Barker 2018), the fact that the bulk of the 12% that went to artists was earned by those relatively very few at the top (DiCola 2013), and then further multiplied by a sharp increase in the higher level of financial risk now assumed by contemporary artists (as noted earlier). The burgeoning income inequality in music might well be part of a larger

phenomenon in the US, in part because the broader gig economy is at its highest level since 1928 (Hill 2015). While these seismic shifts have been subject to much discussion at the macro level, the impact of them on the lived experiences of music makers in the broader community has been less prominent in the discourse, and as Petocz et al. have noted, research in this area is hampered by unreliability of data and gaps in our understanding (2014).

The rise of uncertainty

Subsequent to the digital revolution, developments suggest that the disruption of the internet did not produce the kind of democratised new world of creative accessibility envisaged by some (Geoghegan & Meehan 2014). Many thought that the advent of the internet and availability of digital music distribution would bring a new utopian age for independent and emerging artists (Marshall 2015; Napoli 2016). It is clear however that if a new music industry utopia exists at all, it does so only for the highest revenue generating echelon of artists and their attendant managers and teams. The much lauded 'long tail' phenomenon proposed by Chris Anderson promised to make more content available, with obscure content makers more widely available to mainstream audience along with the collapse of restricted channels of distribution (2007). Anderson additionally predicted that lesser known artists would be profitable owing to the 'long tail' of a derestricted market (2004). These promises have proven to be elusive in terms of real effect, and some writers have asserted that in practice the 'long tail' is a myth (Benghozi & Benhamou 2010; Napoli 2016), although Watson asserts that the relationships between audience, industry and artist are

now more favourably weighted to the development of a grass roots fan base (2013). Moreover the recording industry did not collapse as the RIAA and many pundits had predicted. However, the economic difficulties faced by music makers has had a significantly negative impact on the sociology of a career for those at the grass roots level, or indeed what may be left of the so-called 'middle' (Henderson 2012), a phenomenon described in recent Australian studies (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b)

Perhaps as a consequence of these trends, and in the context of the value gap, reduced financial returns, fragmentation, increased risk and a fundamentally unaltered hegemony, the first of the two most prominent themes to emerge in examining the lived experience of music makers in Australia is that of uncertainty (Hughes et al. 2016b; Parker 2015). Scholars describing the British music scene, a much larger, more diverse scene than in Australia (and one possibly with greater opportunity) recently noted that most British musicians functioned as small businesses, functioning precariously from gig to gig in a freelance market that often featured episodes of unemployment (Baade 2014; Cloonan 2014). Their observations are borne out in Australia by a number of researchers, including Stacey Parker, who reports that 91% of Australian musicians experience a precarious work environment (2015). Throsby and Zednik also report that approximately 70% of Australian musicians and composers are freelance small business owners (Throsby & Zednik 2010) and further, Dawn Bennett conducted a survey of music graduates and reported instances where respondents described themselves as shocked at the degree

of uncertainty and inconsistency they had experienced in professional creative life (Bennett 2009). Other Australian studies have also reported a general lack of work opportunities, low financial return for creative work and the requirement to pursue ancillary income, coupled with episodes of unemployment (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010). Following a longitudinal study of music and dance graduates, Bennett and Bridgstock have recommended that there is a need for training institutions to help graduands to modify their expectations for their creative career in the light of the new realities of practice (2014) particularly given the high proportion of musical practitioners who have invested heavily in both formal and informal training, and who may even experience a singular moment of professional accomplishment or recognition that does not necessarily translate into a reliable career (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010).

Musicians deal with the economic uncertainty of the music industries in different ways, by supplementing income from artistic practice with a 'day job' to pay the bills (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016; Hughes et al. 2013), by finding opportunities in other industry related work (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010) or by finding work by utilizing their skills embedded into industries other than the music industries, a solution adopted by around 40% of music graduates according to Australian Census data, a group that presumably includes teaching (Cunningham & Higgs 2010). As described earlier, the realities of a musician's earnings are harsh, with 45% of all Australian musicians earning below the minimum wage and 54% working more than the recommended maximum of 48 hours a week (Parker 2015). Even when all

sources of income are included the mean income of a musician or composer is approximately 60% that of a professional occupation in Australia. Furthermore, roughly 36% of all Australian musicians and composers are unable to meet their minimum creative discipline expenditure requirements, even when all sources of income were taken into consideration (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010). Similarly, New Zealand songwriters and musicians rated “difficulty with finances” as the second most significant stressor in their work²² (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016, p. 19).

Therefore, despite earlier global evidence that artist revenues have increased proportionally overall, in Australia and New Zealand the circumstances for the majority of contemporary musicians are dire. It can be argued that the economic signs point to an industry that is largely unregulated when it comes to comparing the experience of contemporary musicians with the minimum standards for the Australian workforce (Fair Work Ombudsman 2018). The significance of this data for this research is eminently clear, in that it is known that in spheres of business activity that are unregulated, or where enterprises are permitted to self regulate, ethical considerations become secondary to pragmatism which leads to the real possibility of rationalised amoral behaviour (Russell & Brannan 2016). It is precisely this kind of environment that faces contemporary musicians daily. Furthermore, the impact of all of these external factors on the uncertain working lives of contemporary musicians is exacerbated in Australia by the absence of an effective industrial organisation that will advocate for better conditions. The Musicians’ Union of Australia (MUA)

²² “Difficulty with finances” was the rated third by all participants in the survey, including crew, administration and backroom staff (APRA/AMCOS 2019).

reports not only that its principal activities are to improve “the interests of the members and working musicians as a whole” but also that the Union was “largely successful” in achieving these aims (Davidson 2016, p. 3). This claim seems at odds with other data in the report, including the declaration of membership fees totalling a little over AU\$8,500 and a net loss of just under AU\$95,000 (2016). With only two part time staff, and a massive underrepresentation in terms of the large estimates of the number of working musicians (Davies 2020; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010), it is difficult to see how the MUA could realistically represent the interests of working musicians when, for example, the NSW Government introduced new lock out laws that were designed to curb alcohol related injuries in the Sydney CBD, but that simultaneously created a downturn in the Sydney live music scene (Hughes et al. 2016b). Grant Michelson has documented the history of attempts by MUA officials in the 1980’s to merge with the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA) in response to the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) strategic thrust to reduce the number of small unions and centralise bargaining power (1997). MUA members repeatedly voted down merger proposals, and in doing so doomed their organisation to impotence in comparison to the kind of advocacy and bargaining power that benefits the members of MEAA²³. In 2018 MEAA launched *Musicians Australia*, its response to a lack of advocacy for freelance and contemporary musicians. Musicians Australia features a Facebook page for discussion amongst members and its primary aims according to the 2019 MEAA Annual Report are leadership, advocacy and dealing with underpayment of freelance musicians, as well as the

²³ One example of this is the development by the MEAA of a health and well-being information service in collaboration with the author’s company.

practice of musicians undercutting other musicians (MEAA 2019). The annual report noted there were 361 general members of Musicians Australia (MEAA 2019) but according to Director of Musicians Australia Paul Davies, the total number of non symphony orchestra musician members at the time of writing stands at over 550 (2020). In New Zealand, Musicians are represented by E Tū, a large cross sector union (New Zealand Council of Trade Unions 2010), although they were at one time represented by the Service and Food Workers Union (New Zealand Government 2019b).

Notwithstanding the MEAA foray into the arena, it is reasonable to assert that the majority of working musicians in Australia exist in an uncertain economic environment with little power, and with little financial return for their labour. They do so with little in the way of practical institutional support, unless they are writer members of APRA-AMCOS, except for the notable not for profit organisations Support Act (in Australia) and Music Helps (in New Zealand) which are both funded by donation. Music Australia also exerts some advocacy function as the peak body across the breadth of all sectors of the music industry (Australia 2016). Support Act functions to offer welfare support for musicians who have suffered illness or incapacity (Support Act 2017b). In New Zealand, Music Helps operates in a similar way to Support Act (although it has a broader range of activities) (Music Helps 2020). The relative lack of advocacy, coupled with the heightened uncertainty, observed within other creative industries, has also been described in wider terms, not just in terms of economic factors. These include the unpredictability of inspiration, the constant threat of rejection, the

heightened fear of failure and the unusual pressure on identity following acclaim (Hunter et al. 2011).

The stress of economic uncertainty

Recent studies have pointed to a social and psychological cost to the stress of uncertainty faced by musicians in Australia. A music career can involve periods of isolation between engagements, in contrast to the highly social experience of performance (Hesmondhalgh 2013). A survey aimed at investigating the well-being of Australian musicians found that 27% of those surveyed reported job insecurity and uncertainty, both of which are associated with “lower life satisfaction...higher psychological distress, burnout and intentions to leave the industry” (Parker 2015, p. v). Furthermore, 44% of respondents reported experiencing “high workload”, which “is associated with psychological distress and burnout”, and 11% reported “high to very high levels of interpersonal conflict”, which is “associated with higher psychological distress” (2015, p. v). Similarly, in New Zealand, 54% in the music community reported tiredness, and 38% reported overwork as their top two stressors (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016, p. 19). A study investigating the working environment in the broader media industries in the UK noted that both the high workload and the freelance nature of media industry work were contributing to the risk of bullying (Federation of Entertainment Industry Unions 2013). A smaller study focussing solely on UK musicians found that the portfolio style career of a musician made finding work life balance difficult, and participants noted that a significant

number of their colleagues suffered from ill health and were vulnerable to early death (Teague & Smith 2015).

The compelling association between the risk factors and what Parker describes as “psychosocial injury” (2015, p. v) is also supported by a two-part study conducted across the entire entertainment industry that found elevated rates of anxiety, depression and suicide ideation in comparison with the general population (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). More specifically this study found that approximately 65% of musicians and 54% of singers reported a lack of sleep, in comparison with an estimated rate of chronic sleep disorder in the Australian population of 6% (Hillman et al. 2006). These results are similar to the levels of disrupted sleep and insomnia reported in the same study, and when taken together, indicate a group whose sleep problems are severely elevated from Australian norms and represent a significant risk factor for depression (Hillman et al. 2006). Similarly the New Zealand music community reported a similar degree of lack of sleep (58%) or disrupted sleep (56%) (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016, p. 12). Australian musicians completed a modified version of the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (a non diagnostic measure) with concerning results: approximately 54% of musicians and singers scored in the Moderate to Severe range for depression in comparison to 3% for the wider population, and 24.4% of musicians and 19.4% of singers scored in the Moderate to Severe range for anxiety, against a baseline 3.7% for the general population (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015b, p. 90). Further, the New Zealand music community was found to have serious levels of suicide ideation (39%), a rate which is almost two and half

times that of the general population, as well as a rate of attempted suicide that was just over twice that of the rest of New Zealand (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016, p. 5). These sets of findings are paralleled by a similar study conducted in the UK, which found that around 71% of UK musicians had suffered panic attacks or anxiety, and around 68% had suffered from depression (Gross & Musgrave 2016), indicating that musicians in the UK suffer from depression at rates that are almost 3½ times the UK national average (Evans, Macrory & Randall 2015). The Australian study raised sufficient awareness of the psychological stresses of a music career to prompt discussion at a number of peak industry events (Eliezer 2017).

A further cost of the stress of working in the contemporary music industry can be found in the coping strategies of musicians. The 'sex and drugs and rock and roll' mythos is in part supported by the stories of high profile artists, like that of Robert Wyatt and his attachment to alcohol as a coping or compensatory mechanism (O'Dair 2016) or David Crosby's well publicised drug addiction (Zollo 2003). Parker found that drinking alcohol was a widely used coping strategy amongst Australian musicians, and alarmingly 62% of respondents self reported drinking behaviour at harmful levels as defined by the World Health Organisation (2015). The situation was not much better in New Zealand, where 66% of men and 51% of women showed a positive indication for problem drinking²⁴ (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016, p. 14). The social and health consequences of alcohol abuse are widely reported and need not be detailed here; however the converse ironically is also true in a limited form for

²⁴ The NZ MCWBS asked participants to complete the AUDIT-C, which is brief screening test for risky alcohol consumption and/or dependence (The New Zealand Music Foundation 2016, p. 19).

musicians who work in licensed venues, as they must in the normal course of working in those environments develop a set of people management skills for negotiating with inebriated clientele (Forsyth, Lennox & Cloonan 2016). It is therefore somewhat ironic in health and well-being terms that the formation of the Australian live popular music scene in the latter part of the twentieth century occurred within the economy of the alcohol industry.

Although there is debate about exactly where and how Australian forms of rock music first emerged (Oldham 2013), in writing about the mythology of the Australian live music scene as a preparation for international success, Shane Homan recorded descriptions of the pub music scene of the late 1970's and early 1980's that styled it as a brutal environment (2002, p. 91). Stratton has argued that the music of this era lies at the centre of Australian popular music tradition (2004). The era of 'pub rock' (Cockington 2001) or alternatively 'Oz Rock' as it has been termed (Homan 2002) featured forms of musical expression that appealed to and attracted hard drinking male working class audiences who gathered together in large 'beer barns' (Cockington 2001, p. 184; Homan 2003, 2008b; Stratton 2004). A cultural, social and economic scene was created by the nexus of rock bands and alcohol consumption that was overtly masculine and aggressive (Brabazon 2000; Oldham 2013). Therefore it is entirely plausible that one part of the Oz Rock mythology, i.e. the hard drinking, masculine centred ethos, persists to the present day (Brabazon 2000; Homan 2003, 2008b; Stratton 2005) and spills over into smaller venues and is a factor impacting the experiences reported by participants. Despite claims lauding the successful implementation of harm minimisation strategies in

the Responsible Service of Alcohol (RSA) in 1996 (NSW Department of Industry 2018, p. 7), actual rates of alcohol related bodily harm in NSW steadily increased from 1996 to 2008, when restricted opening hours were introduced (Menéndez, Tusell & Weatherburn 2015). Further research is needed to establish a direct nexus; however the connection between the performance of live music and the commercial imperatives of the alcohol industry lies at the core of the live performance industry in small to medium sized venues.

Economics, live music and the policy gap

Much has been written in popular music studies about the importance of popular music to Australian cultural identity (Homan 2003; Stratton 2006), and to cultural policy (Baird & Scott 2018; Homan 2002, 2013; Homan, Cloonan & Cattermole 2015) with a focus on the loss of live performance opportunities as a consequence of the different ways that governments attempt to regulate the liquor industry (Ballico & Carter 2018; Homan 2008a; Johnson & Homan 2003; Miller et al. 2019a). Recent discourse has turned specifically to consider the contradictory and changeable nature of government policy with respect to liquor licensing and live music in the context of competing interest groups, stakeholders and changes in public opinion (Homan 2010, 2011, 2019a) and most notably the Sydney lockout laws²⁵.

²⁵ The 2014 Sydney lockout laws were an attempt by the NSW Government to curb alcohol related violence (Frank et al. 2008) following one-punch assault fatalities (Nicholls 2014), which have been well documented by a number of writers (Gerathy 2014). The effectiveness of such measures has been a matter of much debate, with assertions that lock out laws reduce alcohol related violence (Homan 2019a), and counterclaims questioning data (Dumas 2016; Menéndez et al. 2015; Palk, Davey & Freeman 2010) and research methodologies (Barrie 2016). Given the importance attached by state governments to a city being known as a 'vibrant city', a 'music city' or a 'cultural destination' (Hughes & Weedon-Newstead 2018), it is unsurprising that in the recent tug of war between the media fuelled outrage over alcohol related violence (Grodach 2013; Miller et al. 2019b; Sutherland 2013) and the cultural and economic value of the night time economy (Homan 2019a), a government review of the lockout laws featured medical practitioners warning of "a conveyor belt of carnage" should laws be revoked. Conversely, Sydney bar

Individual venues host live music for several reasons, which sometimes include supporting the local music scene as well as forging community connections (Johnson & Homan 2003; Miller et al. 2019a; Whiting 2015). However, the venues themselves must function as viable businesses, and the more pragmatic profit motive is the dominant factor (Gillard & Ausmusic 1994; Homan 2002; Johnson & Homan 2003). The Australian night time economy contributes significantly to the economy as a whole, employing three million people and with a total turnover of \$715bn. (License & Edwards 2018). A\$1.42bn was spent in 2016-2017 by patrons at concerts, festivals and small venues in Melbourne (Newton & Coyle-Hayward 2018). Music Victoria estimated that in 2014 there was a commercial benefit of A\$2.1bn as a result of live music, including profit and net positive impact on productivity nationwide (Homan 2018). Further, one estimate put the economic value of the entire Australian music industry at AU\$10.554bn in 2016 (NSW Department of Planning and Environment 2018). Similarly, the direct economic contribution to GDP of the New Zealand music industry has been estimated at NZ\$336m (PriceWaterhouse Coopers Consulting 2019, p. 4). Clearly this data strengthens the position of those who have argued for a sophisticated and nuanced approach to cultural policy and for a reconsideration of blanket regulations, such as lockout laws.

Significant debate around the loss of live music venues in Sydney followed the imposition of the 2014 lockout laws with one source claiming that 176 venues had closed over the four year period the laws were in effect (Triple J Hack

owner Justin Hemmes called for not only lock out laws but also three strike laws to be scrapped, citing the Melbourne approach to achieving a vibrant night time economy as exemplar (Maher 2019). The most recent development in the debate is that the Sydney lockout laws were largely revoked effective January 2020 (Boyd 2019; Gorrey 2019).

2018). A 2018 report to the NSW Parliament made 60 recommendations to do with improving the state of live music in NSW, of which 10 were recommendations focusing on eliminating current existing liquor licensing restrictions, with only one recommendation to increase training for fair payment responsibilities for live venues (NSW Department for Planning and Environment 2018). In the context of ample evidence before a NSW Parliamentary committee detailing the kinds of issues in working conditions experienced by musicians that have been discussed throughout this chapter, there were three recommendations made as a consequence, namely: one recommendation to provide government funding to Support Act, one to provide a musician's parking permit to allow the loading and unloading of equipment at gigs and one for Create NSW to adopt the MEAA Code of Conduct to address pay and work conditions and which would in principle be contingent on any potential government funding (NSW Department of Planning and Environment 2018). At the time of writing, Support Act has declared that it receives no government funding (Support Act 2017a), there is no mention of the Code of Conduct on the Create NSW website, nor is there any evidence for the existence of a musician's parking permit.

While it is considered that no research points to a causal link between live music and violence (NSW Department of Planning and Environment 2018), it is known that alcohol intoxication and aggression share a direct causal relationship (Commonwealth of Australia 2017; Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010; Forsyth, Lennox & Cloonan 2016; Giancola 2013; Gondolf 1995; Graham et al. 2005; McFadden, Young & Markham 2015; Miller et al. 2012; Wells &

Graham 2003). The alcohol industry were noted as being significant stakeholders in the submission of evidence about the music and arts economy in NSW (NSW Department of Planning and Environment 2018). Undoubtedly the partial repeal of the Sydney lockout laws will stimulate the opening of more live music venues in the city. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to argue that the trajectory of events embodied in the imposition and eventual rollback of the Sydney lockout laws, seen in the light of the inaction over recommendations concerning the welfare of musicians, not only supports contentions of precariousness for live musicians, but also demonstrates the relative lack of power of music industry workers in the economy of the live music sector, particularly in comparison to that wielded by the alcohol industry. In addition to the risks and hazards outlined in this chapter, the risk that musicians face in being exposed to aggression in the live music workplace can be considered tantamount to a potential risk of harassment.

Gender and economic disparity

The economy of the music industry is significantly skewed to create an environment of financial disadvantage for lesser-known artists and those who are running small music businesses. As a consequence it is unsurprising that the global music industry persists in maintaining an enormous gender pay gap (Stassen 2019, 2020). Not only are women employed in the music industry paid less than men, a recent survey of the US music industry found that female artists, performers, songwriters or producers are also significantly under-represented (Smith et al. 2020). While there has been some progress in

participation in the music industry, when it comes to positions of influence and importance, women are still absent (Cameron 2003; Strong & Cannizzo 2017). In terms of the all-important informal social structures of music, men predominate at the centre of collaborative networks (Wang & Horvát 2019), a social structure that serves to exclude women from access and information (Leonard 2016). A similar pattern has been identified in the larger media industry landscape, where work has become project based, more precarious and where women are also being excluded by male networks (Gill 2002). Furthermore, the economic environment of the media industries, where work is precarious, is understood to add to the disadvantaging of women (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015). In terms of the gender pay gap, and similar gender inequities observed globally, the Australian music industry appears to function somewhat as a microcosm of the larger music and media industries in its discrimination against women (Cooper, Coles & Hanna-Osborne 2017). Therefore, even though Australia is consistently one of the top 10 revenue generating music markets globally (Brandle 2020), women across the entire industry are missing out on equitable remuneration for their contribution to this economy.

The gendered nature of the Australian music industry

As has already been noted, the formative years of pub rock in the 1970's significantly shaped and influenced Australian rock music (Homan 2003; Oldham 2013). Lindy Morrison, former drummer of Australian band The Go Betweens, has briefly traced the disappearance of women from perceptions of

popular music initially to the emergence of rock and roll, and then later to the rise of male guitar bands in the 1960's such as The Easybeats (1995). Homan has argued that the identity of popular music in Australia is associated with a substantial mythos (2008a), and that in the early years, what became known as Oz Rock was formed in the context of "male dominant media and performance circuits" (2008a, p. 603). Further, as previously touched on briefly, Oz Rock was a music that eschewed the feminine and the experimental (Homan 2008a, 2008b). It was loud, overwhelming, and performed in venues that in some states had formerly been male only establishments (van Vonderen 2018) and that discouraged the attendance of female patrons (Homan 2008a). Oz Rock thereby was a music that excluded women, with a focus on masculinity (Stratton 2006) and with lyric content that appealed to male working-class notions of sexual conquest (Zumeris 2003). The influence of this sociocultural economy can partly be seen in the marked lack of female performers at the first incarnation of The Sunbury Music Festival (Kimball nd) as well as in the masculine focus of later bands in the post punk era (Stratton 2005).

Consequently, there can be little doubt that the current Australian music industry emerged from a highly gendered space. Furthermore, there can also be little doubt that the Australian music industry remains a highly gendered space when measured in terms of the proportionate contribution of both men and women (*Women in the Victorian Contemporary Music Industry* 2015; Dale 2019; Hope 2019; Strong 2017; Strong & Cannizzo 2017). While the gender ratio in the Australian music industry is skewed masculine (male: female – 55:45 musicians and 60:40 composers) compared to the general work force (male: female 53:47)

(Throsby & Petetskaya 2017), the two most recent Triple J Hack annual surveys analysing gender involvement in the music industry point to a landscape of female disadvantage, although there have been some gradual improvements for women (McCormack 2019, 2020)²⁶. The gender pay gap in Australia has been in existence for a long time according to one research participant who recalled that, “the money was always shit because as a female you were always paid way less than everybody else” (Luciana, pers. comm. 11/12/18). While there has been progress towards gender equity in festival line-ups, music grants and music awards since 2015, male representation by artists has dominated the airwaves, male composers have been disproportionately over represented in APRA/AMCOS payouts (McCormack 2016, 2019, 2020), and men dominated leadership on peak body boards and independent record labels (McCormack 2016, 2019, 2020). An analysis of the gender balance of artists showcased by Sounds Australia²⁷ at major annual export showcases paints a similar picture. With the exception of the country music showcase in Nashville, major showcases at Reeperbahn and SXSW (South By Southwest) have been heavily skewed towards male artists, and in particular male bands or duos. The Sounds Australia line up at Reeperbahn was 80% male solo artists/male bands in 2015, and the SXSW line-up was 56% male, 23% mixed gender and 21% female in 2015. The 2019 showcases in comparison demonstrated greater gender equity, particularly at SXSW where the line up was 35% male, 37% female and 28% mixed, although the Reeperbahn line up was 62% male solo artists/male bands

²⁶ The Hack is a radio documentary program broadcast at 5:30 daily on ABC FM radio station Triple J that “talks about stuff that matters to young Australians”, including an annual survey of gender discrimination in the Australian music industry that analyses publicly available data such as the gender ratios of: students enrolled in tertiary music education programs, board positions in the music industry, APRA/AMCOS royalties, Australian artists featured on Triple J radio and the gender composition of music festivals (Smith 2019a).

²⁷ Sounds Australia is an Australian music export marketing initiative funded principally by the Australia Council and APRA/AMCOS (<http://www.soundsaustralia.com.au/index.php/about/> accessed 22/08/19).

in 2019 (Sounds Australia 2019b). This data supports the view that Sounds Australia still has room for further improvement in terms of gender equity and also in terms of moving away from the pub rock band format as the dominant musical form showcased for export (Homan 2019b).

There can be no doubt that in addition to the evident gender pay gap in the Australian music industry, there remains a serious underrepresentation of female artists in critical sectors as well (McCormack 2020). There is overwhelming data to support the contention that gender inequity is not simply what some consider an unconscious bias on the part of men (Hope 2019), but is a feature of the Australian popular music landscape (Bennett, Hennekam, et al. 2018; Larkin 2018; Strong & Cannizzo 2017). Furthermore, the contribution of Australian female artists has been largely ignored in the history of Australian popular music (Strong 2011, 2014), and despite years of policy development and program intervention, women are significantly underrepresented in leadership roles, and must regularly deal with sexist workplaces (Edmond 2019). Doubtless a part of the process at work includes the undermining of female artist credibility by a music press that reinforces a male hegemony (Baker & Williams 2019; Cohen 1997; Davies 2001; Leonard 2017b). Catherine Strong has observed that female artists, with some exceptions, are not remembered as “markers of cultural capital” in the same way that male artists with similar stature and success are (2011, p. 411), i.e. they are *amateur*, and are therefore disregarded. Furthermore, Coates has argued that popular music is divided hierarchically along gendered lines, with the more masculine form of rock enjoying primacy and with the (supposedly) feminine forms of pop music

considered less significant (2003). The core of this discourse points to the Australian Music Industry as a space that possesses all the hallmarks of a patriarchal system (Lerner 1986; Salter 2012; Walby 1989) within which women are made to be subordinate to men structurally. Therefore, any examination of the nature and extent of harassment in popular music must examine the extent to which harassment is an experience that is not just marked by economy and differentials of power, but also by gender; a factor illustrated not only in the recent Jack Stafford confession noted earlier, but also in the apology made by Queensland music manager Ben Preece in a Facebook post that addressed his sexual harassment of women in the industry (Reid 2020).

In conclusion, those who work in the music industries of Australia and New Zealand do so in an environment of disruptive technological change. Their work promises them autonomy, self-esteem and self-realisation, and yet they must pursue it in a climate of high risk, economic uncertainty with reduced rates of financial return, and must therefore work longer hours to meet their living costs. This landscape is remarkably similar to the tensions experienced by those working in the broader cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013). Those wishing to pursue a recording or song-writing career must now assume the risks previously borne by labels and publishers and yet cope with a widening gap in the value placed on music, and on their work in music. Taken as a whole, apart from the upper echelons of successful artists, the music industry workforce is underpaid and overworked and experiencing signs of high stress. In the live music sector, musicians are at risk of being exposed to alcohol-fuelled aggression. They must navigate being small business owners without the benefit

of relevant experience or the requisite skills. Apart from songwriters who are members of APRA/AMCOS they lack the benefit of a professional body or an industrial organisation with sufficient strength to collectively represent them and compensate for their relative lack of power. Women who work in the music industry must do all of this and cope with even lower rates of financial return than men, as well as reduced access to crucial networks and a glass ceiling that denies them access to important decision making roles. The social structures that gave birth to Oz Rock are likely to have become places of entrenched gender discriminatory practice. Contemporary musicians work in an effectively unregulated environment where they are relatively powerless, and therefore vulnerable to being exploited, and they have to deal with amoral and aversive behaviour. For women, the nature of this vulnerability and exploitation can easily extend beyond discrimination to aversive behaviour that is gendered in nature.

In short, the contemporary music industry is a space where both workplace harassment and sexual harassment can occur without restraint. This contention is supported by previously mentioned studies in the UK: one that found that 48% of the members of the Musicians Union²⁸ have experienced harassment in their work (Perraudin 2019) and a wider entertainment industry study that pointed to pervasive bullying and sexual harassment (Federation of Entertainment Unions 2013). The question remains as to whether the intrinsic and intangible motivations described earlier are enough to offset the downsides of this working environment, in the absence of large-scale success. Parker (2015), writing as a

²⁸ The Musicians Union claims to represent 31,000 members in the UK (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2020).

psychologist, thinks not; however many musicians continue to pursue their careers despite the obvious risks and hazards.

The apparent scale of the difficulties being faced by music industry practitioners cannot be addressed in one single study. Notwithstanding, it is clear that the specific nature and extent of the toxic behaviour routinely faced by contemporary musicians in Australia and New Zealand are largely unknown, apart from some indications in the 2016 New Zealand music community well-being survey already noted at the beginning of this chapter (The New Zealand Music Foundation). However, it is also clear that of all the possible categories of the toxicity that was inferred in earlier research, the potential for workplace harassment and sexual harassment to rank significantly amongst the other toxic behaviours is very high. This is particularly so because of the hallmark disparities in power in the economic and social structures of the music industries that have become evident over the course of this discussion. Workplace harassment has been explained as a phenomenon that emerges from imbalances of power (Einarsen et al. 2011) and sexual harassment has been described as a phenomenon that emerges from the exercise of power (Wilson & Thompson 2001). Therefore, in an attempt to understand toxicity in the music industry, this study will seek to examine the incidence of workplace harassment as a starting point, and further will seek to examine sexual harassment given its prevalence in the wider community (Jenkins 2020).

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS RESEARCH

This chapter has surveyed aspects of the music industry workplace that include economic and structural power imbalances, gender discrimination and the gendered nature of the music industries; all of which arguably contribute to what some have described as a toxic work environment (see Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a). As noted above, a few international studies have examined more specific aspects of workplace toxicity in the music industries as well as in the creative industries more broadly. In addition to the Federation of Entertainment Unions study and the recent UK Musicians Union report noted above, a 2016 UK study found extensive evidence of workplace bullying in arts and theatre organizations (Quigg). A landmark study in The Netherlands also found that women working in the Dutch creative industries experienced sexual harassment to such an extent that they considered it a normal part of the working environment (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Notably, this last research predates the UK Musicians Union survey by two years. This is important because some participants in that study were working in the Dutch music industry (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Thus, while there has been some international attention given to workplace bullying and sexual harassment in the music industries, the number of studies is few.

In Australia, there have been several studies that persuasively demonstrate the extent of gender discrimination in the music industries, many of which have formed an important part of the argument central to this chapter. Regardless, there has been no investigation that focuses on the dynamics and specific forms of workplace harassment that are experienced by women working in the music industry. In the wider social context, the extensive research into sexual

harassment conducted by the Australia Human Rights Commission (AHRC) did not separate data for music as a distinct industry category. The closest industry category into which music industry data may potentially have been subsumed in the AHRC findings was that of 'Arts and Recreation' (Jenkins 2018, p. 57). Finally, there have been studies investigating patron harassment of female patrons at music festivals and licensed premises (Fileborn 2012, 2016; Fileborn, Wadds & Tomsen 2018); however there has been no investigation concerning the harassment that patrons perpetrate on female musicians working in those environments. Furthermore, there has been no Australasian study that specifically examines the aversive behaviour that may be experienced by male musicians and other practitioners in the music industry workplace.

At the time of writing, it is clear that a gap exists in the research in the understanding of both male and female musicians' experiences of both workplace and sexual harassment in the Australian and New Zealand context. It is this gap that this research seeks to address. Further, given that harassment is a phenomenon of a power imbalance (Einarsen et al. 2011), the unique contribution of this study will not only be a simultaneous investigation of the experiences of harassment perpetrated against both male and female music industry practitioners, but also an examination of their experiences of negotiating power relations in the music industries; in particular the confluence of power and gender discrimination and how this contributes to both workplace and sexual harassment.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL APPROACHES FOR ANALYSING HARASSMENT IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRIES

As previously noted, workplace harassment is understood to occur as a consequence of a power imbalance (Einarsen 1999; Einarsen et al. 2011; Hodson, Roscigno & Lopez 2006) and sexual harassment can also be regarded as an expression of power (Lopez, Hodson & Roscigno 2009; McLaughlin, Uggen & Blackstone 2012; Uggen & Blackstone 2004). Furthermore, sexual harassment is understood to be a gendered phenomenon more broadly (Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Jenkins 2018) as well as specifically in the music industry (Edmond 2019; Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019; Peplow 2019; Strong & Raine 2019; Strong & Rush 2018).

Cultural producers, like the major record labels, operate in a climate of asymmetrical power, because “a relatively small number of people...have the capacity to communicate to many others” (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013, p. 165). Unsurprisingly, trends of conglomeration and vertical integration within the broader media industries has been described as “a dangerous concentration of communicative power” (Baker 2007, p. 45). In the same way, power and economic success in the music industry are closely associated (Tschmuck 2006). Thus the digital disruption of the music industry and the consequent struggle of the major record labels to maintain hegemony (described in Chapter 1) should be analysed in the light of theories of power and gender and the processes and systems that govern the social and cultural environment wherein harassment occurs. Further, following the assertion made by Scott Brook that a

single theoretical method is “inadequate for a total examination of cultural phenomena” (2018, p. 236), by discussing the work of Pierre Bourdieu, as well as examining the nature of gendered power relations in the music industry, and by discussing the outcomes of unequal power relations in small social networks, this chapter will also argue that it is not possible to deploy one single theory to analyse the contemporary music industries, and that a theoretical hybrid is called for.

ANALYSING POWER IN THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

One widely accepted definition of power (Barbalet 1985); was offered by Max Weber who argued that power is the “probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance” (Weber 1978, p. 53), although Lukes had noted (originally in 1974) that any definition of power is value dependent (2005, p. 30). Weber narrowed his own analysis of power to the concept of domination; which included notions of obedience, belief and interest (1978, pp. 212-4). Notwithstanding the breadth of discourse with the aim of defining power; general agreement exists that power can be defined as “the capacity to produce intended effects, and in particular, the ability to influence the behavior of another person” (Dunbar 2015, p. 2). Beyond the simplicity of this definition, power is a complex phenomenon that has engaged the energies of a great many theorists and researchers. It has been described as dynamic, multi-dimensional and the product of a social system (McDonald 1980), and can be overtly apparent as well as latent or hidden (Komter 1989). A seminal study proposed the following bases of social

power: the power of reward, the power of coercion, legitimate power, referent power and expert power²⁹ (French & Raven 1959). This taxonomy was later amended to include informational power as a sixth basis for power and was integrated into the Power/Interaction model of interpersonal influence (Raven 1992). A broader conceptualisation of power was proposed by Bourdieu, who argued that an understanding of power relations, not just between individuals, but also between social groups, as well as institutions; was key to understanding the whole of human society (1994, 2005). Further, Bourdieu appropriated the Marxian term *capital* to explain that power could not only be economic, but also cultural, social and symbolic (1977). Bourdieu's theories will be discussed later in this chapter. In contrast, Michel Foucault rejected conventional notions of objective theoretical social structures and was critical of existing ideologies that could develop specific typologies of power (1980, pp. 59, 97, 102). Foucault instead regarded power as being omnipresent (1980, p. 141), pervasive (1980, p. 158), heteromorpheus (1980, p. 142) and that it circulates (1980, p. 98).

Many have argued that Foucault has much to offer the broader field of cultural studies (Bennett 2003; Bratich, Packer & McCarthy 2003; Downing 2008; Packer 2003). Tony Bennett proposed that debates concerning cultural policy should be viewed through a Foucauldian lens (1992), and later Homan has twice invoked Foucauldian notions of control and discipline with regard to

²⁹ French & Raven proposed that reward power is contingent on a tangible benefit, coercive power is contingent on a threat or perceived threat, whereas legitimate power derives from the social norms that relate to a formal position in a structure or organisation, referent power is contingent on the attestation of others and expert power is contingent on knowledge and skill (Perraudin 2019). While Raven and French were in disagreement as to whether information represented a sixth basis for power, Raven argued that knowledge itself is sufficient to influence the behaviour of others and thus should be classified as a form of power (1959).

government policy and the music industry in Australia (2002, 2010). However, the use of Foucault as a theorist for cultural studies is somewhat contended, and Khan has offered a detailed critique of the use of Foucault in cultural studies, arguing that many proponents of Foucault have deployed his ideas in ways that are too narrow or sometimes contradictory (2004). Stern has argued that Foucauldian thinking “may be *useful* but is not *sufficient*” for cultural policy work (2003, p. 107). Furthermore, Barnett has argued that essential Foucauldian concepts of control and discipline may be eclipsed by the “contemporary changes in the modes of production, distribution, consumption, and regulation of culture” (1999, p. 27). Finally, Foucault’s rejection of objective theoretical social structures noted earlier lies at odds with the central tenet of gender studies, namely that long-standing gendered social structures disempower women (Hunnicuttt 2009). These structures have been described as pervasive (Faludi 2017), and identified historically (Lerner 1986), culturally (Millett 1970) and industrially (Jenkins & Finneman 2018).

Notwithstanding these caveats, Foucault himself regarded his method more as a theoretical toolbox that would incrementally increase the knowledge of power (Foucault 1979). Therefore at the risk of deploying these ‘tools’ in a piecemeal fashion, this research will examine power where it has an effect (Foucault 1980, p. 97), and thus interrogate the networks, technologies and resistances in the exercise of power (Foucault 1980, pp. 57-8) in the specialised ‘art world’ (Becker 1982) of the contemporary music industries.

Bourdiesian concepts of power and the contemporary music industries

A similar debate has transpired in respect of the work of Bourdieu. Broadly, Bourdieu proposed that the social world can be understood in terms of objective structures that are independent of the consciousness of the inhabitants of a society and that these structures guide and constrain their actions and interactions (1977, 1989). He posited that social interactions occur within specialised spheres of social action, termed *fields*, which are marked by *doxa* (1994) or the set of norms and beliefs - social 'rules' - that operate therein. Individuals, termed *agents*, possess "schemes of thought, perception and action" (Bourdieu 1989, p. 14) which form a complex internalised core of understanding and experience of the social world, one that has been acquired over time, and mostly from the nuclear family, termed the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977). Habitus is manifested, or embodied, in a set of dispositions, that informs the way agents navigate and negotiate throughout the field, or fields, in the pursuit of power, or capital, that can also be held in common with other agents in a field to form a social group or social class (Bourdieu 1977, 1989, 1994). Further, Bourdieu proposed that the distribution of capital in any field determines the social position and interrelations of agents (1989, 1994, 2011). As previously noted, Bourdieu argued that social, cultural and symbolic capital are forms of power (2011). The social capital of an individual is derived from their status and position within a social network, which often takes the form of trust or goodwill, and allows them to exert power over others in that social network (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo 1995). Bourdieu defined cultural capital as an understanding of and familiarity with the culture, which could be embodied in an individual's mannerisms or appearance, acquired by education and qualification or could take the form of actual works of culture such as books or

art that are possessed by an individual (Bourdieu 1984). Symbolic capital is power derived from status that accrues to an individual when their economic and/or cultural capital is recognised (Bourdieu 1987). An individual can accrue and possess the power of symbolic capital by gaining resources in isolation from social groups and as a consequence, may not possess commensurate social capital within particular social networks (Bourdieu 1994). One important implication of Bourdieu's theory of capital is that cultural and social capital can be transformed into economic capital (2011), explaining why businesses in the music industries can frequently transform their cultural capital or social capital into economic capital (such as for example a PR company). In Bourdieu's opinion, it was impossible for a social scientist to understand the social world without an understanding of capital in all its forms (2011) because agents, or groups of agents, are engaged in a competition for the successful appropriation of resources. These resources are considered a priori to be unequally distributed and also relatively scarce in any given field (Bourdieu 1989). This collection of conceptualisations has become known as *Field Theory* (Hilgers & Mangez 2014).

The implications of Bourdieu's thinking for cultural research have been far reaching in what amounts to an extensive, yet also frequently unconnected discourse (Grenfell 2018; Hays 1994; Maggio 2018; Sewell Jr 1992). Hesmondhalgh has observed that Bourdieusian concepts have only been appropriated into the narrower discourse of media studies relatively recently (2006). However, the work of Keith Negus (2002), and more recently that of

Macarthur et al. (2017), provide a basis for examining how Bourdieusian concepts may contribute to an analysis of the contemporary music industries. When the music industries are regarded as overlapping spheres of social action, unique features such as channels of distribution, successful artists and the like, can be considered in Bourdieusian terms as resources that are unequally distributed (see Bourdieu 1989). The unequal distribution of capital is reflected in the uncertainty and paucity of income for the vast majority of musicians, a pattern identified in the wider creative industries where “unstable income features throughout the creative career” (Hennekam & Bennett 2016, p. 18). In the same way that “power and prestige are...distributed unequally” in the media industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013, p. 166), some resources are relatively scarce, a quality that is crucial to understanding the kinds of power relations that exist in the music industries.

In what Hesmondhalgh described as an industrialised model of making affective product (2019), two different categories of people with unique social capital (Bourdieu 2011) can be regarded as particularly scarce resources. The first of these is the *prominent artist*, who has been described as “the single most central and most important agent in the supply chain” of the music industries and without whom “...there would be no music industry” (Renard, Goodrich & Fellman 2012). Despite the hopes of democratisation, prominent artists remain a significant component in the economics of an industry that is “dominated by superstars” (Handke 2020, p. 367). Even though stardom is a manufactured construct (Gamson 1994; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2008; Holmes 2004), the social capital of prominent artists is as a consequence of their popularity with

audiences and the commercial success that they bring to the companies who distribute them (Adler 1985; Rosen 1981). A parallel to this can be found in the film industry, where “stars serve as an insurance policy” that protects box office revenues from adverse critical reviews (Basuroy, Chatterjee & Ravid 2003, p. 116). Thus, a small number of prominent artists wield significant power in the music industries. This status is arguably a byproduct of the broader commodification within the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh 2019) and also a form of institutional cultural power, conferred both informally by their widespread recognition, and formally by phenomena like music awards and prizes, which are “the single best instrument for negotiating transactions between cultural and economic, cultural and social, or cultural and political capital” (James & English 2009, p. 10). While “the task of understanding [the] relative power, privilege, status and interests” of cultural workers is complex (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013, p. 67), the economic and social disparities described in the previous chapter are doubtless a reflection of hierarchies that are a consequence of the scarcity of star power; either in its possession, or the management of it, not to mention the ability to grant access to it. These hierarchies mean that most who work in the music industries are comparatively powerless, and must negotiate while lacking the kind of social power that is possessed by the few. Although powerlessness is a problem felt widely and more increasingly because of “economic polarization” and the “elitization of society” (Josifidis & Supic 2016, p. 432), arguably music industry workers are particularly vulnerable. Powerlessness has been described as a defining feature of what Hesmondhalgh and Baker categorise as “bad work” (2013, p. 39), and when combined with the hierarchical social structures of the music industry increases

the likelihood of both workplace and sexual harassment.

The second of these two unique groups is best thought of as gatekeepers, who are essential to “the social organization of [a cultural] domain”, and are possessed of the power to “make decisions as to what should or should not be included in the domain” (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, p. 315). This group therefore has the power to promote or dismiss new variations into a culture (Fulton & Paton 2016, p. 29). In the music industries such variations manifest as new artists, sub-genres, songs and forms of popular music. Arguably label executives and A&R managers³⁰ were the most important recorded music industry gatekeepers pre Napster, along with program directors of popular music radio stations (see Johnson 2004). Although digital disruption promised a new era of independence for emerging artists, there has not been a “removal of music’s intermediaries but instead a game of musical chairs, in which new gatekeepers have emerged” (Hesmondhalgh & Meier 2014, p. 11). Notably, Negus has identified a broad range intermediaries in the music industry that function within or adjacent to corporations to offset the commercial risks of putting artists before a mass market (2014). However, in the wake of the job shedding in the recorded music industry discussed in the previous chapter, A&R personnel are still considered critical to the recorded music industry (Wardle 2016) and “there is no substantive evidence of music companies devolving responsibility for locating artist and repertoire” (Negus 2014, p. 125). Furthermore, “the art of finding and developing new artists is still essential to producing and providing quality music” (Webb 2012, p. 8) and is still a highly

³⁰ A&R stands for ‘Artist and Repertoire’ and is the role traditionally responsible for scouting and developing talent for a record label, in addition to acting as a go-between for the talent and the record label executives (Raven 2008).

prized quality. This explains why music industry gatekeepers hold a specific form of social power in their relations with labels, exemplified by the “legends [that] have formed around successful A&R managers who eventually ‘discovered’ famous artists” (Tschmuck 2006, p. 253). It is also evident in observations made by many in the US music community about label executive Clive Davis’ apparently uncanny ability in this regard (Perkel 2017). In metaphorical terms: if the prominent artist is the goose that lays the golden egg, then the successful gatekeepers are those who can reliably identify a golden goose from the hundreds or perhaps thousands of normal geese they are presented with. In practice gatekeepers are thought to also include functions that are catalytic and formative (Kaufman & Beghetto 2009). Doubtless this is so because of the “set of overlapping and interconnecting networks, through which [music] flows and undergoes a process of commodification” (Leyshon et al. 2005, pp. 185-6), with “many different patterns of relationships between artists and intermediaries” that evolve over time (Hughes et al. 2016a, p. 78). Given that a deal offering greater access to music markets is of high value to an emerging artist in a winner take all climate, gatekeepers benefit from asymmetric power relations in their dealings with the majority of musicians and artists, those “who stand on the lower levels of the professional pyramid” (Perrenoud 2020, p. 1). To clarify: interactions between a gatekeeper and a musician, artist or other music industry worker seeking to gain greater access to the music industry inevitably occur on a vastly uneven playing field. Consequently, the outworking of these interactions needs to be understood in terms of power relations.

Limitations with Bourdieusian concepts in the analysis of the contemporary music industries

Notwithstanding this utility of key Bourdieusian concepts, “neither Bourdieu nor any of his associates seem to have addressed the question of what has happened to cultural production since the middle of the 20th century” (Hesmondhalgh 2006, p. 221). Bourdieu proposed a binary taxonomy of small scale/large scale cultural production (Hesmondhalgh 2006, pp. 213-6); however, the fragmented nature of music making and distribution in the wake of the digital revolution presents difficulties in applying a simple binary taxonomy to the task of analysis, because “not only has music consumption changed, so have the means of music discovery” (Hughes et al. 2016b, p. 8). For example, PC based digital recording systems have lowered the barriers to entry in music production and thus “the gap between professional and amateur...has significantly narrowed” (Strachan 2017, p. 6). Despite this democratisation, attracting the attention of wider audiences remains a challenge, as “breaking through the noise requires funds for investment into promotion, most of which is in possession of the strongest players, that is, the largest record labels” (Galuszka & Brzozowska 2017, p. 838). Hence, Bourdieu’s apparent silence on the impact of rapid technological change (Savage 2015) is problematic. Further, the present highly networked and yet fragmented environment appears to function in defiance of the binaries inherent in Bourdieu’s small scale/large scale construct. Both large and small scale music production function in complex ways; frequently independently, but also often connected in a complex set of parallel as well as embedded relationships (Champagne 2005). Additionally Bourdieu’s focus “on two types of field or sub-field of cultural

production that are primarily expressive-aesthetic: literature and art” overlooks the field of music almost entirely (Hesmondhalgh 2006, p. 212). Further, Bourdieu gives “no account of how the most widely consumed cultural products...are produced” (Hesmondhalgh 2006, p. 218). As a consequence, in order to understand power in the contemporary music industries at the granular level, the unequal power relations at work in the social networks of gatekeepers and emerging artists must be theorised.

PREDICTING POWER IMBALANCES IN NETWORKS OF EXCHANGE

Network Exchange Theory (NET) proposes that power arises from the structures and positions that exist in social networks where an exchange of resources occurs (Markovsky, Willer & Patton 1988; Willer 1999). One individual can increase the disadvantage of others because “power differentials between actors are related to differences in actors' positions in the network of exchange relations” (Skvoretz & Willer 1993, p. 803). It is possible to regard business relationships in the music industry as an exchange network because every person or organisation is negotiating with others in the industry over “the allocation of valued resources” (Markovsky, Willer & Patton 1988, p. 220). Resources can be tangible or intangible, and in the music industry tangibles can include an advance paid on future earnings. Intangibles can include the star power of an artist discussed earlier, or the estimated potential of future earnings, the talent of a songwriter or artist, the reputation of a producer and the associations a label has with other desirable artists. Power differentials are also created by simply the possibility of exclusion not just the actual exclusion

of actors in a network (Skvoretz & Willer 1993). As already discussed, exclusion occurs in the music industries whenever an artist is not selected to a label roster, a playlist or a festival lineup to name but a few. Thus NET theorises the power imbalance inherent in the function of music industry gatekeepers. Additionally, Status Characteristics Theory (SCT) argues that power is distributed because of status (Berger, Cohen & Zelditch Jr 1972; Wagner & Berger 2002) and that “external status distinctions determine the distribution of power and prestige [in groups] whether or not these distinctions are explicitly related to [a] task” (Wagner & Berger 1993, p. 27). SCT and NET are thought to overlap, and in doing so can be conjoined to offer a more precise explanation for power differentials (Thye, Willer & Markovsky 2006). Thye, Willer & Markovsky (2006) also subsequently promulgated two theories of power relations that are at the intersection of NET and SCT termed Status Value Theory (SVT) and Status Influence Theory (SIT). SVT proposes that power is increased where goods or resources for exchange are of high value, and SIT proposes further that “power is affected by changes in beliefs”, in that individuals within a network can be influenced by persuading them to believe differently (Thye, Willer & Markovsky 2006, p. 1479). Thus NET, SCT, SVT and SIT offer this research a theoretical basis for analysing and predicting the outcomes of uneven power relations that are broadly theorised in Bourdieusian conceptualisations.

In circumstances where the structural positions in a network of exchange are formalised, the form of power at work can be regarded as legitimate power; however, describing positional power in Bourdieusian terms is more complex. As

already noted, positional power in a network of exchange arises from the ability to grant access to resources, which can include economic capital. While economic capital frequently lies at the heart of power in such positions, cultural knowledge as well as trust or reputation gained within a social network are also important. Thus the positions described in NET in reality involve a complex interplay of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. Given that individuals in the music industry can come to hold positions of power by a range of trajectories, the precise formulation of capital will undoubtedly vary from case to case. The power from status that is theorised in SCT is less complex, and can be regarded primarily as symbolic capital in Bourdieusian terms. In a similar way, the power from value theorised in SVT can be regarded primarily as economic capital, with the caveat that in the music industry the perceived value of a resource may involve less tangible factors than economic gain. For example, in the case of an artist seeking the ability to produce music in relative freedom, value may lie more in the potential to acquire cultural capital; whereas in the case of an artist seeking to acquire recognition, value may be perceived in terms of social capital. As with NET and SCT, it is likely that in practice a complex interplay of different forms capital is at work. Finally, the power theorised in SIT is more closely aligned to social capital, in that influence is thought to emerge from the ability to change someone's beliefs. This ability however, may also emerge from the possession of cultural capital.

Notwithstanding, any analytical approach to the contemporary music industries must be further balanced by recognising the homosocial nature of the Australian music scene as previously outlined in Chapter 1. The widespread

existence of gender discrimination therefore invites a further analysis through a gender studies lens.

ANALYSING THE GENDERED NATURE OF POWER

Bourdieu's apparent later dismissal of feminist arguments (1998) was particularly apparent in his assertion that male supremacy was probably universal (1990, p. 7; Mottier 2002). His adoption of androcentric frameworks and archaic gender binary assumptions is troublesome to feminist scholars who have noted that for Bourdieu, sexuality, gender and race were secondary to social class (Lovell 2000; McCall 1992). Despite these problems, some feminist scholars have revisited Bourdieusian conceptualisations as a way of understanding gendered social structures (see Adkins & Skeggs 2004; Francis 2015; Macarthur et al. 2017; McNay 1999, 2004; Skeggs 2004). Following the work of Williamson & Cloonan (2007), the tripartite structure of contemporary music industries can be conceptualised as closely related fields sharing different types of capital that function as forms of power. Given that "men totally dominate the [music] industry — the bands, the road crew, the record labels" (Edmond 2019, p. 73), these fields can also be regarded as gendered social networks that lead to specific instances or episodes where imbalances of power can be analysed by NET, SCT, SVT and SIT. Furthermore, recent research has found that "women in male-dominated occupations are at greater risk for harassment from supervisors" (Raj, Johns & Jose 2020, p. 279). Accordingly, in order to fully understand the occurrence of workplace and sexual harassment, it is necessary to understand the nature of gendered social structures.

Gender, social order and the contemporary music industries

Researchers investigating the nature and extent of gender inequity in the music industries have recently noted that despite 10 years of rigorous research “the gender imbalance has proven...hard to shift” (Strong & Raine 2019, p. 2). As causal factors, some have identified the existence of either conscious or unconscious patriarchal biases evident in music education (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b, p. 419; Strong & Cannizzo 2019), and in the music industries generally (Edmond 2019). Similar findings have been reported in the field of western art music composition (Bennett, Macarthur, et al. 2018; Macarthur et al. 2017). These may be a reflection of a broader social problem with challenging “informal norms and structural inequalities [that are] often invisible...and taken for granted” (Rao 2016, p. 4). These are only too evident in recent findings that 91% of men and 86% of women globally show at least one clear bias against women (UNDP 2020, p. 8). Further, progress towards gender equality been slowing since 2010 (UNDP 2020, p. 2), and bias against gender equality worldwide is *increasing* (UNDP 2020, p. 9). This last result in particular also serves to highlight arguments that postfeminist ideologies are a new normal (Gill 2017; Gill, Kelan & Scharff 2017). These findings and recent discussions are only a small fragment of a body of scholarship that posits the existence of “social arrangements that privilege males, where men as a group dominate women as a group, both structurally and ideologically—hierarchical arrangements that manifest in varieties across history and social space” (Hunnicut 2009, p. 557) (see also MacKinnon 1987; Rifkin 1980). These

structures and hierarchies were termed *hegemonic masculinity* by Raewyn Connell (1987), and have also more recently been described as “Gendered Power Relations” by Hennekam & Bennett (2017b, pp. 427-8). Gendered power relations were found to contribute to sexual harassment that was not only prevalent but also “a normalised part of occupational culture [and] a necessary component of career establishment or enhancement” in the creative industries of The Netherlands (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b, p. 418). Similarly, the field of music composition has been described as “hierarchically organised in terms of the gender order” (Macarthur et al. 2017, p. 88). Accordingly, in the explication of male dominated social structures in the contemporary music industries, these gendered power structures will, in this research, be termed *male hegemony*, without intending to minimise the extensive debate concerning the limitations of various other labels (such as patriarchy) in the wider feminist discourse (Thompson 2001).

Longstanding male power structures have been described and identified within the media industries (Corcione 2018; Hennekam & Bennett 2017b; Sorensen 2018), and the abuses of white male power systems have come into recent public focus through the Harvey Weinstein revelations (Cobb & Horeck 2018; Kantor & Twohey 2019). In the Australian and New Zealand music industries, male power structures were pointedly mentioned during an interview with Australian Artist Christine Anu, who remarked that the main obstacles for women in the music industry are “men and older men...who [think that they] have to take that control position” (Morrison 1995). In these contexts, this research asserts firstly that male hegemony is a pervasive social constant,

where “every avenue of power in the society ...is entirely in male hands” (Millett 1970, p. 25). Secondly, male hegemony is entrenched, exemplified in the way patriarchy has also been described as adaptable and how it can be “updated and modernised” (Enloe 2017b, p. 1). This is further evident in Gill’s observation of a “mutation in the way that sexism [is] practiced” (2011, p. 62). Anu’s observation is substantiated by some moderate scrutiny of the histories of a selection of industry leaders. The identities of some of the most significant music industry gatekeepers can be found in the annual list of the so called ‘Power 50’, the top 50 influencers in the Australian and New Zealand music industry (Dale 2019). The 2019 Power 50 are overwhelmingly white and male. Individual women comprise only 32% of the Power 50 and the highest placed individual woman was Rachel Comerford from Unified Music Group at ninth place, although ironically her business partner (and husband) was placed seventh (Dale 2019). That many of the most important cultural gatekeepers of the music industry in 2019 still fit Anu’s description is evidence of a system of male power operating in the contemporary music industries. It is clearly pervasive when seen in terms of the organisations represented by the Power 50; however, whether it is entrenched requires a different approach than simply examining the gender distribution of prominent industry figures.

Enloe has argued that in order to understand male power relationships, they need to be observed closely and over time (2017a). An examination of the top 15 individuals named in the Power 50 reveals that all three CEO’s of the Australasian divisions of the major labels are in that group (Dale 2019). They are uniformly white and male, although at least one of them is under 50 years of

age (Jenke 2018), unlike 69 year old chairman of Sony Music Australia, Denis Handlin (Power 50 #3) (Dale 2019), who has been the company's CEO for an unbroken 36 years (Sony Music Entertainment 2020). Current managing director of music publisher EMI Australia, 57 year old John O'Donnell (na 2020b), ranked 15th in the Power 50 (Dale 2019), has had a more varied career that began around 1989 with music journalism (O'Donnell 1989). His career trajectory then progressed to running record labels and a stint in music management (na 2013) culminating in his current leadership role. It is evident that O'Donnell's 30-year plus career crosses over the boundaries of recorded music, live music performance and music publishing.

A similar boundary breaking career trajectory can be found in another long serving chief executive. Michael Gudinski (Power 50 #1) (Dale 2019), who founded independent label Mushroom Records, also founded music publisher Mushroom Music in 1972 (Mushroom Group 2020). Gudinski, at 68 years of age, has been at the helm of one iteration or another of the Mushroom Group for 48 years and has been listed at #1 on the Power 50 since 2012 (Mushroom Group 2020). Gudinski's business activities span recorded music, music publishing and live performance (Mushroom Group 2020), so as a gatekeeper, his power is greatly multiplied. Accordingly he has been described as the most influential person in the Australian music business (Staff Writer 2015b). Michael Chugg (Power 50 #11) (Dale 2019), at 72 years of age, is another long serving CEO but in the live performance industry (Cowle 2009). Chugg founded the Frontier Touring Company in partnership with Gudinski and was CEO for 20 years until he left and founded Michael Chugg Entertainment in 1999, which he

has led for 21 years (Cowle 2009). Recently Chugg and Gudinski have reunited to form a joint venture to compete with Live Nation in Australia (Quinn 2019).

Despite some comments that Gudinski is notable for empowering women (Staff Writer 2015c), it is evident that a small group of older white men have dominated the leadership in the recorded music, live music and music publishing industries of Australia and New Zealand for between 30 to nearly 50 years. This pattern is similar to the UK, where “most senior executives are middle-class, white males” who were “recruited into the music industry during the 1960s and early 1970s” (Negus 2002, p. 512). As in the UK, male hegemony is an entrenched feature of the economic and social landscape of the contemporary music industries of Australian and New Zealand. Notably, Gudinski has claimed some responsibility for running the seminal Sunbury Music Festival in the early 1970’s, touted as Australia’s Woodstock (Mushroom Group 2020). Furthermore, the emergence of both Chugg and Gudinski in the 1970’s can be directly linked chronologically to the homosocial phenomena of Oz Rock described in Chapter 1. Although Handlin’s career as head of Sony began somewhat later, as with O’Donnell, it is arguable that by the time they separately rose to prominence in the 1980’s, the masculine formations of Oz Rock were already well established.

That the Australian music industry exhibits the two hallmarks of male hegemony is also evident in the gender disparity found in the decision makers of the Australian music industry (Cooper, Coles & Hanna-Osborne 2017) described in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the music director at Triple J FM, the

Australian radio station most responsible for discovering new Australian music (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2017), has been male for as long as the station has been in existence³¹. In summary, the Australian and New Zealand contemporary music industries demonstrate both hallmarks of a pervasive and entrenched “dynamic web...of particular ideas and relationships” (Enloe 2017a, p. 16) that form male hegemony.

Manifestations of male hegemony in the contemporary music industries

Systems that serve to subordinate women do so in multiple forms (Walby 1989). Accordingly this discussion turns to describe ways in which some of those forms of subordination manifest in the music industries. Sexism, misogyny and inequality are all phenomena of male hegemonic structures (Enloe 2017b, p. 1). Gender discrimination can easily be recognised in the music industry gender pay gap discussed in Chapter 1. However, sexism is a prejudice or stereotype that manifests in a multitude of forms beyond overt discrimination (Dumont, Sarlet & Dardenne 2010; Glick & Fiske 2001, 2011; Swim & Cohen 1997; Swim, Mallett & Stangor 2004). Such stereotyping includes the persistent “association of gender with particular instruments... thereby resulting in numerous negative consequences” (Eros 2008, p. 1) (see also Carson, Lewis & Shaw 2015; Hallam, Rogers & Creech 2008).

³¹ At the time of writing, the current music director of Triple J FM is Nick Findlay, who was recently rated #17 in the Power 50 (Stock 2015). Findlay was preceded in that position by Richard Kingsmill who has been described as a “leading light” for 30 years at Triple J (Dale 2019). Triple J FM first broadcast on FM radio in 1980 (<https://www.abc.net.au/triplej/events/beatthedrum/40years/milestones/3> accessed 05/05/2020).

Misogyny visits “hostile or adverse social consequences [on women] to enforce and police social norms that are gendered either in theory...or in practice” (Manne 2017, p. 13). Recent changes to dictionary definitions of misogyny mean that misogyny is now considered an “entrenched prejudice against women” beyond earlier notions of “hatred of women” (Yallop et al. 2019). Accordingly negative behaviour towards women can be categorised on a continuum, and not simply be regarded as something more proximal to hate speech or violence against women. Nonetheless, entrenched prejudices against women often manifest in the kind of hatred evident in the vitriol of online fora, such as that experienced by Taylor Swift (Quinlan 2014), and where “the rhetoric of sexualised, gendered violence has become so common” (Jane 2016, p. 3).

Other phenomena of male hegemony include social role stereotyping (Dill & Thill 2007) and job role stereotyping (de Boise 2019; McQuaid & Bond 2004) both of which were described briefly in Chapter 1, but that can be clearly seen in the limited types of acceptable roles for female performers in popular music (Carson, Lewis & Shaw 2015). This is exemplified in the history of black female singers, who “were not seen as skilled musicians” and for whom there was “pressure...to conform to white standards of beauty and sexual attractiveness” (Daugherty 2002, p. 27). Further, female screen composers in Australia face stereotypes that form “three distinct interpretive repertoires” deployed by men to rationalise and thus “reproduce the inequality” that exists in this particular microcosm of the music industry (Cannizzo & Strong 2020). These ‘interpretative repertoires’ are firstly the myth that “equality is antithetical to

artistic ideals”, secondly the myth that women produce different types of music than men, and thirdly, the myth that women do not possess the same kind of confidence as men (Cannizzo & Strong 2020). Job role stereotyping is also evident in the kinds of male determined archetypes that successful female artists must “cycle in and out of” in order to ensure career longevity (Lieb 2018, p. 115). Furthermore, narrow stereotypes of female social roles have been noted in the lyrics of artists such as Bruce Springsteen and The Rolling Stones (Whiteley 2003, pp. 60-1), with even the more “sentimentalised” lyrics of The Beatles “providing a commonplace yet fiercely patriarchal basis for constructing appropriate codes for behaviour and identity” (Whiteley 2003, p. 61).

Male hegemony in the contemporary music industries also manifests in “the existence of homosocial networks through which information and work flow” (Strong & Cannizzo 2019, p. 59), particularly in rock music, where “masculinity became naturalised...in the 1960s and, as a result, women became marginal and/or subservient to men in rock culture and its discursive formations” (Coates 2003, p. 67). One example of this is the formation of male spaces that use “exclusion as a means to minimise competition and increase men’s likelihood of success” such as those found in music stores (Carson, Lewis & Shaw 2015, p. 19). In particular, “rock music scenes are actively produced as male through social practice and ideology” (Cohen 1997, p. 34). US artist Lady Gaga recently and publicly described the music industry as a “f***ing boys club” when speaking at a women in music event (Shepherd 2018). The *boys’ club* has also been described by others (Davies 2019b; Leonard 2017b; Strong & Raine 2019), and doubtless contributes to social exclusion (Daly & Saraceno 2002) of

the kind that is evident in the absence of female artists from the African American activism of 1970's funk music (Fledderus 2003). Male hegemony also disempowers women (Mishra 2014; Vance et al. 2004), a form of which is evident in the indie rock "discourse of shared knowledge that largely marginalises (if not altogether erases) the presence of women" (Brooks 2008, p. 9) (see also Chapter 1). Similarly, there is a systematic lack of recognition of the career achievements of female artists (Strong 2014). Male hegemony directly results in career limitations (Broadbridge & Weyer 2007) and economic disadvantage (Leaker 2008), both of which were touched on in Chapter 1.

Lady Gaga has also noted that she wanted to be recognised for her intelligence and musical achievements not just for her body (Shepherd 2018). Her remarks point to the existence of sexual objectification in the broader contemporary music industry (Bretthauer, Zimmerman & Banning 2007; Stock 2015). Objectification is a widely experienced phenomenon where "women performers feel pressure to shape their images to fit the gendered script of women's sexuality" (Carson, Lewis & Shaw 2015, p. 33). It is a manifestation of sexism, evident not only in the portrayal of women in song lyrics (Neguț & Sârbescu 2014) but also in the wider context of the media (Zimmerman & Dahlberg 2008). More serious sexist phenomena such as sexual harassment (Fitzgerald & Shullman 1985; Graham et al. 2017) and sexual coercion (Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995) have come to public prominence in the form of allegations made by Kesha about the toxicity of her relationship with producer Dr Luke (Gardner 2014). UK musician Chloe Howl has also alleged that sexual harassment in the music industry is widespread (Peplow 2019), an assertion

supported by a recent study of women working in the creative industries in the Netherlands (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Furthermore, UK singer Lily Allen not only described a male dominant hierarchy in the music industry, she also alleged that she was sexually assaulted by a music executive in a hotel room (Allen 2018). In the light of these allegations and findings, the results of the UK Musicians Union survey noted in the previous chapter are unsurprising. Sexual assault and rape (Mardorossian 2002) as well as other forms of violence against women (Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019; Hunnicutt 2009) have been widely described as highly egregious manifestations of patriarchy more generally (Ackerman 1995; Jensen 2017; Messerschmidt 1986). In summary, the experience of women in the music industries is that their working environment is completely affected by male hegemony.

Sexism, harassment and toxic masculinity

Much of the aversive behaviour outlined above clearly fits within the broad ambit of *toxic masculinity*, which has been defined as the “socially regressive male traits that serve to foster domination, the devaluation of women, homophobia, and wanton violence” (Kupers 2005, p. 714). As a consequence the concept of toxic masculinity has been used to explain violence against women (see Posadas 2017), white supremacist political movements (Kimmel & Wade 2018), homophobia (Haider 2016) and as a framework for understanding normative processes in the formation of gender identity (Veissière 2018). Some have even proposed that toxic masculinity is the primary causal agent of sexual harassment (McGinley 2018; Weathington 2018).

Conversely, many writers have resisted the very concept of toxic masculinity. For example, toxic masculinity has been described as a controversial trope for both leftist and right wing political ideologies (Sculos 2017, p. 2) and within the feminist discourse is thought to be a concept that disregards the agency of men when they choose to behave in ways that contribute to inequity (Waling 2019). Further, the toxic masculinity trope is thought to limit understandings of the underlying social structures that affect behaviour (see Pearson 2019). Moreover, Connell & Messerschmidt argued that toxic behaviour is not always the defining characteristic of hegemonic masculinity (2005, p. 840) and as a consequence, formulations of hegemonic masculinity that “imply a fixed character type” are rejected (2005, p. 854). Thus there remains a debate about whether the trope of toxic masculinity is useful or a hindrance in the quest to understand aversive male behaviour (see Salter 2019).

The extent of this debate may in part be a matter of research domain; evident in the wide range of disciplines from which discussion has been drawn in the previous paragraphs. For example, researchers within the discipline of neuropsychology, in their investigation of aversive behaviour, point to similarities of neurological structures shared by diagnosed psychopaths (see Santana 2016). Furthermore, a recent study from within the field of economics investigating predictors of workplace deviance found that individual factors were more predictive of deviance than organizational factors (Braje, Aleksić & Jelavić 2020). Findings such as these, which point to individual factors to explain for toxic behaviour, are anathema to constructs of systemic inequity such as

hegemonic masculinity (as has been noted). Consequently, any attempt to definitively explain the causes of aversive behaviour means engaging in a wide ranging and interdisciplinary debate that is beyond the purview of this research.

The toxic masculinity debate notwithstanding, this research holds that there are “gendered patterns of power that both support [toxic masculinity] and are supported by it.” (Elliott 2018, p. 21). To clarify: individuals choose to act in aversive ways and those choices and actions will give rise to questions of ethics, morality, worldview, and pathology. However, when patterns of common behaviour within a social field become evident, such as is the case in the music industries, then this invites an analysis through the lens of systems and structures. Finally, although some discussions of workplace harassment behaviour have drawn on toxic masculinity (see Berdahl et al. 2018), the broadness of its definition renders it problematic as a framework when seeking to understand patterns of aversive behaviour in finer detail.

A rationale for a gender studies approach

Men who have claimed affinity with feminist positions have been received with a broad spectrum of responses from welcome to suspicion and rejection (Kimmel 1998), exemplified by Klein’s argument that “the presence of men in [Women’s Studies], for [her], is an impossibility: a contradiction in terms” because male writers reinforce patriarchal frameworks (1983, p. 414). In asking “what are the implications of men doing feminism?” (Zalewski & Parpart 2019, p. 7) some researchers wondered at male motives. Another writer has also warned that the

emerging complementary discourse of masculine studies does not have significant engagement with feminist theory (Robinson 2003), with cautionary advice in the academy being echoed in the public discourse in articles such as: *Beware these 10 types of feminist men* (Fabello & Khan 2016). Furthermore, Heath observed that “women are the subjects” and “men are the objects” of feminist discourse (2003, p. 270) and thereby men are generalised “as objects of analysis, as ‘other’” (Levit 1995, pp. 1039-40). Conversely, others have noted that feminist scholarship also invites a feminist understanding of masculinity (Dowd 2010; James 1998; Shepherd 1998).

Consequently, the male gender of the primary researcher in this present study lays this research open to criticism. This present research has been conducted by someone who holds a position of power relative to women because of male hegemony. Amidst the differing positions discussed earlier, the argument that “men cannot speak for women on women's issues” (Dempsey 2019, p. 33) means that the use of feminist frameworks as a means of analysis is problematic. Nonetheless, a cursory examination of *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* reveals that men have contributed valuably to the gender studies discourse (see Pilzer 2014; Rasmussen 2019; Wells 2017). The intention of this research is not to create a platform for a male researcher to speak for women, but rather to present participant testimony that speaks for itself. Accordingly, this research is not a feminist study; rather it should properly be regarded as contributing to gender or women's studies: “the study of the way gender relations have operated in social life” (Easton 1996, p. 5). Notwithstanding this distinction, the strength and recent nature of the debate

concerning the position of male researchers and their work impinging on feminist discourse means that male hegemony should not be used as a sole analytical framework.

A framework for analysing the harm to individuals

All the frameworks discussed so far in this chapter are concerned primarily with theorizing and explaining systems of power. Field theory and male hegemony do so by theorizing structures and power relations that occur in large systems. Conversely, NET, SCT, SVT and SIT do so by theorizing structures and power relations in small social networks. Although the impact of power on individuals is implicit, theories that examine cultural and social systems rarely offer a framework for classifying the harm that takes place when power is exercised against individuals. A notable exception to this is found theories concerned with gender discrimination. This is because the nature of disadvantage that is caused to women is central to any theoretical construct. Given that both men and women were targets of harassment in this research, it was thought necessary to adopt a framework for understanding the nature of individual harm that is product of abuse of power. One frequently reported theme that emerged in participant testimony concerned a category of harm that is collectively termed *shattered assumptions*. Shattered assumptions occur where an individual is confronted with events that cause persistent and negative changes of belief about themselves and others (Janoff-Bulman 2010). As noted earlier, the notion of an existing worldview was termed the habitus by Bourdieu (1994). Where events and circumstances traumatically confront an individual's worldview, this

can result in negative and persistent changes of belief about the nature of the world (Janoff-Bulman 2010). Shattered assumptions theory (SAT) was formulated in 1983 (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze) and is based on the supposition that individuals maintain stable and mostly positive assumptions about themselves, the world and the future (Epstein 1985, 1998; Horowitz 1986). Support has been found for applying this theory in the study of workplace harassment (Mikkelsen & Einarsen 2002; Rodriguez-Munoz et al. 2010; Tonkin & Whiting 2019). Adverse life events that become a central part of an individual's self-narrative (see Berntsen & Rubin 2006) and are termed *subjective traumas* (see Boals, Southard-Dobbs & Blumenthal 2015) are thought to be as likely to shatter an individual's assumptions as objective traumas (Schuler & Boals 2016).

The preceding discussion demonstrates that no single theoretical framework is sufficient in and of itself to address issues of power in the music industries. Nonetheless, the existing gender based inequalities evident in the broader music industries cannot be ignored. Therefore, in the context of important arguments that men should support gender equity (Plaza 1981), and that the participation of men and "changes among men are vital if women are to achieve full equality" (Kimmel 2005, p. 103), this research will analyse power in the contemporary music industries by forming a theoretical model that is a synthesis of theoretical concepts discussed throughout this chapter. It is evident that power not only derives from the different forms of capital but also that men in the music industry benefit from additional power arising from male hegemony. Thus in practice, power is derived from a composite of sources and

systems, and then takes different forms on a case-by-case basis. These forms can include the power of position (or legitimate power), expert power and coercive power. Further, power depends on the values and beliefs of those who are engaged in a network. For example, the power possessed by any single gatekeeper is not only the power of position in a network but is also derived from the convergence of other power factors. These include the beliefs held by others about the value of what an individual gatekeeper can grant access to, as much as the actual value of it. A full articulation of the composite power model and the way it conjoins the theories discussed in this chapter will be set forth in the following section.

THE COMPOSITE POWER NETWORK MODEL FOR ANALYSING HARASSMENT IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRIES

Given that power in its use and derivation is a product of a composite of factors, a composite model of power is proposed for analysing workplace and sexual harassment and is summarised in the diagram below in Figure 2.1. It was devised by the researcher in response to the dilemma readily apparent in the preceding discussion. As already discussed the contemporary music industries are considered to be three spheres of economic and social action (Wikström 2014; Williamson & Cloonan 2007) termed the fields (Bourdieu 1977; Duval 2014) of live music, recorded music and music publishing. In practice there is considerable overlap between the three fields. For the sake of clarity, the Composite Power Network Model shows the music industry as one field of activity, but this should not be taken to mean that the music industry is homogenous. Music industry fields are highly networked (Hughes et al. 2016c;

Leyshon 2009) and feature asymmetric power relations for those who work within them (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013), with gatekeeping social structures (Csikszentmihalyi 2014b) that function to accept or reject new contributions to the field (Fulton & Paton 2016). The Composite Power Network Model illustrates several examples of such small networks. Circles represent individuals and lines joining them represent the network connections. Differences in power are illustrated by the different sizes of the circles, and the length of the lines between circles illustrates the closeness of connections. Circles shaded in black are music industry practitioners including those who describe themselves as musicians, artists, sound engineers and songwriters. Gatekeepers are shown as open circles. As gatekeepers act as intermediaries between songs, artists, bands, producers, songwriters and audiences (Negus 2014), they are frequently at the centre of networks of exchange because of their role in accepting or rejecting others and granting greater access to potential new business activity. Thus, the power held by industry gatekeepers arises from their positions within the small networks of exchange (Markovsky, Willer & Patton 1988), as well as from differences in status, the value of resources and the beliefs held by those within the networks (Thye, Willer & Markovsky 2006). Thus, the outcomes of negotiations for resources in music industry networks where a gatekeeper is functioning can be predicted by NET, SCT, SVT and SIT. The Composite Power Network Model also shows the fragmentation of the music industry, which results in significant economic disparity and uncertainty amongst those who work in these fields (see Throsby & Petetskaya 2017). It also follows that the potential power of a single network is the sum of power of all the individuals within that network (although much of

this potential may be unrealised). Thus smaller less powerful networks may seek to form a connection with larger or more powerful ones in order to gain advantage from the relationship.

Male hegemony, which can be regarded as a network or series of networks, lies at the centre of the contemporary music industries and serves to discriminate against women and subordinate them to men (Hennekam & Bennett 2017a; Lieb 2018; Macarthur et al. 2017; Strong 2011; Whiteley 2003). Male hegemony leads to men automatically being accorded higher status than women in exchange networks (Adichie 2014; Bojin 2013; Conlin & Heesacker 2018). Individuals shown outside the zone of male hegemony are either female, gender non-binary or otherwise derive no power from it. Individuals shown inside the zone of male hegemony are either male or derive their power from it. The music industries are embedded in larger sexist structures that exist nationally and internationally (Hunnicuttt 2009; McClary 1991), shown by the extension of male hegemony beyond the boundary of the music industries.

Social control is exerted through processes of normalisation that include the reinforcement of beliefs about the nature of the music industry and gender stereotypes therein (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b; Macarthur et al. 2017). These include beliefs that place women at the margins and limit the kinds of roles they can play, as well as the kind of remuneration they deserve (see Carson, Lewis & Shaw 2015). Ultimately the music industries exist to generate economic value, and those who can produce greater amounts of revenue and prestige also enjoy greater power (see James & English 2009; Tschmuck 2006).

Therefore the marginalisation of women means that they are structurally disadvantaged in terms of gaining the same prestige and power as men.

The Composite Power Network Model draws from the notion that male hegemony exists broadly in society, but that the male-led social, political and economic structures that marginalise, oppress, subordinate and stereotype women take particular forms in the cultural industries. Likewise, male hegemony assumes industry specific forms in the contemporary music industries as outlined earlier. Bourdieusian concepts of fields, and the smaller networks of exchange that are dominated by gatekeepers, all function within the context of male hegemony. Thus this model compares and makes apparent the conceptual relationship between the theories discussed in this chapter, including the possibility for individuals to experience a shattering of their assumptions following confronting or traumatic experiences of harassment. An individual whose worldview (or habitus) has been affected in those terms is illustrated with a diamond symbol.

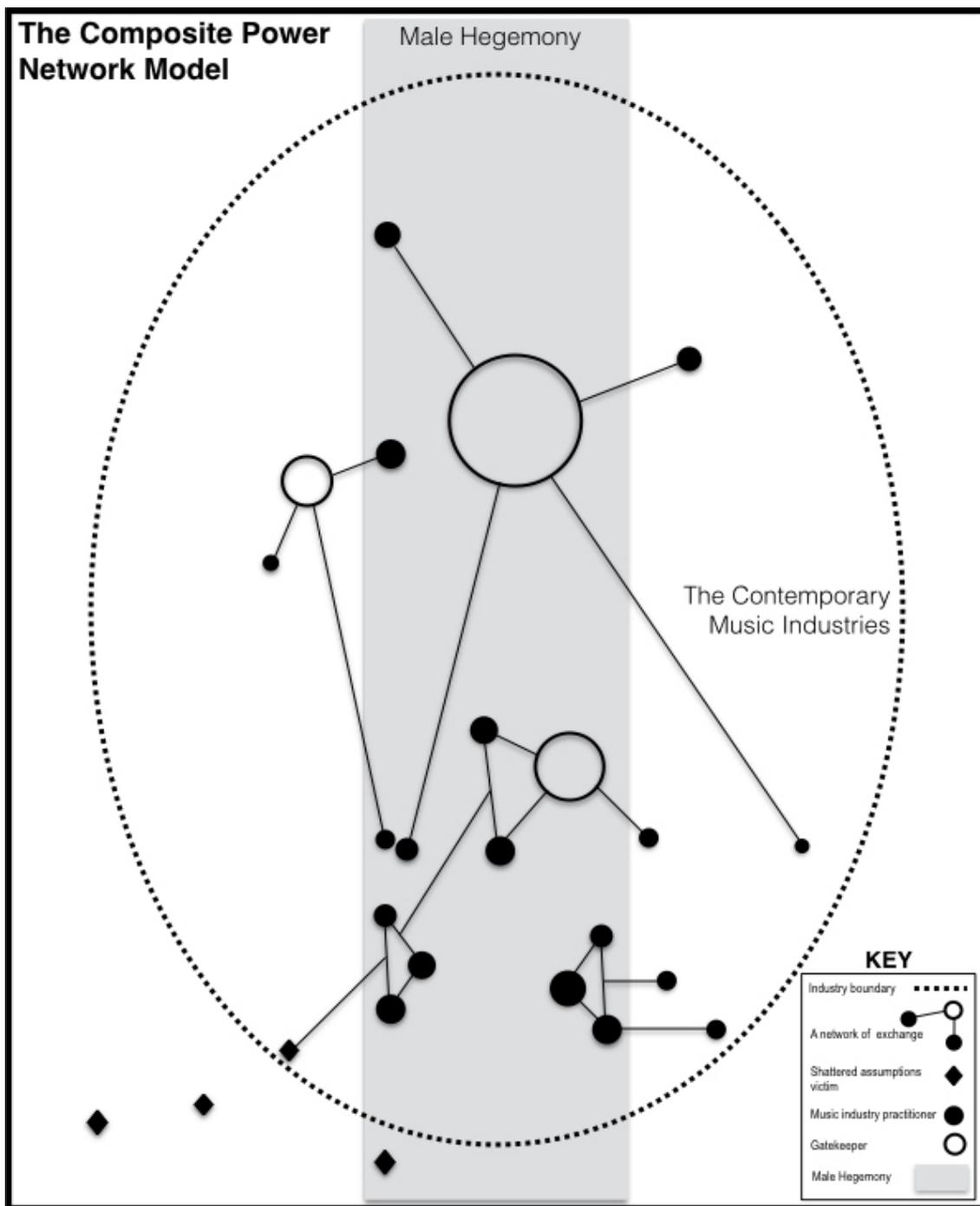


Figure 2.1 The Composite Power Network Model for Analysing Workplace and Sexual Harassment

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND SURVEY RESULTS

METHODOLOGY

As noted above, the Entertainment Assist³² study identified toxicity as a negative aspect of working in the broader entertainment industries, but did so without further detail of the kind of behaviour reported by participants (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). Because of this deficit, it was decided that this present research would investigate the phenomenon known interchangeably as *harassment*, *mobbing* or *bullying* (Einarsen et al. 2011) as a starting point. This study also confined the contemporary music industries within the broad ambit of popular music, including pop, rock, hip-hop, jazz, dance, country and electronica. Thus practitioners in the contemporary industries could be instrumentalists, vocalists, DJ's or music producers, regardless of income level, working as original artists or in covers gigs. Music industry practitioners also included music managers, technical crew, publicists, music journalists, label personnel and music publishers. Prior to this present study, the nature and extent of workplace harassment in the contemporary music industries of Australia and New Zealand remained fundamentally unknown. Therefore a methodology was called for that not only allowed for those who work in these environments to articulate their experiences, but also to establish a baseline for future studies of workplace harassment prevalence in the music industries³³.

³² Entertainment Assist is an Australian not for profit foundation that has been constituted to research issues of wellness and mental health in the entertainment industries, and to develop resources to promote improved well-being and mental health outcomes for workers in the sector (<https://www.entertainmentassist.org.au> accessed 9/10/2017).

³³ Notwithstanding the previous discussion in Chapter 1 concerning the popular music industry, and that it should rightly be regarded as three interconnected music industries (Reid 2017), for the sake of clarity of expression throughout this thesis,

Selection of methodology

Ethnography seeks to make sense of the social actions of a particular group (Agar 1986). Ethnography originated from the study of anthropology (Geertz 1973) and has been widely accepted in the social sciences (Riemer 2012) and is thought to be important in the study of popular music because it offers a way of demystifying the processes underlying music making (Grazian 2004). Further, ethnography has been regarded as a qualitative research methodology with broad utility for investigating the sociology of music (Cohen 1993; Frith 1978, 1982). A number of researchers investigating the lived experience of popular and jazz musicians have used the techniques of ethnography as a way to investigate how those involved in the making of music navigate through uncertain and unstable professional landscapes (Becker 1963; Bennett 1980; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013; Hughes et al. 2016b; McIntyre & Sheather 2013). Specifically however, Sara Cohen called for an approach that focuses investigation on the social relationships, “emphasising music as social practice and process” (1993, p. 123). Workplace abuse can be precisely located as a phenomenon of individuals or groups who find their actions constrained by social structures and practice. Hence, a critical (post positivist) ethnographic approach was selected as a tool for this study, being an approach best suited to this kind of task (Castagno 2012).

the term ‘music industry’ will be used interchangeably with ‘music industries’, although the reader should regard this usage as a form of short hand, not an assertion that the music industry is singular or homogenous.

The author of one study investigating bullying in the arts industries in the UK noted that methodologies for researching bullying are broad and come from a range of disciplines (Quigg 2016, p. 20). Despite the objections of some writers (Lincoln & Denzin 2018), a mixed methodology has utility because it allows for both comparison and richness (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007; Quigg 2016, p. 157). Suzanne Hodgkin has argued that a mixed methodology allows the researcher to better contextualise the complexity of experiences of participants (Hodgkin 2008). Some researchers in the tradition of Post Positivist Ethnography have used mixed methods in order to aid in the triangulation of data (O'Byrne 2007). Consequently, this research adopted primarily this approach, with the acceptance and incorporation of quantitative data to the qualitative data in order to add breadth to the study (O'Leary 2017, p. 149). The quantitative and qualitative components of the research were made available to participants simultaneously and ran concurrently. Both components were left open to participants for exactly two years and were also simultaneously closed to participants on the same day. Those wishing to participate beyond the closing date were not able to do so.

The rationale for the use of the online survey was to provide data that could be compared to other studies that deployed the same workplace harassment instrument. The rationale for the qualitative methodology was to capture a richness of data concerning reported phenomena not obtainable from quantitative measures.

Epistemology, ontology and reflexive statement

The epistemological position of this research is constructivist and accordingly its ontological position is relativist. These positions emerge from the understanding that the realities of the research participants are socially constructed and their testimony is inherently based on their perception and recollection of experiences that occurred in a social context. These positions recognise that there are “multiple realities” associated with different groups or individuals (Lincoln & Guba 2000, p. 168), and that the data collected in this research, was “created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources” (Charmaz 2006, p. 330), that is, those whose actions were described by participants. Furthermore, the qualitative interviews themselves were a series of shared experiences and were socially constructed from the positions of researcher and participant. Moreover, the kinds of labels that describe the aversive behaviours that define workplace harassment are inevitably social constructs (Lewis 2003) and thus even the most widely accepted workplace harassment instruments used in quantitative methodologies contain inherent subjectivity.

The researcher’s position as a mature Caucasian male conducting research that investigates ways in which women may have been subordinated by other men, has already been noted as problematic. The motivation for engaging in this study stemmed initially from the researcher’s own experience of sometimes traumatic workplace harassment as a musician, both from patrons and peers. Furthermore, both of the researcher’s daughters work in the music industry (as noted in the acknowledgements beginning this thesis). Thus, underlying assumptions existed about the nature of bullying and harassment. As a

consequence, a methodology that involved an established measure for describing and quantifying harassment was selected. The researcher has had a varied career in popular music and therefore the possibility of gendered harassment was anticipated and prepared for in the interview distress protocols. Notwithstanding that preparation, the extent to which female participants presented with testimony of sexual harassment was greater than anticipated, with a consequent emotional cost to the researcher in the collection of interview data. As a consequence, one outcome of this research was an early and rapid reconfiguration of the researcher's understanding of the social environment faced by women in the music industry. This reconfiguration became tacitly embedded in the way that interviews with female participants were conducted as well as affecting what kinds of follow up questions were asked. This was particularly the case as patterns emerged in the testimony of female participants.

Defining workplace harassment

There has been little research in Australia and New Zealand describing the extent and nature of workplace abuse and other aversive behaviours in the laissez-faire environment of the contemporary music industry. As noted earlier, the UK Musicians Union (MU) released the results of a members' survey (n=725) in which nearly half of respondents reported experiencing "workplace harassment" (Perraudin 2019). Further details about the methodology of that study have not been forthcoming, despite attempts on the part of this

researcher to make personal contact with a representative of the UK MU³⁴. Communication of the results thus far has been by press release, and incidents of sexism, abuse, workplace harassment and sexual harassment appear to have been conflated into a single phenomenon by UK MU spokespersons (Perraudin 2019). A similar conflation appears to have occurred in a 2019 panel at the Creating Without Conflict conference sponsored by the UK Federation of Entertainment Unions (FEU) (Chaderton et al. 2019), a conference that followed the aforementioned study undertaken by the FEU. These reports are indicative of a difficulty facing research into toxic behaviour and workplace abuse, namely the debate about how to define exactly what bullying or harassment is and also how to accurately measure it (Cornell, Sheras & Cole 2006; Felix et al. 2011; Fox & Cowan 2015; Lutgen - Sandvik, Tracy & Alberts 2007). Problematically, different cultures perceive bullying differently (Power et al. 2013). For example, one study found that those from Gulf states consider gender or religious belief reasonable bases for social exclusion, whereas Australians are generally less comfortable with social exclusion on these grounds (Salin et al. 2019). Conversely, the experience of Australian bullying targets was found to be very similar to those in India and Turkey (D'Cruz et al. 2016). One explanation for this could lie with the significant differences in power distance that exist in different organizational and national cultures (Daniels & Greguras 2014). Cultures with high power distance are known to confer large amounts of power to those in leadership (Khatri 2009). This means that findings from this research should be considered with caution in authoritarian countries where high power distance is commonplace. Regardless, despite some differences in definition

³⁴ On a trip to London in early 2020, the researcher was unable to secure a meeting with a UK MU public relations representative despite numerous attempts.

and terminology that have emerged between the two main streams of harassment research, namely the European and American streams (Einarsen et al. 2003), there has been a duplication of work in parallel investigations (Keashly & Jagatic 2003). This suggests that findings from Australasian harassment research can readily be considered in the US, UK, European, and Scandinavian contexts.

Notwithstanding this ongoing debate, one prominent group of researchers have noted firstly that the terms bullying and workplace harassment should be considered interchangeable (Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen 1994), secondly that the behavioural features of workplace harassment include “persistent insults or offensive remarks, persistent criticism, personal, or...physical abuse...[and] social isolation...” and thirdly, these behaviours are intended to humiliate, frighten, intimidate or punish (Einarsen et al. 2011, p. 13). Workplace harassment is thought to be a phenomenon that is a consequence of a persistent and recurring pattern of negative behaviour as well as an imbalance of power (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011; Quigg 2016). Therefore to be considered as bullying or harassment, a single instance of the aforementioned kinds of psychological aggression is normally considered insufficient to establish a pattern of repetition over time (Einarsen 1999; Einarsen et al. 2011) although there has been significant discussion as to exactly how much negative behaviour and over what time frame a target must experience toxic acts in order to be regarded as a victim of bullying (Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011).

Notwithstanding the ongoing debate in that field of enquiry, for the purposes of establishing a baseline of prevalence, a suitable standard or a widely deployed instrument was required. In the light of the breadth of aversive behaviours defined as bullying and harassment, it was decided to adopt the Negative Acts Questionnaire Revised (NAQ-R) as a starting point for investigating experiences of workplace toxicity. The NAQ-R is a 22-item instrument designed for investigating the incidence and extent of workplace bullying and harassment (Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011) and has been found to exhibit a high degree of internal validity and reliability, even when using a reduced question set (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009). Moreover, the NAQ-R is thought by other researchers to be the most widely used bullying and harassment instrument in the field (Power et al. 2013).

Problems in using the NAQ-R

A potential problem for this study arises from the use of the NAQ-R, in that its development was in the context of institutions and organisations, and its subsequent validation has been in workplaces that feature formal supervisor/worker or manager/employee structures (Einarsen 1999; Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Einarsen et al. 2011; Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen 1994). As we have seen, the contemporary music industry is heterogeneous, fragmented and best thought of as many small business operators and entrepreneurs (Chazan 2017; Hughes et al. 2016b). The music industries are therefore not directly comparable to the kinds of work environments where the NAQ-R has formerly been utilised. Furthermore, other studies have noted that

the incidence of casual work and self-employment is relatively higher in the broader environment of the creative industries (Quigg 2016; Federation of Entertainment Unions 2013). Despite this difficulty, it is apparent that problems of bullying and harassment are not isolated to formal hierarchies and organisations (Lee 2017; McCoogan 2017). Further, although fragmented, the contemporary music industry is highly networked (Leyshon et al. 2005). As already discussed, Hughes et al have suggested that these networks are comprised of dependent creative practitioners who collaborate to enable music making (2016b, p. 78), and others have identified the existence of persistent systems of social organisation that are critical to creative production (Becker 1982; Csikszentmihalyi 1999). Therefore it can be argued that even within a heterogeneous industry, an environment exists of longitudinal professional relationships that allow for the repetition of behavioural patterns that would permit a definition or identification of harassment.

Additionally, it can be argued that the NAQ-R could be utilised to evaluate or describe psychologically aggressive behaviours that are analogous to bullying within the specific limitations of the live performance environment, where musicians may encounter a specific audience member only once, but may encounter repeated patterns of similar behaviours across a number of performer/audience contexts. Finally, Nielsen et al. note that the NAQ-R can be used to identify single incidents of “psychological aggression and harassment” (2011, p. 160).

Qualitative sampling method

Data was collected using an online survey where participants were asked to answer essential work activity and demographic questions and then asked to complete a question set derived from the NAQ-R. The NAQ-R uses a five point Likert scale (Krosnick & Fabrigar 1997) for respondents to report frequency of different types of adverse behaviours. The range of possible responses was: *never, once, now and then, monthly and weekly or daily*. The survey was made available through a dedicated website supported by a Facebook page and utilised a commercially available survey package supplied by Smart Survey³⁵. Simple frequency distribution of responses was used for purposes of comparison.

Modifications to the NAQ-R and to the interview process

The NAQ-R divides its questions into three groups: *work related bullying, person related bullying, and physically intimidating bullying* (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009, p. 32). Five questions from the NAQ-R question set were omitted as they were regarded as being relevant primarily in large organisational contexts (as opposed to the entrepreneurial environment of the contemporary music industries). Two questions not normally included in the NAQ-R investigating the adverse behaviours were incorporated into the question set for this study. These questions addressed the aversive behaviours of sexual teasing and sexual pressure. They were included because of anecdotal evidence of these types of behaviour in the music industries and also

³⁵ Smart Survey is an online survey service that offers services for academic online survey www.smartsurvey.co.uk

because an earlier measure of workplace harassment, the WAR-Q³⁶, includes questions concerning participant experiences of unwanted suggestive stories, unwanted sexual touching and unwanted terms of endearment (Keashly & Neuman 2004). Furthermore, adding questions concerning sexual innuendo and sexual pressure was supported by earlier studies investigating forms of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995). Although some have argued that workplace harassment transcends gender because both men and women are perpetrators (Lewis, Coursol & Wahl 2002), other researchers have asserted that there is sometimes a sexual aspect to what might otherwise be regarded as general bullying (Field 1996; Quigg 2016). Subsequent testimony from the qualitative data set was overwhelmingly about sexual harassment or gendered harassment, both of which were described by 75.7% of all participants. This includes 28.6% of all male participants who described sexual harassment that they had witnessed happening to colleagues. Given the importance placed by participants on their experiences of sexual harassment or gendered harassment, the inclusion of these two questions is validated. This pattern is also significant because the research was advertised and described as a study of workplace harassment as opposed to sexual harassment.

Participants were also asked to offer other examples of workplace harassment not already specified in the survey as well as examples of hearsay incidents of abuse. The full set of questions used in the qualitative survey can be found in Appendix A. The 19 specific harassment directed set of questions used in the

³⁶ The WAR-Q is the Workplace Aggression Research Questionnaire.

quantitative survey are found in Table 3.1. Table 3.1 also includes the abbreviated names of the different forms of harassment. These abbreviations will be used henceforth.

THE HARASSMENT SPECIFIC QUESTIONS	ABBREVIATED NAME
A question marked with * is directly from the NAQ-R The Question number included is that used in the online survey	
Q12. Someone withholding information, which affects my work performance*	Withholding information
Q13. Being humiliated or ridiculed in connection with my work*	Humiliation or ridicule
Q14. Gossip and rumours being spread about me*	Gossip and rumours
Q15. Being ignored or excluded*	Ignored or excluded
Q16. Insulting or offensive remarks being made about my person, my attitudes, or my private life*	Insulting or offensive remarks
Q17. Being shouted at or being the target of spontaneous anger (or rage)*	Spontaneous anger
Q18. Intimidating behaviour such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking/barring the way*	Intimidation
Q19. Hints from others that I should quit*	Hints to quit
Q20. Repeated reminders of my errors or mistakes*	Errors and mistakes
Q21. Persistent criticism of my work*	Persistent criticism
Q22. Having my opinions and views ignored*	Opinions and views ignored
Q23. Practical jokes carried out by people I do not get along with*	Practical jokes
Q24. Being given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines*	Unreasonable demands
Q25. Having allegations or accusations made against me*	Allegations and accusations
Q26. Being the subject of excessive teasing and sarcasm*	Teasing and sarcasm
Q27. Unmanageable workload*	Unmanageable workload
Q28. The threat of violence or physical abuse or actual abuse*	Violence or threat of violence
Q29. Teasing, joking and innuendo that is sexual in nature	Sexual innuendo
Q30. Unwanted sexual overtures or pressure to engage in physical behaviour that is sexual in nature	Sexual pressure

Table 3.1. The 19 specific questions used in the survey and their abbreviations

Applying the ethnographic principle that research participants are informers as opposed to survey respondents or experimental subjects (Bernard 2005, p. 196), the qualitative component was a series of individual semi-structured interviews (Brinkmann 2018) or open interviews of between 60 and 90 minutes duration. The purpose of the interview was to allow for participants to inform the interviewer what they regarded as important in terms of the research objectives, and also to allow for the following up of specific aspects of participant narratives

that the interviewer felt was important to the research objectives (Brinkmann 2018, p. 579). Interviewees were offered a choice in terms of how the interview would be conducted. Interstate or international participants were offered phone or Skype interview (a visual data communication technology). There were 15 in-person interviews, 16 phone interviews and two interviewees opted to be interviewed via Skype. All Sydney based participants opted for in-person interviews. Each interview was audio recorded, and although the interviewer took notes based on observation of non-verbal behaviour when possible, to ensure consistency in the data, notes of non-verbal behaviour were not used in the analysis, although audible non-verbal sounds were included, such as sighing, crying or laughing. Following transcription, participant responses were coded for content and themes. Interview participants were initially de-identified using an alphanumeric code and then further de-identified by assigning a pseudonym. Survey respondents were de-identified by an 8-digit number assigned by the survey software. Survey respondents can be differentiated from interview participants in later chapters by the use of the survey assigned ID number as opposed to a pseudonym.

For interviews that were more open ended in nature, participants were asked to talk about the experiences they had in mind to discuss when they volunteered for the research. A semi-structured approach was taken with 5 participants (15.2%) who did not know where to begin or conclude their narrative and who asked to be prompted. In those cases, questions from the NAQ-R were used as a prompt to interview. However, the majority of participants were very clear about what they wished to contribute to the research, and in those cases the

NAQ-R questions were rarely required. In all interviews, where participants described events and circumstances surrounding their experience, the researcher sought elaboration. The kind of elaboration depended on the nature of the testimony. Clarification about the timing, duration, and chronology was frequently sought, particularly because workplace harassment in organizational settings is widely defined as aversive behaviour that occurs over a period of not less than six months (Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011). Some participants described the aftermath of their harassment. As a consequence, the researcher sought clarification about post harassment impact from later participants. When it was possible to misinterpret participant testimony because of confused expression or word choice, the researcher asked participants to elaborate in order to ensure that their meaning was clear.

Conducting ethnographic research into workplace harassment has to be managed with great sensitivity as participants inevitably recount experiences that can be triggering (Quigg 2016, pp. 45-6). As a consequence, participants were given the option of bringing a support person with them to the interview, and also of discontinuing their testimony if necessary. Interviews were conducted in the context of a distress protocol that recommends the use of screening questions to gauge the emotional state of participants (Draucker, Martsolf & Poole 2009). Six participants lost composure during the interview, and either wept or displayed other signs of distress. In these instances, the interview was paused and attention was given to the participants' emotional state using the distress protocol. None elected to suspend or shorten their participation, and all recovered composure quickly. All qualitative participants

were followed up within 36 hours of the interview, and none reported ill effects. A significant proportion (approximately 1/3) reported that the experience had been positive or helpful. Participant testimony used in the text was cited unedited where possible, although editing was used for the sake of brevity or clarity. Where parts of a testimony were amalgamated from separate sections of the interview, this has been noted at the point of citation. The names of third parties or locations that could be used to identify participants were coded in the transcript version and further redacted from participant testimony when cited. The guidelines for conducting the qualitative interviews can be found in Appendix B.

Quantitative sample size

In parallel with the qualitative interviews, an online quantitative survey was conducted. There were 217 respondents who began the survey, with 63 partial responses where respondents failed to answer beyond question nine³⁷. Of the remaining 154, nine completed only the demographic data and then answered only one or more open-ended questions at the end of the survey concerning anecdotal harassment (Q31-Q33). Other partial responses were excluded from the final data, unless respondents answered all questions up to Q23. In the case of those respondents, their surveys were force completed on the date the survey was closed because they had completed 75% of all the comparative questions. This resulted in the following summary of respondent numbers for all survey questions seen below in table 3.2.

³⁷ See Appendix A.

SURVEY QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
Q12-23	145
Q24-26	144
Q27-28	143
Q29-30	142
Q31	136
Q32	139
Q33	135

Table 3.2 Summary of total responses per survey question

Therefore the sample size for demographic purposes was 154, the most common sample size for the comparison of types of harassment was 145. The mean sample size was 143 (to the nearest whole number). Respondents to the quantitative survey were also able to leave comments in free text boxes. These comments were coded in a similar way to the qualitative data.

The calculation of sample size for the population is problematic because, as previously discussed in Chapter 1, there are different estimates for the size of the workforce in the contemporary music industries. As noted in Chapter 1, estimates range from 6,000 to over 15,000 with APRA-AMCOS citing approximately 45,000 songwriters (who currently receive royalty income at any level). Further, Music Australia has estimated that the contemporary music industries generate close to 65,000 jobs (Music Australia 2016). Moreover, given the paucity of financial reward for musicians also previously discussed in Chapter 1, it is difficult to establish how musicians report themselves in surveys, or how they regard themselves in occupational terms. Thus any sample size and margin of error calculation must be regarded as only approximate at best. Further, a number of respondents and participants in this research were not musicians, but described themselves as artist managers, or technical crew as

well as music journalists. Nonetheless, using the smallest sample size recorded in the quantitative survey (135) with alpha set at $p < .05$ and a medium effect size, power is calculated at 68%. An alternative calculation for the mean sample size of 143 was found using an estimate of 10,000 as the general population of musicians with a confidence level of 95%. On these last assumptions, the margin of error is 8.15%.

Qualitative sample size

Mason (2010) proposed that data saturation should be the guiding principle in selecting sample size for PhD qualitative research, but also noted that there was wide variance in sample sizes across different methodologies and that researchers have avoided prescribing sample sizes. Mason found that across 560 studies the mean sample size was 31, but with a large standard deviation (2010). Moreover, Morse has proposed that a sample size of 30-50 is sufficient when using an ethnographic methodology (Morse 1994). Accordingly, the qualitative sample size of this study was 33 in order to guard against saturation and to conform to existing norms (Mason 2010).

Participant recruitment

The samples for both quantitative and qualitative components of this study are both convenience samples. This method was selected not only for its cost effectiveness, but also because the fragmented nature of the music industries renders organisational sampling inappropriate for capturing participants who are

entrepreneurs or self employed. As noted earlier, a majority of music industry workers fit this profile. Participants for interview and respondents for the survey were sourced by seeking promotion and referral through a number of industry bodies. Organisations that were approached included peak bodies, state arts funding bodies and crisis management support services. The peak bodies that gave support to the research by promoting the call for participants included APRA-AMCOS³⁸ and Music Australia. Similarly promotion was provided by state arts funding bodies Q Music and Creative Victoria. Two crisis management organisations, Support Act³⁹ and the New Zealand Music Foundation also promoted the research. Other promotion support came from Parachute Music NZ, and the Australian music community Listen Listen Listen. Participants were also sourced by referral (snowballing). Three industry media outlets ran stories on the research with the aim of recruiting participants: Music Industry Inside and Out, The Music Network and the Industry Observer. Posts on the following industry Facebook pages were also aimed at recruiting participants: the Music Equity Group for Action, and Crew Care. Furthermore, there were also three boosted (paid for) Facebook promotions seeking survey respondents that were restricted to people who work in the music industries of Australia and New Zealand. The total cost of these promotions was AU\$176. As briefly noted earlier, the website and survey were active for exactly 24 months and remained available for participants until February 21 2020.

The most consistent longitudinal support from peak bodies was by APRA-AMCOS, Q Music and Music Victoria. Support Act and The New Zealand Music

³⁸ APRA-AMCOS is the peak body representing songwriters in Australia and New Zealand.

³⁹ Support Act is an Australian foundation which offers crisis and support services to the music industry in Australia.

Foundation (now Music Helps) were also prominent in supporting the research. Music NSW (the state funded peak body) declined to communicate to its constituents about the existence of the research. The following peak bodies did not reply to requests for promotional support: Music SA, Music ACT, WAM (WA Music), Music Tasmania and Musicians Australia, the music industry arm of the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance.

Participant Screening.

While participants and respondents were recruited through industry bodies or by referral, the quantitative survey was visible to the public. The possibility for sampling error exists in the event that those peripheral to the industry elected to complete the survey. Thus both survey respondents and interview participants were screened by means of demographic questions. Previous studies have demonstrated that defining a minimum income threshold is insufficient to establish the level of engagement with music work, as measures of income for contemporary musicians are skewed to the low side of any distribution (DiCola 2013; Throsby & Zednik 2010; Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). Furthermore, notions of being 'full-time' and 'part-time' in music work are rendered meaningless by the unpredictability and uncertain nature of the music industry (Bennett & Bridgstock 2014; Hughes et al. 2013; Parker 2015; Throsby & Zednik 2010). Moreover Reid et al. observed that creative workers identify themselves in an "interplay between self, situation and self worth" (2016, p. 40). They also observed that narratives of identification for creative workers exist in a tension between the creative and the economic, and that intrinsic factors are

important to how participants regard themselves (2016). Screening was undertaken using the criteria below as well as the working in music criteria in table 3.3.

Demographic criteria:

- 1) Self identifying their main music-based activities from the following list: live performance, recorded performance, televised music performance, music education, music composition, musical arranging, music producing, sound engineering, artist management, music broadcasting or streaming, music publishing, music distribution or support of live, televised or recorded music performances.
- 2) Declaration that they are at least 18 years of age.
- 3) Declaration that they are either Australian or New Zealand citizens or residents. Some Australians and New Zealanders were residents in other countries.

WORKING IN MUSIC CRITERIA	
EITHER	Has derived income from music-based activities including live performance, recorded performance, televised music performance, musical theatre, music education, music composition, musical arranging, music producing, music journalism, sound engineering, artist management, music broadcasting or streaming, music publishing, music distribution or support of live, televised or recorded music performances in the popular or contemporary music context
AND/OR	Is regularly engaged on a volunteer basis in music-based activities including live performance, recorded performance, televised music performance, music composition, musical theatre, musical arranging, music producing, music journalism, sound engineering, music broadcasting or streaming, music publishing, music distribution or support of live, televised or recorded music performances in the popular or contemporary music context as a part of a community based organisation
AND/OR	Was undertaking a tertiary qualification that prepares a student for work as either a musician, vocalist, composer, arranger, producer, music journalist, sound engineer, technical crew, or music manager in the popular or contemporary music context
OR	Has appeared as a contestant in a talent quest form of televised broadcast

Table 3.3. Working in Music Criteria

A note on participant skill, talent and experience

A study of this nature precludes an objective assessment of the occupational skills, musical talents and depth of experience of participants. Figure 3.2 below shows the distribution of years active in the music industry for both quantitative and qualitative participants. The majority of participants had been active in the industry for 6 years or more, indicating that the sample was weighted towards those with significant experience in the music industry. However, in the qualitative sample, levels of competence could be inferred from the richness of the data and participants wittingly or unwittingly revealed something of their skills and talents in their narratives. Further, testimony from any one participant was triangulated with that of other participants as well as with the quantitative data, in order to ensure reliability was high.

The triangulation of data was accomplished within the qualitative data by cross checking participant testimony against the codes. Instances from participant testimony that on first reading satisfied the initial coding, were recorded on a single Microsoft Excel spread-sheet as a page number where harassment was described in the transcript of each participant. The initial coding and definitions were taken from the survey questions (i.e. the modified NAQ-R). This allowed for a close triangulation between the survey and the interviews, and between interview participants, although the interviews generated data about harassment beyond the scope of the survey questions. The classification of interview data was later refined during subsequent readings of testimony to exclude or redefine experiences that did not satisfy emerging definitions. Data sorting revealed thematic clusters, including where interview participants described workplace harassment defined in the NAQ-R taxonomy. Data sorting also exposed types or forms of harassment that were described by only a few participants. As will be seen in Chapter 5, this was the case for some forms of patron harassment experienced by men. In such cases further triangulation was undertaken by reviewing comments left by survey respondents in the free text fields. As a consequence, less frequent accounts of harassment were either supported by similar commentary from the survey, or were discarded from analysis. Three survey respondents left sufficiently detailed comments in the free text field for that commentary to be eliminated as a duplicate of interview testimony. A close match between free text comments and interview testimony was taken to indicate that an interview participant had also completed the online survey.

Legal jurisdictions

Discussions in this research that require reference to legal frameworks and workplace health and safety policy necessarily strike differences that occur because of multiple jurisdictions. Firstly, there are the jurisdictions of the Commonwealth of Australia and of the Dominion of New Zealand. New Zealand does not further subdivide jurisdictions for workplace law or criminal law as does Australia, where federal and state policies overlap. Secondly, each state in Australia exercises its own jurisdiction in both criminal and workplace health and safety law. In order to reduce the complexity of the discussion, all citations of policy and law in subsequent chapters will refer solely to NSW law as representative of legal practice and policy in the remainder of the Australian states and also in New Zealand.

Data analysis

Data analysis fell into two parts. The purpose of the online survey was to establish which forms of harassment were experienced more frequently, and to establish if there were gender-based differences in those experiences. Thus, for the purposes of analysis, the raw survey data was converted to percentages to account for slight differences in respondent numbers from question to question. The harassment type/frequency data was also used for triangulation as noted earlier. Consistent with ethnographic methodologies, the task of analysis was essentially pattern seeking (Wolcott 1999, p. 257). Hammersley and Atkinson

argued that the analysis of qualitative data involves a simultaneous development of analytic categories and the assignment of data points to those categories (1983, pp. 208-9). Therefore, the interviews were categorised and analysed by applying a six-phase thematic analysis process (Braun & Clarke 2006). Braun and Clarke have defined and described six phases following initial transcription as: data familiarization, code generation, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and finally reporting (2006, pp. 87-93). Although the six-phase analysis was developed within the domain of psychology, it has been previously applied in the study of music (Fulford, Ginsborg & Goldbart 2011; Garrido & Schubert 2011; Tanaka et al. 2012; Thornton 2016).

As noted earlier, the codebook was developed in Microsoft Excel, so that incidents of harassment from all participants could be visualised in the one (albeit large) document. Codes were initially derived from the NAQ-R taxonomy, but included the additional two categories of sexual innuendo and sexual pressure, thus bypassing somewhat an inductive approach to the development of initial codes. The code list was subsequently expanded on the basis of participant testimony. This part of the coding process drew heavily on participants' own language either in an edited or unedited form, and yielded 711 separate descriptions of encounters, examples of which included "fleeting physical touch", "hand on lower back", "affection and physical touch that seems natural at first", "gradual changes in communication over time" and "women have to be one of the boys". While there was considerable overlap in the 711 descriptors, many of them were mentioned more than once by different

participants. As noted earlier, the initial mapping of descriptors was with the NAQ-R taxonomy, however a code of sexual assault was added to that of sexual pressure. In addition, gender discrimination was also added as a code on the basis of participant testimony, as was “culture of the industry”. Further, code refinement included specifying types of social context; i.e. the perpetrator/target relationship. Examples of this included: sound engineer to artist, band mate to band mate, artist to artist manager, powerful person to target. An additional filter through which data could be sorted was that of noteworthiness, where additional detail could be added to differentiate descriptors if necessary. Examples of this type of filter included: nuanced, control, manipulation, and grooming.

The final codebook featured two main sets of codes. The first of these was a set of 33 main codes that defined forms and types of harassment and included the survey taxonomy. One code was reserved for unclassifiable descriptors and one code was reserved for descriptors that could fit into several categories. The second set was made up of 23 codes that defined the aftermath of harassment as described by participants. This set of codes was derived from post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms and was generated as a sub-codebook, like the first code set on the basis of participants’ accounts. As with the first code set, this code set reserved one code for symptoms that could not be classified. Thus the codes were not just derived from the NAQ-R descriptions or the list of post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, but the boundaries of aversive behaviour or post harassment symptoms were defined from participant testimony. A

screenshot that shows a small section of the codebook, and a screenshot of original testimony with relevant text highlighted can be found in Appendix E.

SURVEY RESULTS AND COMPARISON WITH INTERVIEWS

The results of the survey, as well as the interview narratives reveal a complex landscape of workplace harassment in the music industry, depending on the type experienced, victims' age, gender and the nature of their music industry work. Audiences harassed artists, band members harassed colleagues, powerful industry figures harassed both crew and artists, artists harassed managers and sound engineers harassed female artists. Despite the complexity of the reports, the most significant theme that emerged was that of a pervasive gender based harassment, with extensive and detailed reports of multiple ways in which men harassed female colleagues.

Comparing quantitative and qualitative samples

The survey results are expressed as percentages reporting frequency of harassment. All percentages used in text have been rounded to one decimal place; however graphs have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Of the 33 qualitative interviewees, 60.6% (20) had previously completed the online survey questions and then approached the researcher to be interviewed. Thus 86.1% of all completed online surveys are responses in which there is no duplication in the data⁴⁰. Where it was possible to ascertain online/interview

⁴⁰ This percentage was calculated using the mean sample size of 143.

duplications, and where comments in the free text fields were clearly those of respondents who were later interviewed, the interview data was used as opposed to the comments made online.

Gender distribution

Perhaps one of the most striking initial findings is in the gender distribution of respondents. The research yielded the following respondent gender ratios seen in table 3.4 below.

GENDER DISTRIBUTION – BY DATA TYPE		GENDER DISTRIBUTION (AUSTRALIA) ⁴¹	
QUANTITATIVE SURVEY (n=154)			
Male	29.9%	52.9% (in work)	49.8% (in total)
Female	66.2%	47.1% (in work)	50.2% (in total)
Transgender or Indeterminate	3.9%	Not available	.0054% (in total)
QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS (n=33)			
Male	21.2%	52.9% (in work)	49.8% (in total)
Female	78.8%	47.1% (in work)	50.2% (in total)

Table 3.4 Gender Distribution by data type.

Recent surveys of the Australian arts industry landscape have reported a gender distribution of 55% male and 45% female amongst musicians with a slightly higher ratio (60/40 male/female) amongst composers (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017, p. 29). A 2015 study into wellbeing in the entertainment industries yielded a gender distribution ratio of 61.1% to 38.9% (male to female) amongst 16 interview participants⁴² (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a) but

⁴¹ The 2020 Gender distribution of workforce figures are sourced from the Australian Government Workplace Gender Equity Agency (<https://www.wgea.gov.au/data/fact-sheets/gender-workplace-statistics-at-a-glance-2020> accessed 03/12/2020). The 2020 gender distribution of the Australian population is sourced from www.tradingeconomics.com (<https://tradingeconomics.com/australia/population-female-percent-of-total-wb-data.html> accessed 03/12/2020). The Transgender/Indeterminate Gender distribution is derived from the 2016 Census and is not considered a reliable estimate. (<https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/2071.0~2016~Main%20Features~Sex%20and%20Gender%20Diversity%20in%20the%202016%20Census~100> accessed 03/12/2020).

⁴² Of 33 completed interviews only 16 were musicians and/or composers.

also a distribution of 61.9% female, 37.95% male, .015% other for an online survey⁴³ (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015b). Figure 3.4 shows a gender ratio skewed more female in this present research than in the 2015 study. Further, the gender distribution of participants in this study is similarly disproportionate to that reported by the Australia Council (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017; Throsby & Zednik 2010). These results are in contrast to a recent survey of 249 arts industry workers in the UK which was found to be representative of the relevant union membership with a gender distribution ratio of 53% male to 47% female (Quigg 2016, p. 50). Although the quantitative data set cannot be considered normative, a hypothesis to interrogate this phenomenon might start with the purpose of this research, and then propose that power imbalances inherent in workplace harassment (Keashly & Jagatic 2011) were being experienced in greater proportion by women in the music industry. If such a hypothesis carried weight, then a higher proportion of female participants could reasonably be expected to respond to an invitation to contribute to this study. Another factor that may have contributed to the skewed demographic of the interview sample is likely to be associated specifically with experiences of gender inequity in the music industries as already discussed in the previous chapters.

The number of gender non-binary respondents (6) was small in comparison to those who identified as gender binary in the survey, and no qualitative participants identified as gender non-binary. All gender non-binary survey responses are included in the following results except for those concerning

⁴³ These figures are only for those who identified as musicians or composers: n=1,323.

comparison between male and female responses, as the sample size was too small for comparative purposes. The actual number of responses for each harassment category from gender non-binary respondents are reported in Figures 3.8, 3.10 and 3.12 below.

National and state distribution

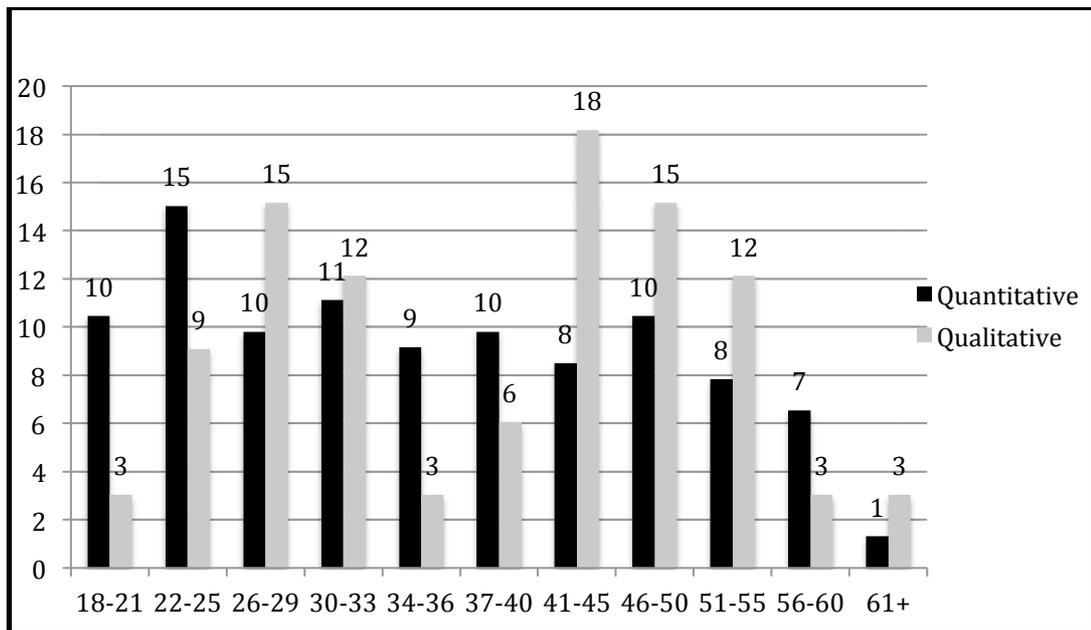
All participants in the qualitative interviews were Australian or New Zealand citizens. There were three New Zealanders (9.1%) and thirty Australians (90.9%). Two participants (6.1%) were residing in Europe at the time of interview; one of these is a New Zealand citizen and the other holds joint Australian/EU citizenship. Respondents to the survey mostly lived in Australia (76.5%) and New Zealand (21.5%) with a small proportion (2%) living in the UK, the USA or Europe. The online survey attracted a small number of non-Australian/New Zealand citizens (3.2%). All but one of these were resident in either Australia or New Zealand. The survey excluded the non-citizen/non-resident respondent from answering any questions apart from the demographic ones and the ability to leave a comment at the end of the survey.

Participants in the qualitative component who were Australian residents came from every state and territory except for Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory. The state-by-state distribution shows that NSW was disproportionately represented, with 57.1% of all participants compared to Victoria (21.4%) and Queensland and Western Australia (both 7.1%). There was one participant each for South Australia and the Northern Territory (3.6%). The online survey

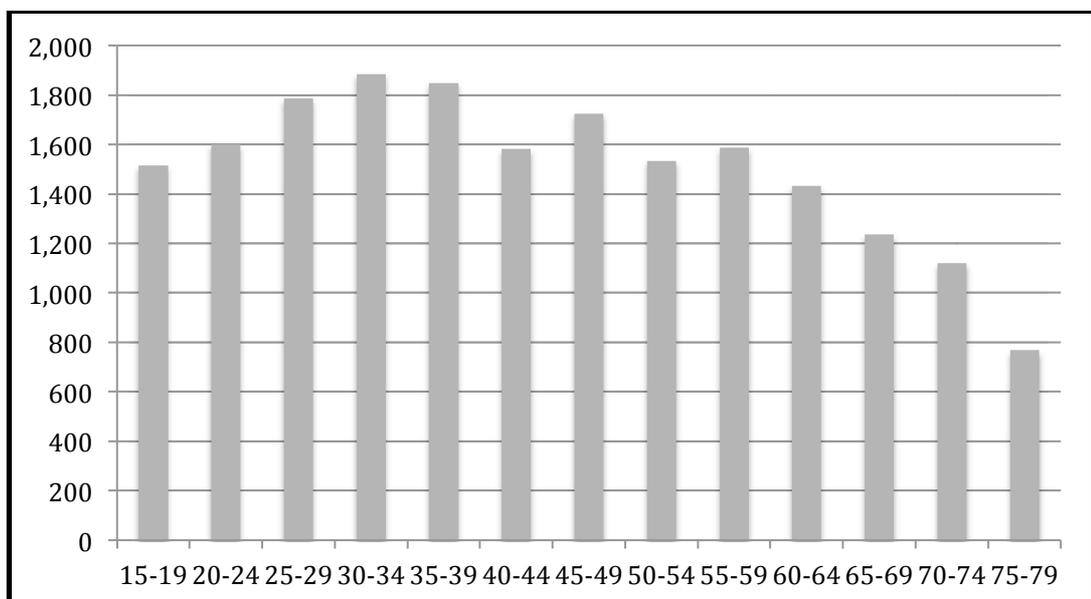
did not collect data on State or city of residency of respondents. Although the size of the qualitative sample is small, it seems unlikely that the non-participation of some states in the promotion of the research had an impact on participant recruitment.

Age distribution

While the qualitative data has too few participants to form a normative sample, the quantitative sample shows a demographic that is skewed to the younger age ranges. The mean age of respondents however is in the 34-36 age range. This is in contrast to findings that show the arts workforce in Australia is skewed to the older age ranges (Throsby & Petetskaya 2017). Notwithstanding this difference, the age range of qualitative respondents is skewed to older participants. A comparison of the two samples can be seen in the following graphs. Figure 3.1a shows the age comparison between the qualitative and quantitative samples.

Figure 3.1a Age Comparison of respondents (by percentage)

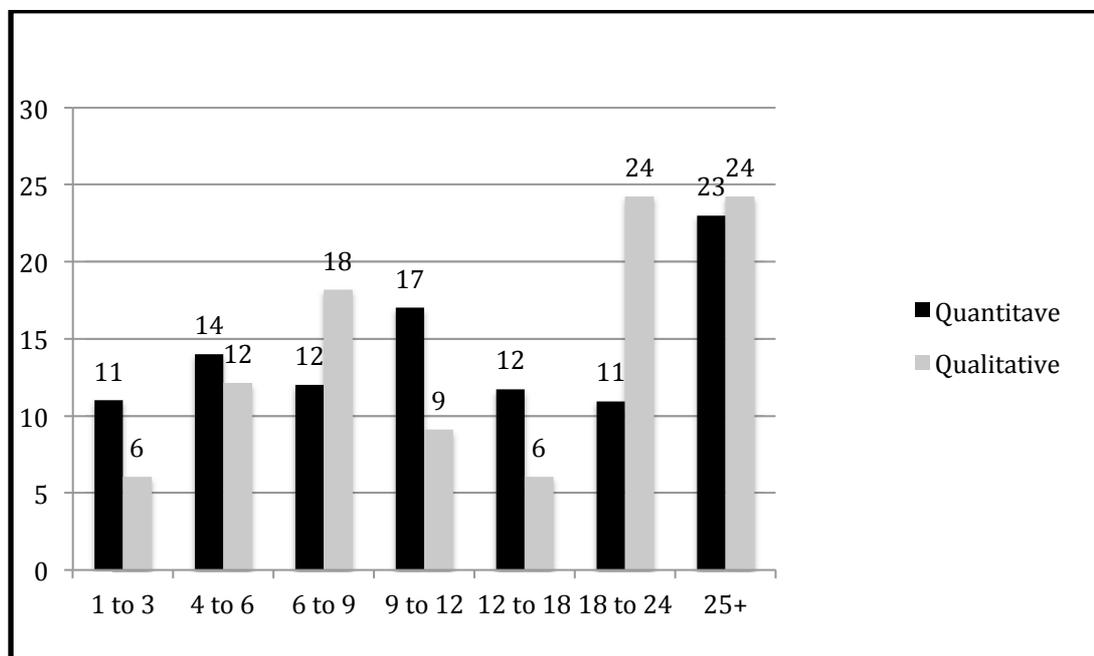
The age distribution of participants can be compared to that of the Australian population in Figure 3.1b.

Figure 3.1b Age Distribution of Australian population (in 1,000's)⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Source: <https://www.livepopulation.com/country/australia.html> (accessed 03/12/2020).

Similarly, Figure 3.2 shows a slightly skewed distribution when comparing how long participants had been active in the industry. Qualitative participants were clustered more frequently in the 6 to 9 year range of years active, as well as in the 18 to 24 years active range in comparison to respondents in the online survey, although both populations feature a similar demographic when it comes to those with more than 25 years of activity in the industry.

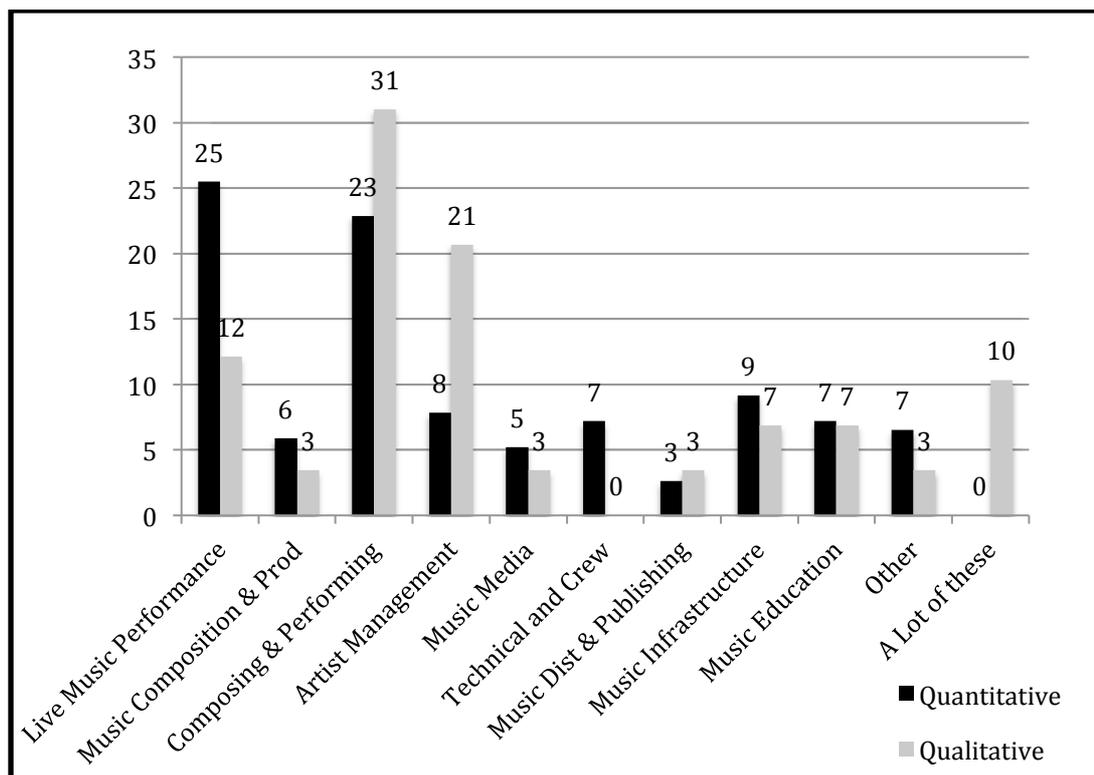
Figure 3.2 Years active in the industry of respondents (by percentage)



A further point of comparison can be made concerning the primary area of music activity undertaken by participants. Initially there appears to be a significant difference between the two groups. However if the first three categories of *live music performance, composition and production* and *both composing and performing* are added together, then approximately 50% of all participants in both samples fall under this umbrella. Of more interest perhaps is the group of interviewees, who when asked this question, all opted to suggest a new category that embraced a career in music that had many different facets

and defied these category distinctions. Notably the quantitative survey featured a higher proportion of music managers than in the online survey. The comparison distribution can be seen below in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 Primary area of music activity of respondents (by percentage)

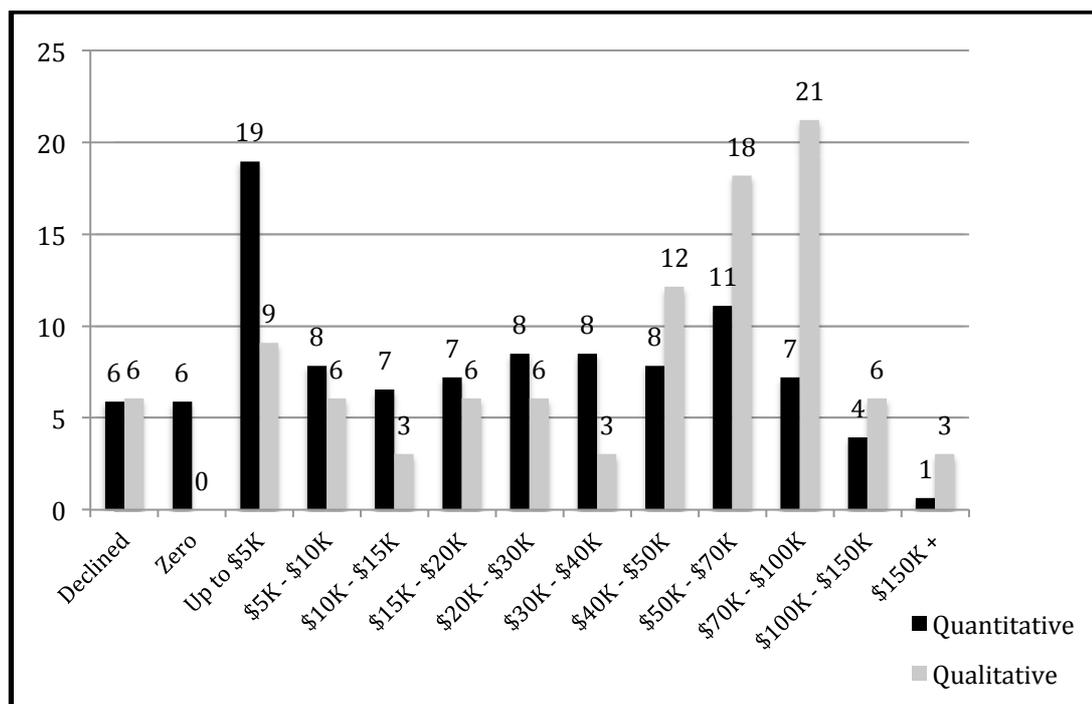


Other demographic data

Income generated from music work as reported by the survey respondents was reasonably consistent with findings from other studies and discussed in Chapter 1. Of all online respondents, 42.1% reported an annual income from their music work of AU\$15K or less and 67.6% reported an annual income from music of AU\$40K or less. The most notable difference between samples can be found in the upper end of the earnings range, with incomes above AU\$50,000. Similarly, the online sample featured more respondents whose income was AU\$5,000 or

less. The online sample is consistent with reports of the dire economic realities faced by musicians discussed in Chapter 1. Figure 3.4 below shows the different samples in terms of income.

Figure 3.4 Reported Annual Income From Music Activities (income band by %)



These income differentials can be explained by the recruitment methodology. As has already been described, participants were recruited in part by snowballing, and it is conceivable that within a specific area of music activity, such as music management and label, distribution and publishing, this study was recommended to colleagues within a small network. Notably, the qualitative sample is not intended for normative comparison.

Summary of quantitative results

Reports of incidence rates of workplace harassment in the wider population vary due to the use of differing measures, research questions, methods and foci (Charlesworth, McDonald & Cerise 2011; Jenkins 2018; Zapf et al. 2011). Parsing these differences is beyond the scope of this thesis, except to note that drawing comparisons between workplace harassment findings from different studies must take into account different methods of measurement (Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011). Even though other studies using the NAQ-R within the Australian and New Zealand context are rare, some indication of the serious prevalence of workplace harassment for music industry practitioners in this study can be found in a large international study as well as two Australian studies.

A large (n=5,288) 2009 UK study found that 72% of respondents had experienced bullying at least once (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009). The prevalence of serious bullying (weekly or daily) in this group was 5%. Another large (n=1173) study used the NAQ-R to survey workplace harassment amongst Australian public servants (Caponecchia & Costa Daniel 2017) (referred to hereafter as the Australian Public Service Study). The mean⁴⁵ for experiencing any form of harassment was 31%. In comparison this present research found a mean experience of 64.7%⁴⁶. A somewhat similar pattern was evident from a smaller Australian study across multiple industries, and with a sample size of 139 (usable responses), which found that 70.5% of respondents had never been bullied (Branch & Murray 2008). The 28.5% who had

⁴⁵ The mean experience of harassment was derived by finding the mean percentage of all responses that recorded any form of harassment from once to weekly and daily.

⁴⁶ As noted earlier, this present research only sought responses for only 17 of the 22 NAQ-R adverse behaviour types. For the purposes of comparison only those 17 behaviour types were compared.

experienced bullying reported differing frequencies of bullying depending on the specific behaviour; however the prevalence of serious harassment across all forms of bullying was 5% (Branch & Murray 2008). In contrast, this present study found that the mean prevalence of weekly or daily harassment was 9.1%, with ten of the 17 sub types having a prevalence of serious harassment that was 9.7% or higher. By way of further comparison, the Australian Public Service Study showed a similar mean prevalence of serious harassment (9.9%). These findings suggest that while the prevalence of serious harassment is generally more serious in Australia than in the UK, workers in the Australian music industries experience elevated levels of workplace harassment when compared to the rest of the workforce, even though the prevalence of serious harassment is comparable to that in the public service. Perhaps the most striking finding from this present research is that on examination of the individual responses from each of the 145 respondents, all but one of them had experienced some form of harassment at some time. There are limitations to how these findings should be regarded, however. The first of these is that, as already noted, there is a paucity of studies that use the NAQ-R as a measure of workplace harassment. The second of these is that respondents who volunteered to participate in the survey for this research were aware that they were contributing to a study on workplace harassment, and those therefore that responded can be considered a biased sample, although one respondent indicated a willingness to report that she had not experienced harassment, and wished that to be a part of the findings.

Apart from the New Zealand music community well-being survey the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA) have twice surveyed their actor members about bullying and harassment, the earliest version of which was conducted as a part of a broader study into well-being (Maxwell, Seton & Szabó 2015). There were 782 responses to the one bullying question, and 26.3% reported having been bullied, with a gender distribution of 23% of all males in the sample and 29% of all females (Maxwell, Seton & Szabó 2015). However, a larger (n=1,124) and more recent study surveyed Australian actors specifically about their experiences of sexual harassment and bullying (general harassment), and found that 40% had experienced at least one form of sexual harassment, and 62% had been bullied (MEAA 2017; Pepper 2017). The methodology and discussion of results from the later study were not made available, but a survey specifically asking for reports of sexual harassment and bullying could likewise attract a sample that was more interested in reporting those kinds of phenomena. Similarly a 2016 UK study (n=249) drawing on the membership of the Broadcasting, Entertainment, Communications and Theatre Union (BECTU) found that 65% of respondents felt that bullying was common or more common, with only 6.4% reporting that they had never experienced bullying (Quigg 2016). While these last two studies point to a landscape of increased levels of workplace harassment in the creative industries, caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions comparing these results, because of the differing methodologies involved.

A similar problem of different methodologies exists when comparing the incidence of sexual harassment reported in this present research to other

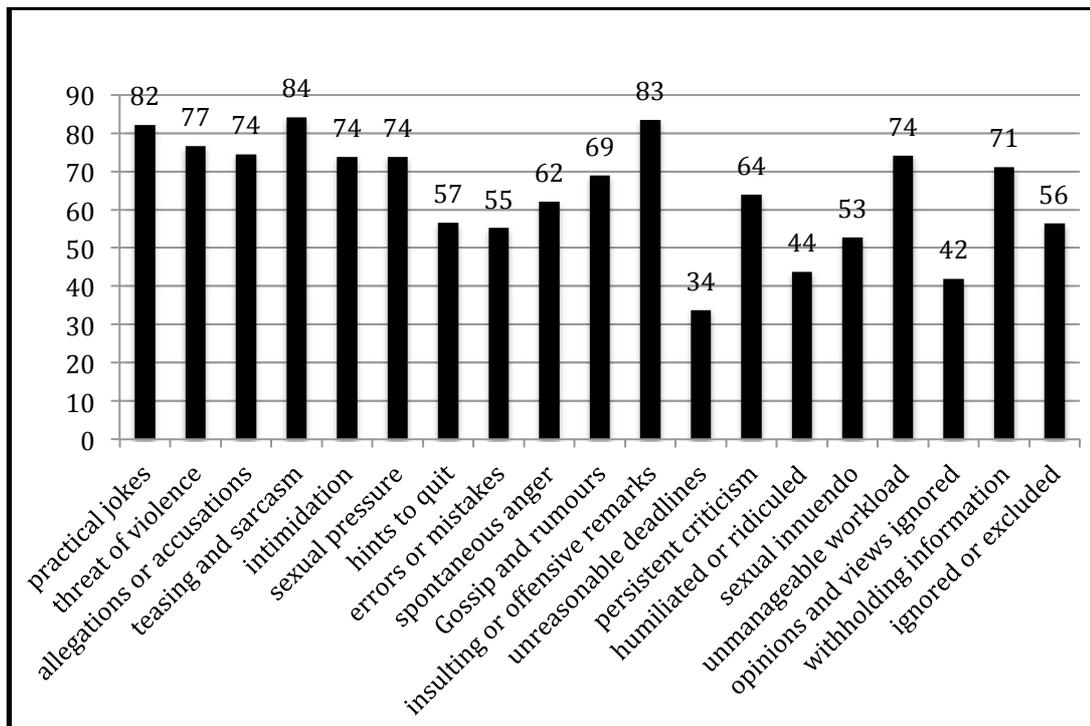
studies. An Australian study of 159 screen composers asked participants to agree or disagree with the statement “sexual harassment is common in the industry” (Strong & Cannizzo 2017, p. 16). Notably, 36% of women agreed and 36% of men disagreed. While this present research supports a finding that the female experience of sexual harassment is greater than for males, there was no analogous question in the online survey suitable for close comparison. A similar problem exists with the results of the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) Fourth National Survey on Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces (Jenkins 2018). The AHRC survey found for example that 85% of women have been sexually harassed at some point in their lives with 33% experiencing sexual harassment in the last five years although the prevalence in the arts and recreation services sector was higher at 49% (Jenkins 2018, pp. 7-9). In comparison to the national data, female respondents reported much higher rates of recent sexual harassment: with 77.1% experiencing sexual innuendo monthly or more often, and 49% experiencing sexual pressure monthly or more often, a result closely corresponding to the arts sector prevalence. When any instance of sexual harassment is taken into account, the cohort in this research are much closer to the AHRC national findings, with 85.4% having at some time experienced sexual innuendo and 64.6% having at some time experienced sexual pressure. Notably this study only asked respondents to indicate their experiences of just two categories of sexual harassment, and the AHRC made more descriptors available to respondents including a 16 item taxonomy (Jenkins 2018, p. 152). This finding, particularly the prevalence of recent sexual harassment, is profoundly disturbing and may

explain why the gender ratio in the qualitative interviews was skewed more female than in the online survey.

Further, 13.5% of female respondents in this survey reported experiencing sexual innuendo either weekly or daily, and 7.3% reported experiencing sexual pressure either weekly or daily. The AHRC provides no exact point of comparison, in that their survey asked for whether sexual harassment was “common” or “occurred sometimes” (Jenkins 2018, p. 43) although 6% of women reported instances of harassment within the last month.

Despite the limitations of the sample size in this present research, these findings present a bleak picture for women in the music industries, but also point to the need for further research that can establish comparison rates of prevalence for weekly or daily sexual harassment in the wider community.

The following table (3.5) shows the percentage of all respondents who reported ever having experienced harassment in the music industries (by type of harassment)

Figure 3.5 Respondents who have ever experienced harassment (%)

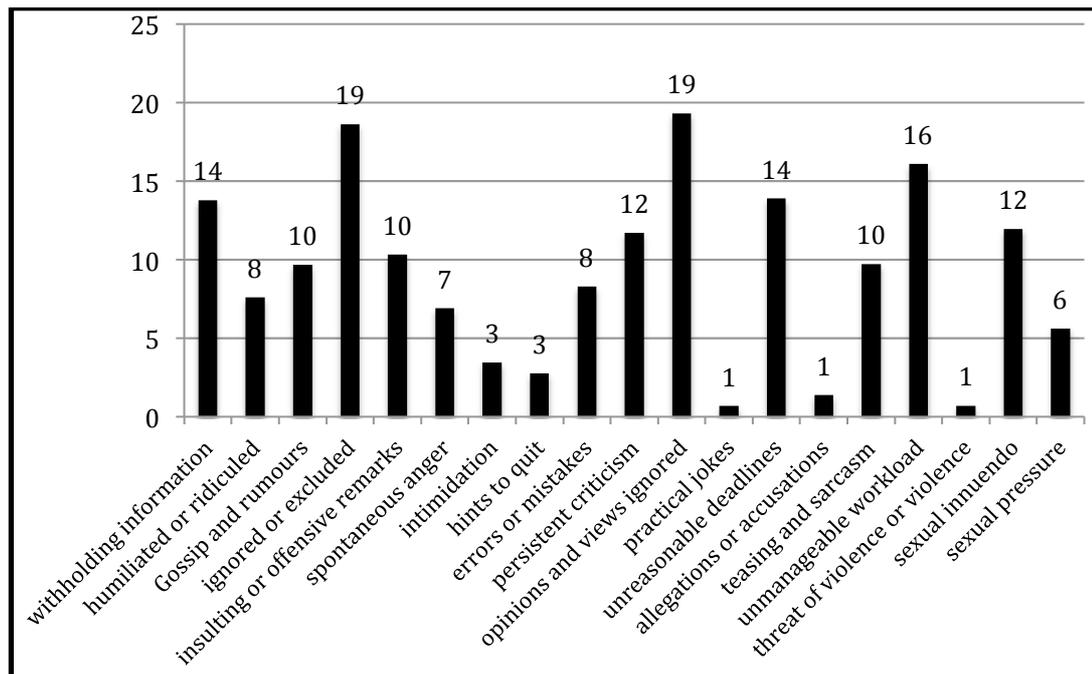
Prevalence of serious harassment

Some writers have proposed defining *serious bullying* or *serious harassment* as occurring weekly or daily for at least six months (Zapf et al. 2011, p. 77). One meta-analysis of workplace bullying in Europe suggests that the prevalence of serious bullying (weekly or daily) in Europe is 3%-4% (Zapf et al. 2011, p. 77) and another suggests a prevalence of between 10%-15% for less serious bullying (monthly) (Nielsen et al. 2009). In contrast, this research finds a mean prevalence of weekly or daily bullying across all 19 types of 9.1% within the music industry⁴⁷, although it is not known whether this bullying persisted for 6 months. The prevalence of serious bullying is equal to or exceeds 13.7% for

⁴⁷ The difference between this prevalence (9.08%) and the one cited earlier (9.11%) is because the former prevalence was derived from the 17 NAQ-R behaviour types, whereas the latter is calculated from 19 behaviour types (the 17 from the NAQ-R plus the two additional sexual harassment questions).

five types of bullying, with two forms (being ignored and excluded and having one's opinions and views ignored) both reported at serious levels with prevalence of 18.6% and 19.3% respectively (see figure 3.6 below).

Figure 3.6 Prevalence of serious (weekly or daily) harassment for all respondents (by type and %)



Therefore, results from the online survey show a complex picture of workplace harassment in the music industry, depending in part on exactly which type of harassment respondents were reporting on. As an example, 52.8% of all online respondents reported at least one instance of being subject to excessive teasing or sarcasm with 30.6% reporting experiencing this now and then. Similarly 84.1% of all online respondents reported at least one instance of being *ignored or excluded* with 35.2% experiencing this monthly or weekly/daily. Conversely 52.8% of all online respondents reported that they had *never* experienced practical jokes (carried out by people I do not get along with) although 12.5% reported experiencing this regularly (monthly, weekly or daily). A table showing the percentage distribution of all respondents and each form of

harassment and their reported frequency can be found in Appendix C. The six most common forms of harassment ranked from the most frequently experienced⁴⁸ were:

1. Withholding information
2. Ignored or excluded
3. Opinions and views ignored
4. Unmanageable workload
5. Sexual innuendo
6. Humiliated or ridiculed

The six least common forms of harassment ranked from the least frequently experienced⁴⁹ were:

1. Practical jokes
2. Violence or threat of violence
3. Accusations or allegations
4. Intimidation
5. Hints to quit
6. Sexual pressure

These findings echo those of Parker discussed in Chapter 1, who noted the high workloads and high levels of interpersonal conflict within the music industry (2015), and also reflect conditions reported by musicians in the UK (Perraudin 2019) and by UK entertainment industry workers more broadly (as also previously discussed) (Federation of Entertainment Industry Unions 2013).

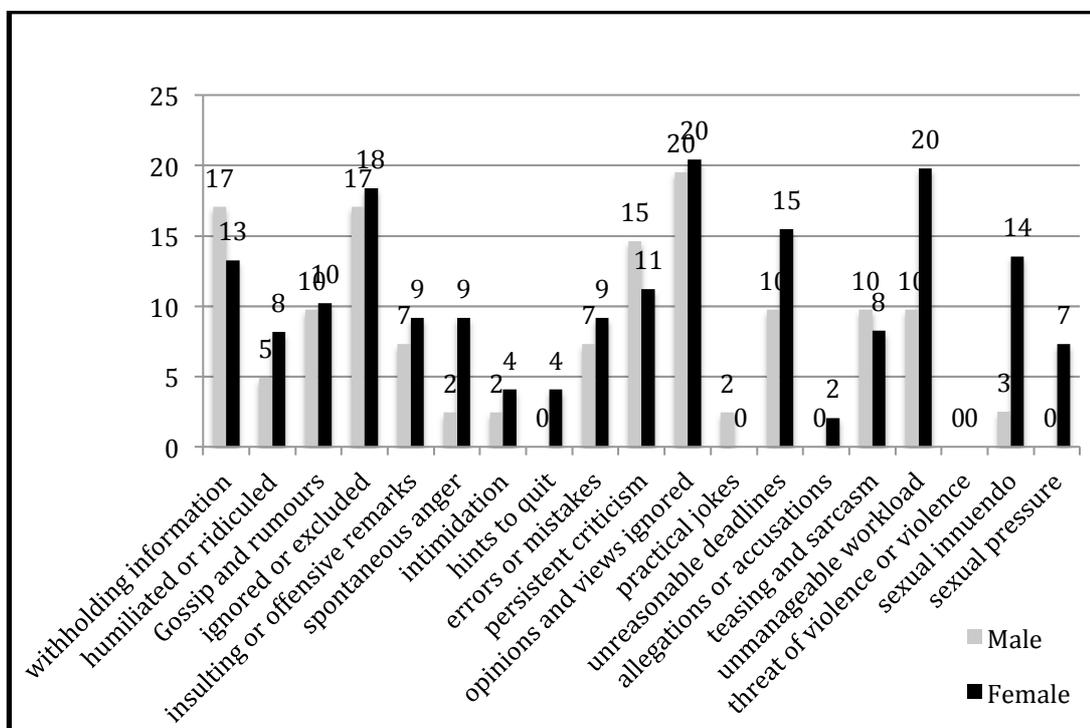
⁴⁸ The “most frequently experienced” list was derived by calculating the sum of the percentages from respondents who reported the following frequencies: *now and then, monthly, weekly and daily*.

⁴⁹ The “least frequently experienced” list was derived by calculating the sum of the percentages from respondents who reported the following frequencies: *never* and *once*.

Gender differences in harassment experience

There are marked differences in the experience of harassment when responses were screened for gender⁵⁰. These differences were particularly apparent when it came to experiences of harassment at serious levels. This can be most clearly seen in figure 3.7 below.

Figure 3.7. Comparison of weekly or daily harassment by gender (percentage frequency)



It is clear that women working in the music industry experience a higher weekly or daily prevalence of the following types of harassment than men:

1. Sexual innuendo
2. Sexual pressure

⁵⁰ There were 6 respondents who identified as gender non-binary. All graphs in this chapter show responses in percentage form; therefore those results were omitted from Figures 3.7 – 3.9 because of the small sample size in comparison to male and female respondents. The experience of gender non-binary persons should be subject to further inquiry, either using a qualitative methodology, or where a normative sample can be gathered.

3. Unmanageable workload
4. Unreasonable deadlines
5. Allegations and accusations
6. Hints to quit
7. Reminders of errors and mistakes
8. Spontaneous anger
9. Insulting or offensive remarks
10. Ignored or excluded
11. Humiliated or ridiculed

Conversely, men experience a higher prevalence of the following types of weekly or daily harassment than women:

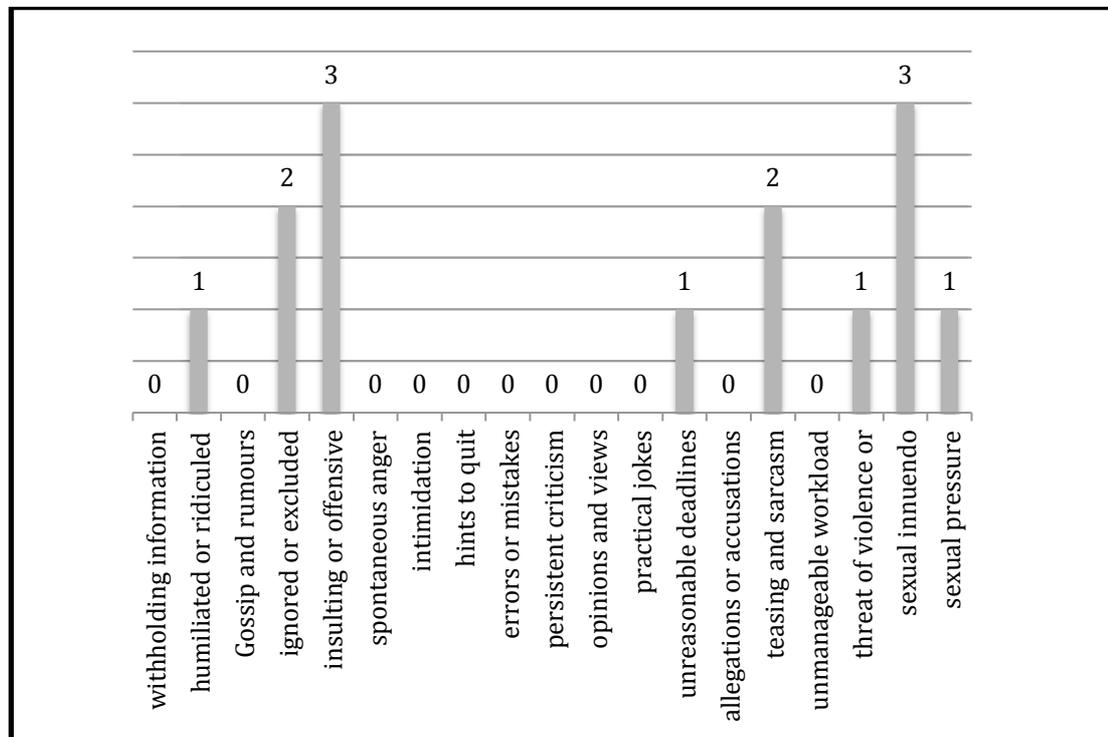
1. Teasing or sarcasm
2. Persistent criticism
3. Practical jokes
4. Withholding information

These findings are unsurprising in the light of earlier discussion concerning the AHRC study findings on sexual harassment in Australia, but more so in the context of sexual harassment being understood as a phenomenon mostly perpetrated on women by men (Jenkins 2018).

The pattern of serious harassment that was reported by gender non-binary respondents is different again to the gendered comparison as can be seen in

figure 3.8, although the caveat of small sample size mentioned earlier applies to these results.

Figure 3.8. Weekly or daily harassment: gender non-binary respondents (actual responses)



While gender non-binary respondents reported a similar pattern of prevalence with being ignored or excluded and insulting or offensive remarks, the prevalence of sexual innuendo was reported as high as insulting or offensive remarks, although a sample size of 6 is arguably too small for comparison purposes.

The sexualized nature of harassment is not just evident from figures 3.7 and 3.8, but is also starkly apparent in the following chart in figure 3.9, which shows the difference between gender binary men and women in harassment that they report as never having experienced. Figure 3.9 is another way of understanding the gendered nature of harassment, and even though the contrast in

experiences of sexual innuendo and sexual pressure is not unexpected, the female experience of harassment is not confined simply to forms of sexual harassment.

Figure 3.9 Gender Comparison: Harassment Never Experienced (percentage frequency)

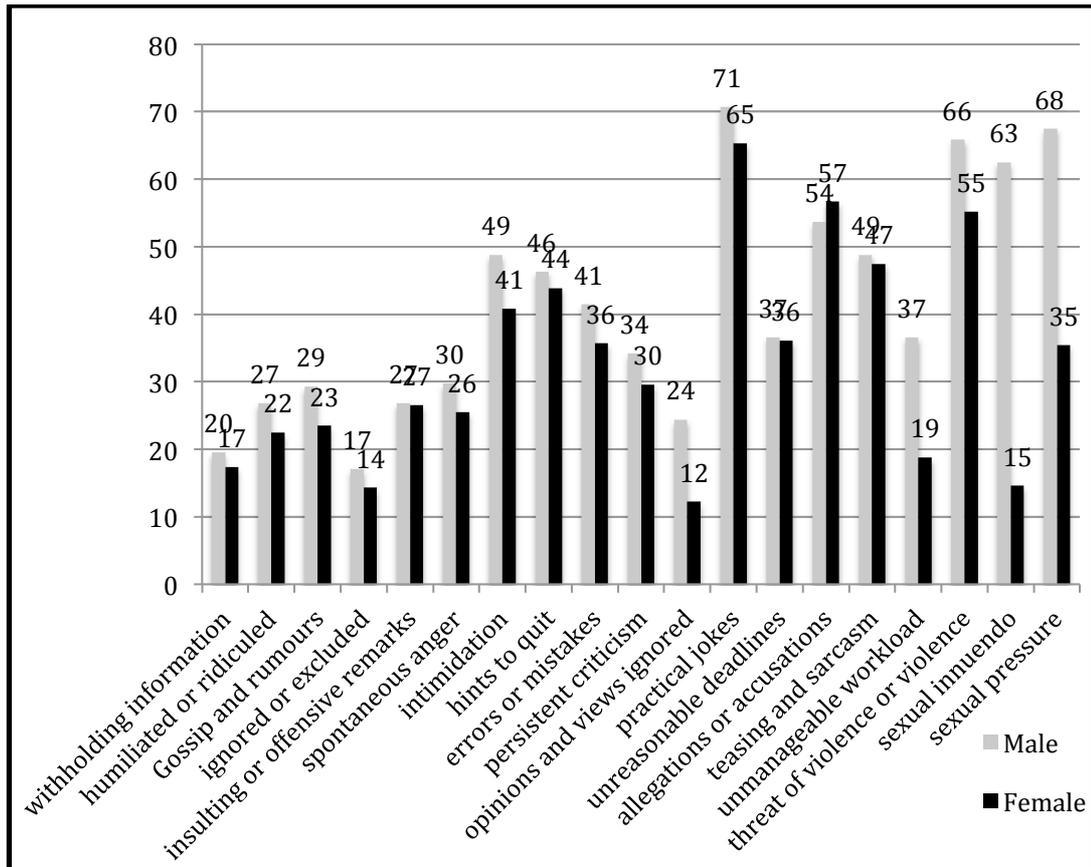
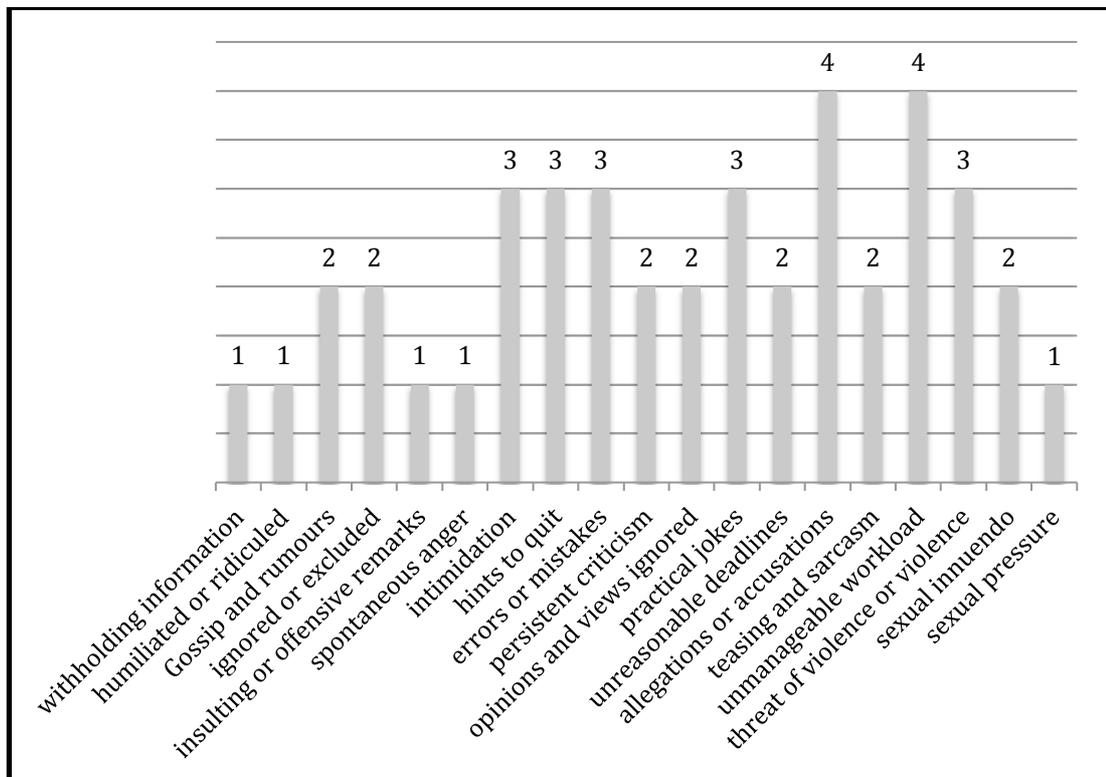


Figure 3.9 shows the extent to which male respondents are not experiencing harassment compared to women, suggesting that women experience more harassment than men in general. Figure 3.10 shows the distribution of never experienced harassment types that was reported by the gender non-binary sample.

Figure 3.10. Harassment never experienced: gender non-binary respondents (actual responses)

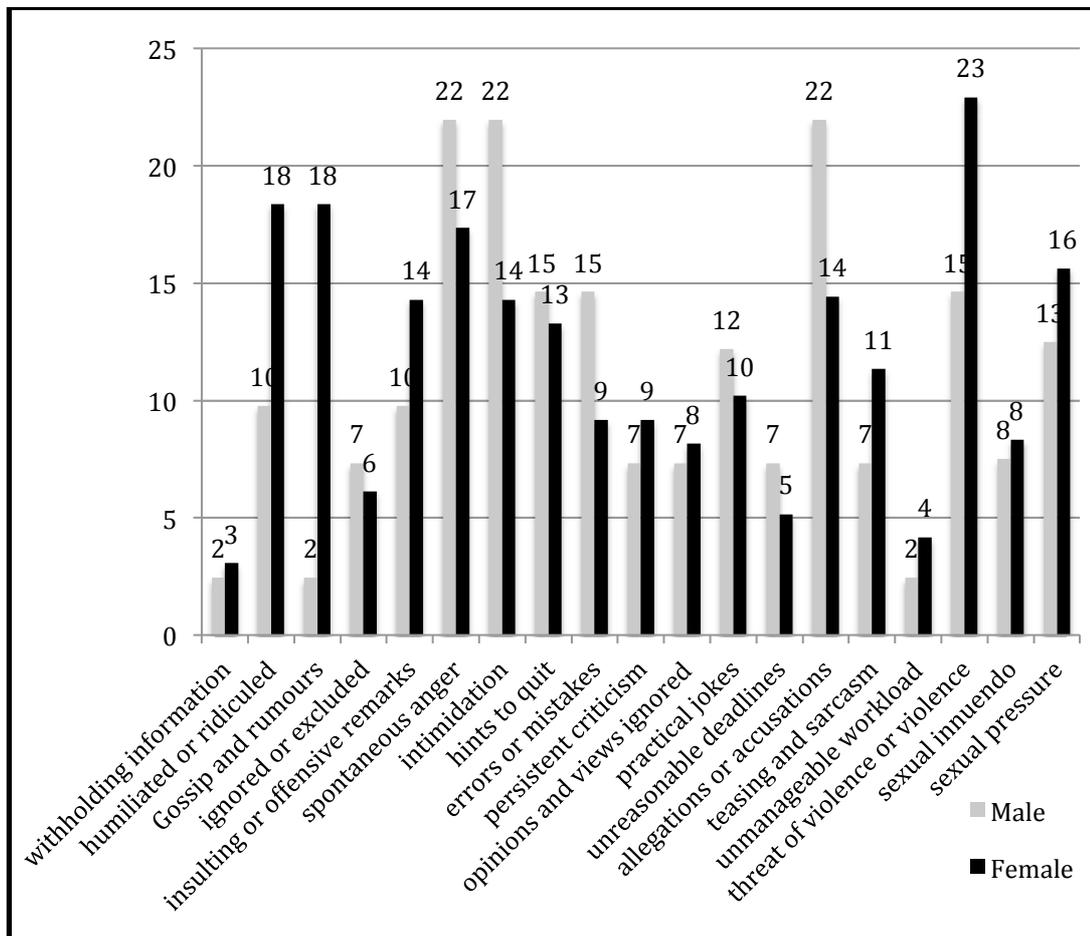


The results shown in Figure 3.10 show a different pattern from both male and female gender binary respondents. Similar to the results in Figure 3.8, the small sample size means that these results should be regarded as indicating the need for further research into the experiences of gender non-binary music industry workers.

Notwithstanding, the finding that women experience more harassment than men is supported by the following comparison of the prevalence of regularly experienced harassment⁵¹ as shown in figure 3.11.

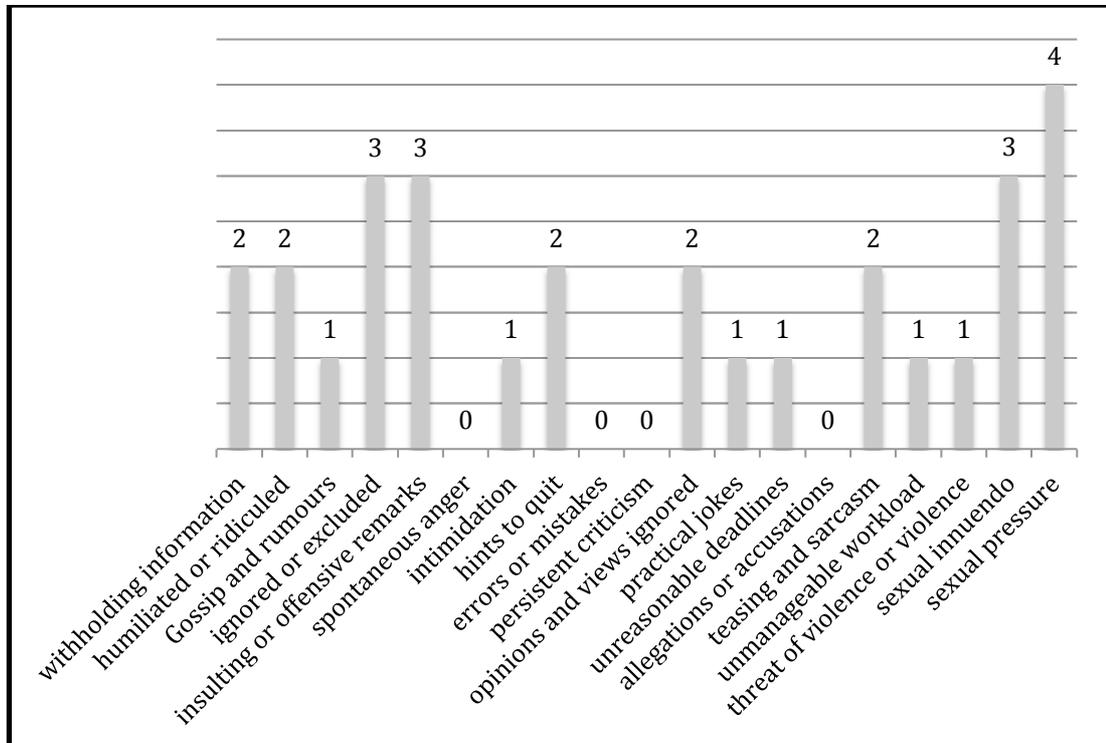
⁵¹ “Regularly experienced harassment” was derived by calculating the sum of the percentages from respondents who reported the following frequencies: *monthly, weekly and daily*.

Figure 3.11 Comparison of regularly experienced harassment by gender (percentage frequency)



Although men regularly experience more harassment than women when it comes to persistent criticism, gossip and rumours, withholding information and hints to quit, across the remainder of all other forms of harassment, women regularly experience a higher prevalence of harassment. This finding strongly supports the work of researchers previously discussed in Chapter 1, and other writers who have argued that the Australian music industries are highly gendered spaces that discriminate against women (Edmond 2019; Strong 2014, 2017; Strong & Cannizzo 2017; Strong & Cannizzo 2019). Finally, Figure 3.12 shows the prevalence of regularly experienced harassment reported by gender non-binary respondents.

Figure 3.12 Regularly experienced harassment: gender non-binary respondents (actual responses)



While noting the sample size caveats mentioned earlier, these results suggest a gender non-binary experience of regular sexual innuendo and sexual pressure coupled with insulting remarks and exclusion. These results add weight to the need for further investigation of the harassment experiences of this demographic.

Taken as a whole, the results of the online survey go some way towards explaining why the gender demographic of respondents is skewed female, in that women have more experiences of harassment than men, and they also experience highly sexualised harassment more specifically. These results also explain the cluster of strongest themes that emerged in the qualitative data.

Comparison of survey results with interviews

As noted earlier, the NAQ-R was utilised as a starting point for categorizing harassment experiences; however some interview participants reported incidents that they referred to in generic terms such as: abuse, bullying or toxicity. Incidents of harassment were identified and noted using the specific language of each participant. As analysis progressed, it became apparent that many participants were reporting markedly similar experiences. As a consequence, similar responses were grouped together by virtue of the NAQ-R construct and then subsequently from a construct that emerged from the data (Burr 2015). An incident of harassment was noted on a participant/incident matrix whenever referred to, regardless of the length of the account, or regardless of whether a participant was providing additional detail to an earlier mention of an incident. Multiple mentions of a single incident occurred either in response to a question seeking clarification or further detail, or because a participant chose to mention it on multiple occasions. In the case of the latter, a second or third mention of an incident or event was treated as appertaining to the significance of that incident or event. Harassment was coded according to the NAQ-R with supplementary categories for harassment that did not conform to the NAQ-R taxonomy.

Interviewees reported a climate of harassment in the music industry with multiple axes of abusive behaviour. One axis was the reporting of harassment of artists and musicians by their audiences. Behaviour in this category was

experienced by both male and female musicians and included incidents of intimidation and threats of violence as well as sexual pressure and sexual assault. The occurrence of the last two types is not unexpected given recent reports by female artists of this phenomenon (Hustwaite 2019; La Vita 2019; Puru 2019). Female interviewees in particular reported harassment on the part of band members and colleagues. Furthermore there were also multiple instances of music industry workers being harassed by powerful industry figures such as record company executives, music producers, managers, tour managers and concert promoters. Female artists and musicians also uniquely described harassment by sound engineers and crew. The following chapters will examine harassment behaviours in more depth.

CHAPTER 4

THE HARM OF WORKPLACE HARASSMENT

Workplace harassment has been found to be associated with reduced well-being and a range of negative repercussions (Einarsen & Nielsen 2015; Mordukhovich et al. 2019; Niedhammer, David & Degioanni 2006; Nielsen, Nielsen, et al. 2015). Repercussions include an increase in the odds of active suicide ideation (Leach et al. 2020) as well as the significant personal and professional toll of reporting (Traister 2019). Some writers have noted that the experience of harassment should be regarded as a traumatic event (Avina & O'Donohue 2002; Høgh, Mikkelsen & Hansen 2011; Zapf, Knorz & Kulla 1996) even though workplace harassment often encompasses more indirect psychological and social damage (Einarsen et al. 2011; Høgh, Mikkelsen & Hansen 2011). Margarita notably observed that “[health care and allied] professionals working in [the music industry] need to come from a trauma-informed care model” because of her experiences of harassment and its aftermath (personal communication 2/07/2018).

Like Margarita, almost all interviewees and some online participants reported on the negative impact of workplace harassment to their personal well-being, or their ability to continue working. Additionally some reported that following their experiences, they faced reduced access to the music industry. These kinds of comments can be regarded as similar to victim impact statements, which play a widely accepted role in the judicial process (Pemberton & Reynaers 2011) and have more recently been found to contribute to positive outcomes in anger and anxiety reduction in victims of crime (Lens et al. 2015). These reports, of the

immediate and on-going harm of harassment, form the central concern of this chapter. The reader is warned that much of the testimony of participants and respondents cited in this research, throughout this and later chapters, includes the recollection of events that range from distressing and disturbing to shocking and potentially traumatic. Consequently, the reader is advised to prepare for the reading of that material in advance.

SHATTERED ASSUMPTIONS

One significant and frequently reported theme concerned a category of harm that is collectively termed shattered assumptions. As previously outlined in Chapter 2, the shattering of an individual's assumptions about the nature of the world occurs when they are confronted with events that cause persistent and negative changes of belief about themselves and others (Janoff-Bulman 2010). The impact of workplace harassment reported by participants involved long lasting negative after effects including the shattering of their beliefs (or assumptions). As Marta-Lucia said,

It doesn't just shatter that relationship, it shatters your ideas of what was possible or your hope; your world. It changes how you see that whole realm...I didn't know the things...I didn't know (personal communication 05/07/18)⁵².

Marta-Lucia described a significant degree of alteration to previously held beliefs, including her core beliefs and the expectations that she held for her life and work. Thus, the experience of workplace harassment altered not only her ideas of the way things are, but also her ideas about what things could become

⁵² This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 400.

in the future. After the pattern of this testimony, the structure of this chapter will follow an examination of participants' reports of shattered assumptions about themselves, others and the world in which they function. Additionally, many participants also reported how they had lost a belief in their own personal safety as a consequence of workplace harassment.

Shattered assumptions about the self

One frequently reported consequence of workplace harassment is best described as a persistent negative self-belief or self-worth that subsequently arose in victims. While a unified theoretical basis for understanding identity remains a matter for discussion (see Abdi 2018; Aldecoa 2019; Fischer et al. 2000; Hauge 2007; Stets & Burke 2000), the idea of a self-concept remains important in the social sciences (Hogg & Terry 2001; McLeod 2008; Tajfel 2010). Putting aside the complexity of this discourse, it is apparent that participants in this study were concerned with the impact that workplace harassment had on their sense of self. This concern was sometimes expressed as a loss of self-confidence or in someone questioning their ability. Maria Jose is a music performance graduate from one of Australia's most respected institutions with a successful 12-year career as a professional musician. She was the target of a sustained episode of workplace harassment that included exclusion and humiliation⁵³. She described how two colleagues worked together to sow doubt in her mind about her musical ability. Maria Jose described their repeated assertions about her lack of competence by using the term *gaslighting*

⁵³ The testimony from this episode features significantly in Chapter 6. As the incidents and impact of this episode are connected they will be grouped together and referred to as Account 600.

(personal communication, 03/04/19). Gaslighting is a form of psychological manipulation that involves lying and misdirection so as to cause doubts about the recollection of events or about soundness of mind (Sweet 2019). This amalgamated reflection shows how she made a direct connection between her harassment and her loss of self-confidence.

I was just so worried about, "Am I singing in time? Am I singing in tune? Is it just me?" But these guys are saying I'm not playing in time, but I can hear myself. I'm singing in tune. It's not me...I'm questioning myself. It's like, the harassment and the second guessing myself, it accumulated...

It completely shattered my confidence and left me so incredibly upset and deeply embarrassed...

For the first time in my musical career, I suffered from two very acute panic attacks over a week ago during and before performance...I've never dealt with this kind of behaviour before in any professional workplace"...(personal communication 03/04/19)⁵⁴.

Maria Jose referred to her loss of self-worth more than once, as is evident in the following testimony.

The psychological effect it has had on me has created a range of feelings I've never had before. Anxiety about catching a plane to our next gig, being in bad headspace before our gigs, having low self-esteem and self-worth, even now I question my own abilities (Maria Jose, personal communication 03/04/19)⁵⁵.

The impact to her abilities and self-worth was also notable because she observed that negative effects persisted for over a month after the workplace harassment ended (personal communication 03/04/19). This time frame is significant because the persistence of negative effects beyond a month following trauma is a requirement for a diagnosis of Post Traumatic Stress

⁵⁴ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 600I.

⁵⁵ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 600J.

Disorder (PTSD) to be made (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Similarly, Marcos experienced a sustained (5-year) period of psychological manipulation, unreasonable work demands and humiliation.

...I felt like nothing I could do was right, and there was something wrong with me, and I was wrong, and everybody else was right...I couldn't see the wood for the trees, and I actually thought it was just me...I wasn't good enough, I hadn't worked hard enough, I hadn't done a good job, I was falling short, I was incapable, this kind of thing. It was a very destructive time (personal communication 17/09/18)⁵⁶.

The loss of self-worth is clearly apparent and is notable in the light of his previous professional experience⁵⁷. Marcos further summarised this episode by describing that period of time as a “very destructive” one (personal communication 17/09/18). Significantly, the erosion of self-worth or identity is known to be associated with depressive disorders (Marsella 2003).

Another loss of self-worth is evident in the following from a venue manager who described a lasting impact that arose following an incident⁵⁸ of physical harassment that qualified as assault (Judicial Commission of NSW 2019a).

It's impacted my confidence in what I do because I'm frightened now of something like that happening again. There's this underlying fear...I'm now just that little bit more doubtful of myself as to whether I'm doing the right thing or not (Laurita, personal communication 7/11/18)⁵⁹.

Fear of a possible recurrence of a negative event is an expected consequence of a traumatic event (American Psychiatric Association 2013). This account is also important because of the impact to Laurita's apprehension of her own

⁵⁶ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 401.

⁵⁷ Marcos had been active in the music industry for more than 25 years and had achieved a Diploma qualification in his instrument (personal communication 17/09/18).

⁵⁸ This incident will be described in more detail in Chapter 5, and will be referred to there as account 518.

⁵⁹ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 518B.

competence, i.e. her assumptions about herself were shattered. Although Laurita experienced a single incident of physical threat in contrast to the long periods of psychological manipulation experienced both by Maria Jose⁶⁰ and Marcos, yet the shattering of her assumptions involves similar features of self-doubt.

The shattering of assumptions about self can also be severe in the short term, evident in the following recollection about the aftermath of an unwanted sexual encounter. This participant subsequently conceded (later in her testimony) that in her view this episode constituted a rape (personal communication 24/09/18).

A lot of self-loathing and shame and self-harm; a lot of distress, a lot of questioning myself and my ability. Yes, I became quite depressed after that - didn't eat properly for a while. I also became quite driven, I got to a point where I wanted to get back at him by becoming a super human to some extent (Marisol, personal communication 24/9/18)⁶¹.

The degree of on-going psychological harm that she reported was significant. While her report about being depressed may or may not have been informed by a medical professional, her description of depressive symptoms possesses some degree of veracity, in that reduced appetite is an indicator for depression (see American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 161; Janoff-Bulman 1989, 1992; Rodriguez-Munoz et al. 2010).

A similar account was found in the following testimony from an artist who experienced what she described as psychological manipulation at the hands of her manager when she was in the middle of an overseas tour. The context of

⁶⁰ As will be apparent in Chapter 6, Maria Jose experienced workplace harassment for a period of approximately 12 months.

⁶¹ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 402.

this episode was that her manager had previously insisted that she (and her accompanist) stay with the rest of the artists from his stable who were also on the tour, in spite of her request for alternative accommodation (Mariella, personal communication, 08/06/18). When she arrived at the manager's chosen hotel, there were no rooms available and she was forced to sleep on a couch in the living room of a suite (personal communication 08/06/18). The following part of her testimony concerns what happened later that evening.

This band came in, and they were off their face and they were all boys. I was on the couch and they started jumping on the couch where I was sleeping. [Musicians name redacted] was on a different couch. One of them was like, "I'm going to sleep with you honey," and put his hand on me...I already felt unsafe before I went to sleep. I got woken up by strange men who were high. I don't know what they were on and then made an advance at me [sic]. I immediately went into, 'I'm not safe mode,' and it triggered post-traumatic stress from when I was younger. That whole situation; my manager knew - I had told him that I had post-traumatic stress from things (Mariella, personal communication 08/06/18)⁶².

This account is important because it features several negative consequences that were a direct result of Mariella's requests being ignored. The first of these was that she was the victim of an unwanted sexual approach. It is unclear from her testimony whether the nature of the physical contact constituted actual sexual assault; however her lack of consent is evident (see NSW Government 2019a Sect 61I, Sect 61H, Sect 61HA). The reader should note that the sexual harassment and sexual coercion of participants will be discussed briefly in Chapter 5, but in depth in Chapters 6 and 7. Secondly, Mariella felt that her manager's insistence on accommodation choices had put her in personal danger. Thirdly, the events in this episode caused Mariella to be triggered from

⁶² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 403A.

her past (unspecified) trauma. She subsequently described the aftermath of that episode.

It was really sucky and then I think I just got so depressed for a bit...depressed which keeps working but it really, really affected my confidence...it really affected my, I guess, mental health more than anything...no one stuck up for me, everyone was just like, "Oh that's awkward."...Then I left and I was like trembling and luckily, [musician's name redacted] was there because he just like handled the hotel situation. When I got in that hotel, I just had a full on crying [sic] in the bathroom...(Mariella, personal communication 8/6/18)⁶³.

While her narrative appears to conflate an episode of depression with an immediate reaction (crying in the bathroom), the latter is known to be an immediate stress response (The American Institute For Stress 2018). Notably however, this account points to the debilitating impact that included deleterious mental health effects that lasted for some time, in addition to a loss of confidence. Similar to Maria Jose, Mariella's shattered assumptions caused her to question aspects of her sanity. Significantly, the existence of childhood trauma is known to be a risk factor in the severity of post episode impact and PTSD as an adult (American Psychiatric Association 2013; Figley 2014). This is of particular importance for the music industries, because some researchers have suggested that there is an association between early childhood trauma and increased creativity (Feldman 1999; Rhodes 1990).

Approximately 23% of all interview participants for this research mentioned experiences of early trauma in their narratives. Although the size of the qualitative sample here is too small for normative comparison, and is also very

⁶³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 403B.

likely to be skewed owing to the specificity of the call for participants, the prevalence of early trauma in this research sample is more than twice the expected lifetime prevalence of PTSD (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Consequently, leaders, managers, artists and all other music industry workers need to be aware that there is a possibility that colleagues may be triggered as a consequence of workplace harassment more readily than in the normal workforce.

Some participants attempted to explain the impact of workplace harassment on self-belief in terms of notions of identity. One participant suggested that those who work in creative industries were particularly vulnerable in matters of identity and self-worth.

Because it's passion...I've got friends who are photographers, painters, their identity is wrapped up in it as well, and I think that's where it's slightly different to other forms of work sometimes (Margarita, personal communication 02/07/18)⁶⁴.

Margarita's contention was echoed by another participant who opined that "artists are sensitive by nature" and that negative experiences or behaviours are "therefore a lot more damaging to [them], than they might be to somebody who's Mister Rough and Tumble" (Martin, personal communication 31/01/2020)⁶⁵. These assertions are largely unsupported by substantive studies, although one Australian study noted that entertainment industry workers had a "passion for [the] work" and noted the link between identity and work for performing artists (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, pp. 4,25,6). Quigg has noted that the arts industry is not in fact a unique and special industry, but

⁶⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 404.

⁶⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 405.

those who work in the sector see themselves as being different (2016, p. 231). This debate notwithstanding, Marcos referred to his need to reconstruct his identity following workplace harassment.

Once you believe something; especially start to believe lies about yourself, it's...almost like [it] digs a furrow in your brain. But it's actually when the clay is set. It takes an enormous amount of effort and self-care and self-work to go through the process of digging that stuff up and actually writing a new narrative and forming a new belief system that's actually accurate about yourself (personal communication 17/09/18)⁶⁶.

The issue of identity was also embedded in Maria Jose's account, where she again linked the shattering of her self-confidence to workplace harassment.

Your area of genius is things that come naturally to you. For me that's performing...this is why I think it's just had such a profound effect on me...you're doing what you love and what you've worked hard at, but you're around people that are saying otherwise. Then that makes you question yourself and then that whole cycle of anxiety. That's why it's not okay because I'm trying to get my confidence back (personal communication 03/04/19)⁶⁷.

This account is similar to accounts 404 and 406 in the links made between the impact of workplace harassment, loss of self-worth and sense of identity. This is particularly so in this case and in account 404, where identity was associated with artistic or musical activities.

Shattered assumptions about others: people in the music industry

Another phenomenon frequently reported in participant testimony was a persistent loss of belief about the general goodness or benevolence of others.

⁶⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 406.

⁶⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 600K.

Participants reporting this kind of shattered assumption had commonly lost belief in the goodness of people in the music industry, and primarily, those who had perpetrated workplace harassment. One form of this kind of shattered assumption can be seen in the following recollection.

Now, post-tour has left me with a range of emotions. I made observations and noticed that people were capable of changing their language, but only around people who they thought it was in their best interests to be on their best behaviour. This shows they have zero respect for me and that they are capable of change (Maria Jose personal communication 3/4/19)⁶⁸.

This form of shattered assumptions was in this case exacerbated by a realisation that the harassment was intentionally targeted. The severity of symptoms following adverse life events is known to be greater if the adverse events are interpersonal and intentional (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 275; Solomon, Lancu & Tyano 1997). Another example of where beliefs about the beneficence of others were lost can be seen in the following recollection that described an incident of harassment involving a sound engineer at a high profile showcase event. The perpetrator (a sound engineer) undermined her performance by technically sabotaging the sound of her loop pedal⁶⁹ through the front of house PA⁷⁰ (Milenia, personal communication 27/6/18).

Milena: *...it was at the start of my like downward sort of time with everything, it was just really hard and it just makes you not trust the people.*

Interviewer: *...how long does that mistrust last - to this day?*

Milena: *Yes, totally, I'm a very anxious person anyway, I'm like a perfectionist, I like to make sure everything works, and everything's fine,*

⁶⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 600L.

⁶⁹ A loop pedal is an audio sampling device with a foot switch that enables an artist to quickly create repeating layers of rhythms and textures that support a live performance.

⁷⁰ The Front of House PA is the sound system that is directed towards the audience.

and everything's how it needs to be, but yes, I haven't used my loop pedal again (personal communication 27/6/18)⁷¹.

The significance of this account lies not only in the imputation of loss of trust from the actual episode, but also in the long lasting nature of the impact. It is also evident that the after effects of this kind of shattered assumption mean that mistrust can be extrapolated from one specific individual to apply to a larger group of others. This account is also notable because the episode of workplace harassment coincided with the beginning of a period of depression. It is unclear whether the episode itself caused her “downward slide”, exacerbated it, or was simply proximal, however she conceded a pre-existing tendency towards anxiety.

One participant spoke about developing a cautionary state of mind over time when it came to trusting others. This recollection was made in connection with a long history of workplace harassment from a variety of music industry persons.

Back in the day, I would've been really open to collaborate and to have ensembles and to be trusting of just blow in people or whatever. As I've gotten older, I'm way more wary about trusting my money, my credit cards, where I would stay, all of those things. They need to be highly controlled so I can feel safe (Mariquita, personal communication 31/05/18)⁷².

A similar impact on the ability to trust others was reported by a female artist who had experienced sexual harassment early in her career. The harassment was perpetrated by a powerful industry figure during discussions about a recording

⁷¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 407.

⁷² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 408.

deal⁷³. As a part of her recollection of that episode, she also described a long-lasting inhibitory effect on her ability to trust.

I think that was my first introduction into the industry and I think set... it's really hard to trust people. It's really hard to trust people's motives that you're not going to get screwed over, that they're actually in it because they like your music or they like you, or, I don't know (Marianne personal communication 21/6/18)⁷⁴.

This reflection followed an account of sexual coercion, which will be examined in detail in Chapter 7⁷⁵. The juxtaposition strongly suggests an association between the aversive interactions and loss of belief about the goodness of music industry people generally.

In addition to long-term or persistent changes to the assumption of goodness in others, one participant noted how this particular after effect impinged on their social interactions outside of the music industry.

I didn't realise that the residue of those experiences, as well as the guardedness as well as the over-sensitivity in my heart, as well as some of my scepticism, as well as some of my trust issues, would carry on into future relationships for the next 10 years (Marcos, personal communication 17/9/18)⁷⁶.

Notably, this reflection further demonstrates (along with accounts 407-409) the way that workplace harassment induced shattered assumptions that became extrapolated beyond perpetrators and then generalised. Thus, the phenomenon of shattered assumptions about the goodness of others can be regarded as

⁷³ Marianne alleges that after hours communication she received during this episode included such texts as, “You don't know what you're missing. I've got the biggest...cock you've ever seen. No one will give it to you the way I give it to you...” (Marianne, personal communication 21/6/18).

⁷⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 409.

⁷⁵ Account 729.

⁷⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 410.

contributing to “impaired functionality...across social, interpersonal...and occupational domains” (American Psychiatric Association 2013, pp. 278, 9).

Shattered assumptions about the music industries as a whole

Some participants also described the ways in which their early held beliefs about the music industry had been affected by harassment. The following recollection exemplifies this phenomenon. Mariella experienced workplace harassment from older male colleagues in the form of exclusion and humiliation during a song writing session. A witness who observed the interactions was, according to Mariella, someone who had been in the music industry for many years (personal communication 08/06/18). She recounted those moments where the witness took her aside and commented on the interactions and on the ‘real nature’ of the industry.

He's like...“Getting to know you I think you're very charismatic and you're very strong willed woman.”...“Unfortunately, this industry doesn't work like that...Do you think Gaga got where she is by being honest?” I said, “I don't know. I don't know.” He's like, “Well, if you want to make it somewhere in this industry, you're going to have to change... If you're perceived as difficult to work with, whether it's true or not, those people that you just met are going to make life really difficult for you. They've been talking about you all afternoon and what they're going to do to make life difficult for you.” Now, I start crying and he's like, “Don't cry, you know now. You need to change, you need to be quiet and submissive in that room. You need to not say a word and make them think that their dreams can come true.” I was just crying and he's like, “Literally, that's how any woman I know has made it in this industry is they've manipulated those idiots” (Mariella, personal communication 08/06/18)⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 411, but sections of it will also be cited later in Chapter 7, in accounts 722A and 722B.

This account makes clear the nature of her shattered assumptions. It is likely her emotional distress was partially tied to the recent nature of the actual workplace harassment⁷⁸; however her testimony was focused on the moment where her pre-existing beliefs were challenged: specifically, the music industry as a workplace for women was not what she thought it was. This account also serves to demonstrate a way in which the gender-based discrimination can be normalised in the music industries, as previously discussed in Chapter 1 (see also Cialdini & Trost 1998; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018; Pinto 2014). Note: gender discrimination in the music industry will also be discussed further in Chapter 6.

A similar example was apparent in the following recollection. Luciana described (earlier in her testimony) a specific incident of sexual harassment that had occurred some years previously and where she had refused the sexual advances of a powerful industry figure⁷⁹. As will be evident in Chapter 7, refusing the advances of her perpetrator negatively impacted her livelihood and the trajectory of the remainder of her career. What follows is an account not only of the full consequences of her refusal to acquiesce but also of the extent to which her pre-existing beliefs about the way the industry worked were profoundly challenged.

I've spent the bulk of my career chasing something that I was never going to be able to obtain and it had nothing to do with my abilities. I can't put into words yet...what that's done to me, I can't...I'm struggling not to burst into tears. Not out of sadness, but I'm still in shock I think...I've always carried a

⁷⁸ See accounts 722A and 722B.

⁷⁹ See accounts 749A and 749B.

few scars, but then to find that out last week, to really genuinely understand that you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't, and there's not a fucking thing you can do about it, produces a sense of powerlessness that I can't begin to articulate at this point...when you find out that you've tried to do the right thing-- but you try and do the right thing and you're following the advice of those people you respect and admire and understand that they have the knowledge, and regardless of all of that, nothing you actually did was ever going to work. I think that's the hard part to swallow, that it was never going to happen regardless. I could have worked 27 hours a day, my whole life and it still wasn't going to happen...

When I found out this information last week, it was like a bomb went off inside of me, it really was. I actually felt something go. I had a quite palpable physical reaction to the information (personal communication 11/12/18)⁸⁰.

It is important to note that she only discovered the full ramifications of this incident in the week immediately prior to interview. Both the recent time frame of her discovery and the nature of the confrontation to her beliefs can all account for the severity of her reaction to the news, including physical symptoms approaching shock. This account demonstrates both the nature of her previous assumptions (i.e. that she could progress through the music industry on the basis of merit, ability and hard work) in addition to the extent to which her beliefs had been undermined by the harassment.

The physical as well as psychological harm that comes from the shattering of assumptions as a result of workplace harassment can be severe. Although an analysis of physical symptoms is not under discussion here, the following recollection describes the consequences of a long episode of workplace harassment that led to a breakdown, panic attacks, the inability to work for several months and eventual interstate relocation to be away from his

⁸⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 412.

perpetrator (Manuel, personal communication 15/11/18). Notably this account shows that workplace harassment affected beliefs not just about the music industry, but also about those who lead the industry.

The only one that's screaming right now is Debra Byrne⁸¹. She's the only one that I've seen publicly point at people and say out loud what happened to her and say publicly who it was. Which tells you a lot about the level of fear still there, and it still has to be going on to a certain extent in the third party industry. It's shocking when you're a young 23 year old in a band that's just been signed, you think you've just gotten a step closer to your dream and your dropped into that world, it's shocking. It is just devastating because suddenly they're confronted with this sort of behaviour by people that you really want to trust. You really want to trust these people, and because you think that they're there to help you, get your art out and everything. Suddenly you realise that they're not there to do that at all. They're there for very, very different reasons (Manuel, personal communication 15/11/18)⁸².

This account is important not only because of its similarity to account 412, but also because it articulates the nature of the hopes and beliefs held by a young artist entering the industry. The belief that industry leaders are trustworthy and that the industry is structured to help the artist are doubtless held by many pre-career artists and may well be perpetuated by industry media and by such events as music award ceremonies. His experience of workplace harassment shattered both of these beliefs. This account is also important because it sheds light on the failure of victims to report or openly discuss their experiences. This account supports findings from three studies previously cited in Chapters 1-3, namely: the FEU study (2013), the UK Musicians Union study into harassment (Perraudin 2019), and the MEAA bullying and harassment study (2017). An

⁸¹ Debra Byrne has alleged that she was sexually assaulted on a film set while making a TV commercial with Young Talent Time star Johnny Young. <https://www.news.com.au/national/debra-byrne-young-talent-time-star-posts-public-plea-for-witnesses-to-sexual-assault-on-the-set/news-story/95cfa55337cbe428bae458ee6fb17e90> (accessed 7/5/19)

⁸² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 413.

important question that arises from account 413 concerns what it is that music industry workplace harassment victims are afraid of, and why they keep silent. This question will be in part addressed in Chapter 7. The following reflection is similar to account 413 and is important because Morella also recalled the nature of the beliefs she held about the music industry in her early years of working in it.

I went straight into the scene and I was really innocent and didn't believe anything. I was always really positive about everyone... In mind, I was like, "Yes, there's no way they would think of that or they would do that..."

One, in particular, was a drummer and he was really nice to me... Whenever they had artists come in or really good musicians from overseas...he'd always introduce me and I was really honoured. I was like, "This is incredible, I have a mentor that's showing me" (personal communication 2/11/18)⁸³.

However, what Morella understood to be a mentoring relationship was in fact something quite different as is evident from the next part of her testimony.

He'd start messaging me quite a bit like late at night. Those messages at first would be very innocent and just be like, "He's just being friendly or he's being nice..." He would keep asking me if I had a boyfriend, if I was seeing anyone, and then when I would say no, he'd be like, "That's really good. We should hang out more" (personal communication 2/11/18)⁸⁴.

Later in her testimony Morella described how she severed the relationship when she became aware that the older musician was not genuine in seeking to mentor her (personal communication 2/11/18). These accounts point to the notion that the ability to trust is an important aspect in decision-making. Although in account 413 Manuel spoke about the industry in general terms, those general observations were proximal to the realisation that he could not

⁸³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 414A.

⁸⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 414B.

trust specific individuals in the industry. Both accounts 413 and 414 suggest a mechanism that may be at work where beliefs about the music industry as a whole are shattered as a direct consequence of breaches of trust on the part of senior industry figures. A single incidence of workplace harassment will conceivably lead to a victim experiencing shattered assumptions about an individual perpetrator; however multiple episodes of workplace harassment over time or repeated breaches of trust could serve to affect an individual's beliefs about the industry more broadly, and lead to a generalised mistrust of any music industry person. The following excerpt exemplifies just such a generalised lack of trust.

This is the thing, right? So, I'm releasing my album, and I think, "Who will I tour it with?" Trust issues around who you'd make a band with. As you know, a touring schedule involves you're intimate with people over long hours in trying conditions and all of that. I'm 100% certain that it's taken me to when I'm 40 to about to release something, and then to be really controlled about why I'm a music producer as well, because then I've got autonomy over exactly everything (Mariquita, personal communication 31/05/18)⁸⁵.

Mariquita's 9-year music career was varied, and she had been engaged in multiple roles in a variety of contexts. Throughout her testimony she reported experiencing different types of workplace harassment from many unrelated perpetrators (personal communication 31/05/18). Her generalised lack of trust in music industry people is clearly evident.

Although measuring trust is thought to be problematic (Sapienza, Toldra-Simats & Zingales 2013), it has been variously described as a belief (Gambetta 2000;

⁸⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 415.

Wang & Vassileva 2003) as well as a dynamic set of social interactions (Flores & Solomon 1998). Notwithstanding this discourse there is a widespread acceptance of the importance of trust at the interpersonal level (Larzelere & Huston 1980) and at the societal level (Fukuyama 1995) for effective social and business function (Bachmann, Gillespie & Priem 2015). Further, breaches of trust have been associated with workplace harassment (Savolainen, Lopez-Fresno & Ikonen 2014). A defining attribute of Mariquita's shattered assumptions, along with those in accounts 413 and 414, is the loss of trust that has been generalised as a consequence of the repeated poor behaviour of individuals that becomes extrapolated to the music industry as a whole.

Shattered assumptions about personal safety

Workplace harassment caused the shattering of assumptions about participants' physical safety. Chapter 5 will examine testimony from Laurita describing a physical assault on her by a patron⁸⁶. Consequently, and as seen earlier in this chapter, she developed an ongoing fearfulness about a re-occurrence of that type of incident. A number of other participants also described how belief in their personal safety had been altered in the aftermath of workplace harassment. This kind of shattered assumption is evident in the following recollection from a musician who has had a long career in live music.

I was shaken after that...I went back and spoke to my wife about it the next day and I got very upset about it and I said what I'm scared about the most of that is that I'm one guy at the venue. I'm tall but I cannot and have never been involved in fights (Maxwell, personal communication 20/07/18)⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ See Account 512.

⁸⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 416.

Although Maxwell was describing the aftermath of a single incident of workplace harassment⁸⁸, his testimony also included stories describing how he or friends in the industry experienced workplace harassment weekly from audience members (personal communication 20/07/19). Thus the single incident that formed the catalyst for these recollections above should be seen in the context of an accumulation of workplace harassment. One consequence of workplace harassment was to shatter beliefs about his personal safety and to bring into focus the possibility that his working environment constituted a potential physical threat. A similar example of this awareness of imminent physical threat is evident in the following account.

There's about 5 to 10 guys who I know, just like total creeps, and I see them a lot, and I ignore them. They're there, and I can't control them. They're going to be there-- I'm not going to not play the gig just because I don't want to see them, but if they're there, I might have a few people around me who I feel safe with, so they can block any kind of-- You know what I mean? (Mariquita, personal communication 31/05/18)⁸⁹

This account is notable not just for her current belief about personal safety at gigs, but also her response to that belief: the development of a strategy in advance as a means to manage that threat. Thus it is possible to infer that Mariquita's beliefs about personal safety are a response to past negative experiences. A similar threat bias in response (see Bryant & Harvey 1997; Fani et al. 2012) as a signifier of shattered assumptions can also be seen in the following account.

When there's really weird people that message me on Instagram like some obsessive fans you're like...

⁸⁸ This incident involved the apprehension of imminent physical violence.

⁸⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 417.

You just have to be careful. When you're a songwriter and you're inviting people into your world through...people feel like they really know you. They don't realise that they don't but when you're not at the stage where you're safe yet, you don't have necessarily people with you all the time to make sure that you're safe...

Sometimes I will pretend if someone is being weird to me, I will go to the venue manager and be like, "Can you come with me to my car while I'm loading out? Can you stay with me?" (Milenia, personal communication 27/06/18)⁹⁰

In a similar way to Mariquita, Milenia has developed a strategy in response to what she regards as a regular threat to her safety. Notably, Milenia also conceded that she enlists the help of a venue manager on the pretence of a threat as opposed to an actual one. Both accounts make clear that these artists regard their working environment as hazardous. Mariquita used the term “total creeps” to label individuals who were perceived as a threat, and Milenia referred to “obsessive fans” and “weird people” along similar lines but was also able to specify at what point during the gig her peril was greatest.

A similar example to accounts 417 and 418 can be found in Luciana’s testimony about how her beliefs about personal safety were altered by a negative experience that subsequently changed her behaviour. She related an incident of physical and sexual assault that happened to a work colleague in a car park following her work at a gig⁹¹. Although not a witness to the incident, Luciana was involved in the aftermath, because she visited her colleague in hospital following the assault.

What you do is you'd sort of try and make sure that someone you knew was hanging around some of the time. It didn't look like you were on your

⁹⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 418.

⁹¹ See Account 536.

own. After what happened to [redacted: a colleague who was raped] and some other things that happened at the time, I would always try and get someone to walk me to my car. There were people that wouldn't want to do that because they felt like that made them look weak. I basically was never like that – fuck I don't want to be bashed (personal communication 11/12/18)⁹².

Although Luciana was not the victim in this instance, her prior assumptions about her personal safety were challenged by the assault on her colleague, along with unspecified “other things that happened”, and these caused a change to her behaviour. It is known that psychological impact from trauma can occur in those who not only witness traumatic events, but also in those who hear about trauma occurring to friends and colleagues (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Although her colleagues did not feel the same need to take similar precautions, it is likely that when Luciana came face-to-face with the severity of her colleague's injuries (personal communication 11/12/18), this would have had a significant impact on her, much like being a witness to the actual attack.

Another similar account is also noteworthy for the severe nature of the shattered assumptions about personal safety that resulted.

Interviewer: *You said that it brought you to the point of emotional collapse.*

Margarita: *I had a nervous breakdown, no doubt about it, yes.*

Interviewer: *How did that manifest?*

Margarita: *Hair falling out, constant shaking, massive weight loss. Paranoid, petrified that his powerful connections in this town are going to kill me. I thought he was going to kill me.*

Interviewer: *You felt in fear of your life?*

⁹² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 419.

Margarita: *Absolutely in fear of my life. I thought I was a dead woman walking* (personal communication 02/07/18)⁹³.

Margarita had earlier described an extensive period of harassment that initially amounted to insulting and offensive remarks and having her opinions and views ignored; however this escalated to the threat of physical violence (personal communication, 02/07/18). Her perpetrator was a work colleague who later became an intimate partner while they were still working together and as the relationship progressed she also described uncovering a pattern of drug and alcohol abuse by him (personal communication 2/7/18). A precise contextualisation of the “powerful connections” she referred to must be redacted from this discussion; however the nature of the threat should not be underestimated. This account demonstrates exactly how severe and damaging the effects of shattered assumptions about personal safety can be.

In elucidating a theory of shattered assumptions, Janoff-Bulman also developed the World Assumptions Scale (WAS) (1992). The WAS has been the subject of much debate but has also recently been found to demonstrate structural validity (van Bruggen et al. 2018). One of the subscales of the WAS is associated with the assumption of personal safety, and measures an individual’s belief in their personal invulnerability. Others have observed the general tendency to underestimate personal vulnerability to accident, harm and other kinds of misfortune (Marshall 1992; Turner & Gelles 2012). The shattering of assumptions around personal safety recorded in this present research is consistent with this tendency. Furthermore the severity of after effects for some

⁹³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 420.

participants is also consistent with what is understood about the consequences experienced by victims of threats of violence; such threats are well known to have damaging psychosocial impact and to cause significant changes in behaviour (American Psychiatric Association 2013).

Categories of shattered assumptions

The range of shattered assumptions reported in this research was broad. Participants described self-doubt, loss of self-confidence, loss of self-belief, the questioning of one's own sanity, sudden panic attacks, self-harm and impact on identity. Participants also reported other serious consequences including episodes of depression and triggering from past trauma. Participants reported a loss of belief in the goodness of people in the music industry as well as in the beneficence of the industry taken as a whole, including a loss of belief in their personal safety at gigs. On the basis of the terms and expressions used by participants in describing both the aftermath of workplace harassment and their attempts to explain it, the shattered assumptions of participants in this research therefore fell into four distinct groups:

- Changes to beliefs about the music industry.
- Changes to beliefs about themselves, their abilities and their sense of self-worth.
- Changes to beliefs about other people.
- Changes to beliefs about personal safety.

Consequently this discussion turns to a classification and contextualisation of these four kinds of shattered assumptions.

CLASSIFYING HARM CAUSED BY WORKPLACE HARASSMENT

As noted earlier, workplace harassment has been found to be associated with reduced well-being and a range of negative repercussions. Some researchers have further contended that symptoms of workplace harassment are similar to some symptoms of PTSD (Keashly & Neuman 2004). PTSD is defined as a cluster of symptoms occurring as a consequence of “exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury or sexual violence” either directly or indirectly by witnessing it in others or by hearing about its occurrence in a close friend or relative (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 271). The threat of death, injury and sexual violence is well within the ambit of workplace harassment (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009). One study investigating 183 victims of workplace bullying found that symptoms of PTSD were common amongst the victim group (Rodriguez-Munoz et al. 2010). Other studies have found symptoms of PTSD in workplace harassment victims (Nielsen & Einarsen 2012), with one study finding PTSD in 29% of Danish victims of bullying (Mikkelsen & Einarsen 2002). A recent meta analysis study found that symptoms of PTSD have been reported by up to 57% of workplace harassment victims (Nielsen, Tangen, et al. 2015). The prevalence of PTSD in workplace harassment victims is therefore much higher than PTSD in the general population, where the projected lifetime risk (to age 75) for US adults is 8.7% with a 12 month prevalence of about 3.5% (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 276). The prevalence of PTSD is higher among women, and has a longer duration, features that are thought to be due to increased risk factors that

include a greater chance of experiencing sexual and/or other forms of interpersonal violence (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 278). There are four categories of PTSD symptoms in adults, with specific descriptors set forth in Table 4.1 below.

PTSD CATEGORY	EXAMPLES
Intrusion	Anxiety, prolonged distress, flashbacks, involuntary recurring memory, recurring dreams, a marked physical reaction in response to a trigger.
Avoidance of stimuli that might be associated with the traumatic event	Stimuli can include memories, thoughts and feelings and/or external reminders of such as people, places or situations. Avoidance can be either changes of behaviour, numbing or withdrawal.
Negative alterations of thinking or of mood	Detachment and/or estrangement from others, loss of ability to experience positive emotions, memory loss around trauma events, persistent negative beliefs about self and others and the world (or shattered assumptions), victim blame and/or blaming others, persistent negative emotions such as fear or anger, and reduced participation in usual activities
Alteration in reactivity	Anger, irritability, inability to concentrate, hyper-vigilance, reckless or self destructive behaviour, sleeping problems and/or exaggerated startle reaction.

Table 4.1 Categories and examples of behaviour symptomatic of PTSD (after American Psychiatric Association 2013)

A diagnosis of PTSD can made if an individual displays one or more symptoms from each of the above categories, and as previously noted, with a duration of the disturbances exceeding one month along with evidence of “significant distress or impairment in social, occupational or other important areas of functioning” (2013, pp. 271,2). Although this study does not, nor cannot offer diagnoses of PTSD, participants’ accounts describe many of the symptoms of PTSD. Specifically, the descriptions of their shattered assumptions appear to fall into the third category of *negative alterations* to thinking.

Shattered assumptions as a negative alteration from PTSD

As noted earlier, SAT (Janoff-Bulman 1989, 1992, 2010) posits that sufferers of PTSD have experienced a serious dissonance with their overarching beliefs.

These overarching beliefs include assumptions that:

- The world is generally benevolent
- Other people are generally benevolent
- I am essentially worthy as a person
- I am generally safe from harm (Janoff-Bulman 2010)

Traumatic events may shatter these four kinds of assumptions, which are derived from the WAS (2013, pp. 271,2). Additional support has been found for applying SAT in the field of workplace harassment (Chung & Freh 2019; Park, Mills & Edmondson 2012; Schuler & Boals 2016; Solomon, Iancu & Tyano 1997). There is mounting evidence that victims of harassment “hold more negative world assumptions with respect to benevolence of the world” as well as to beliefs about their own self-worth as a consequence of their experiences (Mikkelsen & Einarsen 2002; Rodriguez-Munoz et al. 2010; Tonkin & Whiting 2019). As also noted earlier, the interpersonal and intentional factors inherent in workplace harassment are known to increase the severity and duration of PTSD symptoms (American Psychiatric Association 2013; Einarsen & Mikkelsen 2002; Leymann 1990; Matthiesen & Einarsen 2001; Mordukhovich et al. 2019; Niedhammer, David & Degioanni 2006).

On this basis it is possible to observe a direct relationship between participant reports of shattered assumptions and corresponding overarching beliefs that are described in SAT. This can be seen below in Table 4.2.

PARTICIPANT RESPONSES	OVERARCHING BELIEFS
Changes to beliefs about the music industry	The world is generally benevolent
Changes to beliefs about themselves, their abilities and their sense of self-worth.	I am essentially worthy as a person
Changes to beliefs about other people	Other people are generally benevolent
Changes to beliefs about personal safety	I am generally safe from harm

Table 4.2 Correspondence between participant responses and Shattered Assumptions Theory (after Janoff-Bulman 2010)

The reports of participants in this research are consistent with SAT, in that the experience of workplace harassment has caused the destruction of these overarching beliefs. On the strength of this relationship between participants' experiences and SAT, all responses from participants that described the aftermath of workplace harassment were coded to explore whether there was a similar relationship to the four PTSD categories and their specific descriptors (see Table 4.1). Whenever a participant described or referred to a *flashback* (for example) this was coded as an incident of *intrusion*. In the same way, a report of an *inability to concentrate* was coded as an incident of *reactivity*. The result of this mapping appears below in Figure 4.1a and Figure 4.1b. The intention of this diagram is to visualise not only the breadth and complexity of PTSD-like phenomena reported by participants, but also the frequency with which they were mentioned during the interviews. Given that the discussion in this chapter is confined largely to testimony of shattered assumptions and the avoidance of or self-removal from the music industry, this data has been presented in a single diagram. Although clusters of phenomena are apparent in Figure 4.1, caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions without a rigorous statistical analysis of associations, the type of which is not undertaken here.

Figure 4.1a. Key to PTSD Response Diagram

PTSD/ STRESS	
PTSD general	
Stress - immediate	!
Stress - chronic	◆
Shock	S
Suicide	◆
Threat bias	T
INTRUSION	
Anxiety	A
Distress	O
Flashbacks	#
Recurring memory	>
Recurring dreams	<
Triggering physical	*

AVOIDANCE	
Changes of behaviour	C
Numbing	N
Withdrawal	W
NEGATIVE ALTERATIONS	
Detachment/estrangement	D
Loss of positive emotions	★
Memory loss	m
Persistent negative emotions	&
Reduced participation	\$
Shattered assumptions	X
Victim/others blame	VB

REACTIVITY	
Anger/irritability	@
Can't concentrate	©
Hypervigilance	H
Self destructive behaviour	●
Sleeping problems	Z
Startle reaction	=

Other responses to harassment

Participants reported a large range of responses to harassment apart from shattered assumptions. For example, there were four separate participant reports of friends or associates who had died by suicide as a consequence of their experiences working in music. This data point is sobering, and was the most severe response recorded. An example of this can be seen from a comment left by one respondent below.

Oh my God, so many stories. There's one guy in hard-core band [name of band redacted] who abused one of my best friends over the entire course of their relationship. Said friend had complex PTSD from the experience and committed suicide last year (ID: 8949026, personal communication 05/07/2018)⁹⁴.

The seriousness of such reports cannot be underestimated; however interrogating them in further depth raises ethical and human resource questions for this present study. That limitation notwithstanding, the association of suicide ideation with workplace harassment has been found in other studies cited earlier. In particular, high rates of suicide ideation have already been found within some sectors of the Australian entertainment industry (Van den Eynde, Fisher & Sonn 2015a, 2015b). There were also less severe responses including those from participants who reported that they sought professional help of some kind following their experiences of harassment. One example of this can be seen in the following account.

⁹⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 421.

Well I had EMDR therapy⁹⁵ for that. I think I've done a lot of processing. That relationship had a massive impact on my mental health, definitely (Margarita, personal communication 02/07/18)⁹⁶.

The testimonies of twelve participants revealed that they had displayed PTSD disturbances for at least one month (shaded in figure 4.1b). Figure 4.1b shows a clustering of these twelve participants with comparatively increased reporting of immediate stress and chronic stress, as well as comparatively increased reporting of different types of negative alterations in addition to different types of behavioural reactivity.

THE LOSS OF PEOPLE FROM THE MUSIC INDUSTRIES

Questions of self-worth, self-confidence and belief in the safety of the working environment of a chosen vocation undoubtedly impact the way important decisions and choices concerning career and future endeavours are made. Although shattered assumptions were reported more than any other negative impact, there were two other significant ways in which participants experienced long lasting after effects from harassment. The first of these was a negative alteration to thinking or mood that meant that a participant was subsequently unable to participate fully in previously normal or usual activities: termed *reduced participation* (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 273). The second of these was the persistent *avoidance* of activities, places, people, conversations or interpersonal situations that might arouse recollections of harassment (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 273), or might lead

⁹⁵ EMDR stands for Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing, which is a form of psychological therapy used for processing trauma (<https://www.emdr.com/what-is-emdr/> accessed 20/07/20).

⁹⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 422.

directly to a repetition of a harassment event. To clarify, for many participants, the impact of workplace harassment was a reduced participation in music or an avoidance of certain aspects of their music work that amounted to removal or recusal from the music industry.

Reduced participation manifested in participant testimony in different ways, as can be seen in the following two recollections.

For about a period of six to 12 months I started to hate things that I used to love and it wasn't just a bad day, a bad week, or a bad month, they were consecutively getting worse (Marcos, personal communication 17/09/18)⁹⁷.

The nature of this testimony should be seen in the larger context of Marcos's description of his trajectory as a musician. It is important because it illustrates the nature of the change in Marcos's thinking about his music work, and his growing aversion to what was formerly a passion and vocation. Conversely, the following recollection shows a different way that reduced participation was described.

I'm having trouble song writing. I'm having trouble believing in myself...I'm questioning my own abilities now. I'm writing these songs, trying to-- I haven't even said yes to a gig. I'm like, "I haven't played drums for a year. Am I good enough?" (Maria Jose, personal communication 03/04/19)⁹⁸

Notably, this account demonstrates the immediate connection between the workplace harassment, her shattered assumptions of self-worth and a consequent reduced participation in her normal or usual activities. It is also important because it shows that reduced participation sometimes occurs as a product of self-removal on the part of the workplace harassment victim.

⁹⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 423.

⁹⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 600M.

A more straightforward form of self-removal from the industry that was reported can be categorised as *avoidance*, an example of which can be found in the following recollection.

I refused the National PR Manager's request to ask a significant international artist to take off her top for a music magazine's cover photo shoot. The CEO later shoved me against a wall at a meet and greet event for the band, telling me never, ever to disobey direction again. I think this was the exact moment that I decided I'd had enough (ID: 80045688, personal communication 14/12/2018)⁹⁹.

This account is similar to account 600K in that it features the loss of an individual's contribution to the music industry, whereas account 600K draws a connection between loss of self-worth and reduced participation. In this account however, respondent 80045688 elected to avoid all future involvement with the industry as a consequence of an act that was not only workplace harassment but also a violent assault (see NSW Government 2019a Sect 61). A similar example of avoidance can be found in a brief comment made by respondent ID: 98986770 who, when asked if they had ever experienced workplace harassment in the form of persistent criticism of their work, commented that "It's why [they] retired" (personal communication 08/11/2018)¹⁰⁰.

Nine female participants reported that they avoided sexual harassment by withdrawing from environments where sexual harassment was prevalent. Note: Chapter 6 will examine reports of social exclusion in the music industry consequent upon sexual harassment and gender discrimination.

⁹⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 424.

¹⁰⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 425.

Notwithstanding that discussion, the following account is an example of avoidance as a coping strategy following sexual harassment.

There's a local gig that I used to do all the time. Then the person who took it over was this guy who [sexually harasses young women] a lot. I'm like so over that shit, that I'm like..."Stop hitting on these young women. You're 30 something, they're 18. That's just foul. Don't use your position as the booker of this venue to get your dick sucked."

I can't do that. I can't be around it. I can't see it. I'm so over that shit...when I'm playing with [a] male musician, it's great because I generally never ever have to experience that...but then solo stuff...

I just find that eventually when I worked for...people with dementia...that paid really well. I didn't have to deal with any of that shit (Merlina, personal communication 3/01/19)¹⁰¹.

While this testimony suggests that Merlina was not personally a victim of the venue booker she described, it is reasonable to infer that she was experiencing a form of vicarious trauma from witnessing other women being harassed (see Cohen & Collens 2013). Additionally, she suggested that as a solo female musician she had at other times been exposed to similar behaviour. This account is notable because Merlina's antipathy towards locations of sexual harassment accords with what is known about the mechanism of avoidance and the aversion to recollections of traumatic events (American Psychiatric Association 2013, p. 273). Her avoidance strategy entailed only accepting bookings to perform for patients dealing with dementia, or who were receiving end of life palliative care (personal communication 3/01/19). Although Merlina did not leave the music industry entirely, she specifically selected a narrow range of performance opportunities in order to quarantine herself from the potential of harassment. Another respondent employed a similar avoidance

¹⁰¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 426.

strategy by selecting a limited range of performance avenues, as is evident in the following comment.

When I was performing regularly in pubs and bars in 2015-2017 I was almost constantly sexually harassed. Pretty much verbal at every performance, physical (unnecessary uninvited hugs & pats) at most performances which usually ended only upon intervention by one of my male band members and once I was digitally raped. Since then, I have either performed [at] a small selection of 'safe' venues or hired venues & managed gigs myself with security. I am relaunching my band as a recording project (virtually nil live performance-just music videos) in 2020 partially in response to the higher level of harassment I have personally experienced. I did consider leaving the industry entirely immediately after the assault but was talked out of it by my band mates (ID: 132865374, personal communication 16/12/19)¹⁰².

This account is notable for the way it specifies a range of avoidance solutions as a response to harassment. The option of voluntarily leaving the industry (her first reaction) is similar to the strategy described in account 424. The following account is a further example of avoidance as a mechanism for voluntary recusal following workplace harassment. This recollection concerned the aftermath of harassment from a music manager.

I literally had every song on the radio. I had all of this momentum going, and then this dude did these wrong things...I feel like if I'd let it happen, it would have actually been easier. That's the part that I'm annoyed at, because I'm like, "Dammit...you should have let abuse happen to you because that would have been easier than not letting it happen to you." I had two label offers at the time and two publishing offers, and... if I signed any of those... I would have to work with him and talk to him and owe him money...I said no to them [cries] (Mariella, personal communication 08/06/18)¹⁰³.

¹⁰² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 427.

¹⁰³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 428.

This testimony is an example of the kind of reasoning involved in an individual deciding to avoid future harassment. It is also important in that it is a graphic account of the significant cost to both the artist and the music industry of workplace harassment. Making this kind of choice to avoid future contact with a harasser not only damages an artist's career, but also causes loss to the music industry in the unrealised economic potential and artistic richness of a successful emerging artist. It is also noteworthy that Mariella was weighing up in hindsight whether it might have been preferable to stay in the abusive situation, an echo of a common circumstance that arises as a form of victim self-blaming in domestic violence situations (see Eigenberg & Garland 2008) and reinforces assertions that workplace bullying and domestic violence share similarities (Quigg 2016). Her testimony also raises the question of how power functions in the music industry, and how it can be used to coerce. As previously noted, this issue will be examined in detail in Chapter 7.

Many participants reported less voluntary forms of reduced participation as a result of workplace harassment. A common cause of reduced participation was physical or psychological breakdown. The following is a succinct recollection of the physiological and psychological symptoms of PTSD that arose from an assault.

I was bashed. This resulted in PTSD and I had to stop doing gigs for a few years till the nervousness was controllable (ID: 102173198, personal communication 14/12/18)¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 429.

A similar impact can be observed in the following recollection from Manuel who had described earlier in his testimony a long period of harassment and abuse from a business partner that culminated in a watershed incident of apprehended violence (personal communication 15/11/18).

That was the trigger to the breakdown. I immediately burst into uncontrollable crying like I've never experienced before. I was shaking, I got up and I was sort of just blindly walking down the room [sic]. I tried to calm myself down, and my breathing is all over the place, everything, and I realised that I was out of control and I couldn't calm [sic]...

I didn't talk to anybody, basically, for about three months. I just went into that breakdown zone, I couldn't manage to answer the phone, I couldn't talk to anybody...When you have a breakdown like that...all of the things that you took for granted about yourself, and the things you're capable of, they all just disappear (personal communication 15/11/18)¹⁰⁵.

Both this account and account 429 are important in that they describe the severity of symptoms that lead to an individual being no longer able to participate in their music work. While account 429 involved a limited time of disengagement from the industry, Manuel had no plans to return to any music work at the time of interview (personal communication 15/11/18). Margarita used a more generalised form of language to describe her physiological and psychological symptoms following her experiences of workplace harassment.

It came through social media as well...he was ringing my workplace. He was harassing me through messenger, through email, every which way he could, and then telling me all this shit about me, my friends, about people I work with...

Yes. I had my second nervous breakdown...[laughs] then instead of working full time; I ended up going three days a week and slowly have

¹⁰⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 430.

worked my way back. Yes. It's been tough (personal communication 2/07/18)¹⁰⁶.

The term nervous breakdown is not a medical term (Hall-Flavin 2019) but is rather a vernacular expression that is commonly used to describe a range of mental health conditions that include PTSD (na 2019). Although Margarita did not provide the same kind of detail as Manuel about her physical and psychological symptoms, another respondent reported in terms similar to Margarita, describing “a frozen shoulder and burn out” and being “placed on Workcover” as a consequence of working to impossible targets or deadlines and with an unmanageable workload (ID: 102258467, personal communication 16/12/2018)¹⁰⁷. Respondent 102258467’s condition could not have been compensable without a medical practitioner certifying the nature of such injuries and their aftermath. A final example of severe distress symptoms following workplace harassment can be found in the following testimony.

I was having a bit of a meltdown. I'm crying and...I was definitely having some sort of breakdown. I don't know what happened after that, but...somehow I managed to pull myself back from that...then that's when it started; me not traveling with him whenever I could, only seeing him if it was his gig or just really limiting my face to face contact with him. I was in protection mode that last year and that mostly worked. It was still full on moments, but I brought myself back from panic attacks (Fernanda, personal communication 31/10/18)¹⁰⁸.

The significance of this account lies in the description of the “breakdown” in terms of a reduced ability to function. In this case Fernanda did not actually disengage from the music industry, although she took specific avoidance action

¹⁰⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 431.

¹⁰⁷ Workcover is a term used to describe insurance payments made to employees following work related injuries as a consequence of mandatory workers compensation insurance schemes, each of which is administered separately by each state jurisdiction in Australia (Williamson & Cloonan 2007).

¹⁰⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 432A.

to remove herself from the proximity of her perpetrator. Her avoidance however, came at great financial cost as can be seen in the following excerpt.

We didn't know how it was going to go, and then it started really blowing up and I'm like, "Wow. He's going to become a multi-millionaire and I'm going to really..."

Actually, I've been out of it for a couple of years...I'm not up with news and I've just been out of it. I'm glad to have my - to be back [laughs] (Fernanda, personal communication 31/10/18)¹⁰⁹

Accounts 429-432 all point to a significant physical toll experienced as a direct result of the stresses induced by harassment on workplace harassment victims in the music industry. The incidences of suicide referred to earlier may subsequently prove to be an extreme form of this phenomenon. Regardless, these reports present evidence that workplace harassment in the music industry leads to serious, deleterious and harmful consequences for those who have been victims. Both sexual harassment and workplace harassment are known to be associated with the intention to resign in organizational contexts (Dionisi, Barling & Dupré 2012; Mathisen, Einarsen & Mykletun 2008; Mueller, De Coster & Estes 2001; Nielsen & Einarsen 2012). It is therefore unsurprising that this present research finds that workplace harassment and sexual harassment result in musicians and music industry workers leaving the industry. This finding supports the claim made by the MU Deputy General Secretary Naomi Pohl that British musicians were leaving the industry because of harassment (Perraudin 2019)¹¹⁰.

The cost of reduced participation and avoidance

¹⁰⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 432B.

¹¹⁰ The claim that UK musicians are leaving the industry because of harassment was made but not substantiated in any interview, report or publication of survey results or methodology.

It is impossible to place an economic value on the loss to the music industry of musicians and music industry workers who have been forced to leave the music industry either temporarily or permanently. Undoubtedly individual participants if pressed would be able to offer estimates of the cost to themselves. For example, Manuel described having to surrender his entire business (personal communication 15/11/18). Fernanda, an artist manager, was more elliptical about the economic cost of losing a potentially multimillionaire client, although artist managers in Australia customarily receive 20% of all sums received by the artist (Simpson & Munro 2006). Doubtless, Mariella had made some sort of calculation concerning her losses as was clearly evident in account 428. Furthermore, it is likely that Maria Jose would be able to quantify the cost of not playing for twelve months at her previous rates of remuneration (account 600K). What is not quantifiable is the economic loss to the industry more broadly when one business closes, or when a musician or artist removes themselves from their field of work. The winner take all structure of the music industry is such that the potential economic consequences of individuals leaving the industry are rarely if ever given consideration more broadly. Fernando explained the economic imperatives succinctly in the following observation.

In the music industry, especially when you're a promoter, it's fundamentally a game of picking winners. Whether you sign an artist and you put out a record, whether you do a tour, or put on a show, or you sign a publishing deal, you're trying to pick winners. You're trying to pick bands that you're going to get more out of them than you put into them (personal communication 13/09/18)¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 433.

Thus the music industry does not provide a climate where there is pause for reflection. The search for winners perforce must proceed apace and those who leave become no longer a part of the calculation of investment and return on investment. Regardless, there are some broader economic losses that can be projected, such as for example in the case of respondent ID: 132865374 (account 426) who largely withdrew from live performances. Given the presumption that she could conceivably have become an artist with a significant fan base, her decision to eschew most live performance venues must mean a consequent loss of potential revenue for venues where she will no longer perform. Those losses would extend more widely to sound engineers and crew who she will now therefore not engage for that work, not to mention other industry workers who derive revenue from live performances such as venue bookers, tour support workers and PR.

There are other tangible costs to the loss of music industry workers through reduced participation and avoidance although these too cannot be readily quantified. One of these has emerged through earlier discussion in this chapter, and concerns the loss to each individual of their hopes and aspirations to participate in the music industry. Another can only emerge from regarding the work of artists, musicians and music industry workers as having cultural value in addition to economic value. Hesmondhalgh has argued for an approach to the cultural industries that synthesises the economic and the political with an understanding of the way that cultural industry products have the power to influence the way we see and know our world (2019). Further, some of the recent discourse in the cultural and creative industries has argued for more

equitable and sustainable economic models (Banks 2018), and has challenged government to contribute public funding to the arts on the basis of cultural value not simply innovative or economic value (Oakley 2009). In this context, it is not difficult to argue that the work of artists, musicians and music industry workers possesses cultural value even if their work is not widely known. When the effect of workplace harassment is to cause music industry practitioners to withdraw from the industry or be forced into a pattern of avoidance, then there is a consequent loss of cultural value, even if the footprint of that practitioner and their work was not large. This research argues that any such loss is deleterious to the cultural life of a nation, and any such loss is one that diminishes the richness and diversity of the ways that we come to know and understand our world.

CONCLUSION

This research finds that music industry practitioners in Australia and New Zealand who have experienced workplace harassment and/or sexual harassment experience harmful after effects from those experiences in the following ways.

- 1) The shattering of core assumptions that lead to a loss of self-worth, self-confidence and a loss of trust in others.
- 2) Reduced participation in normal or usual activities, such as playing, writing or performing music.

- 3) The avoidance of circumstances that trigger traumatic recollection, including avoidance that can lead to self-removal from the music industry.
- 4) The avoidance of circumstances where there is a risk of a repeated form of harassment occurring that can lead to self-removal from the music industry.

This study is not the first to find a range of PTSD-like symptoms in harassment victims; however, the findings of this chapter form several unique contributions to the knowledge. Firstly, this study shows that there is a significant level of ongoing psychological harm borne by the musicians and music industry practitioners of Australia and New Zealand. In some cases, the nature of the harm extends to economic harm in addition to the less tangible personal cost of forgoing a career in music. With a few notable exceptions, the study of popular music has been concerned with economy, systems and structures and has overlooked the very personal impact that is felt at the end point; where those systems and structures collide with individuals. The findings in this chapter go some way to correct that oversight. Secondly, while the recent UK Musicians Union study noted that some of their members left the industry because of harassment, this research is the first to directly attribute PTSD as a mechanism that explains why musicians abandon their careers under those circumstances. Thirdly, while both workplace and sexual harassment have been identified as problems in the creative industries in other research, the findings of this chapter contribute a classification of the mental and personal damage that has not previously been undertaken.

Table 4.3 below sets forth a case-by-case summary of these findings.

ACC	TYPE	HARASSMENT	SUB TYPE	OTHER
400	Shattered Assumptions.	Not specified.	General	
600J	Shattered Assumptions.	Exclusion, Humiliation & Gaslighting.	Self-worth	
600I	Shattered Assumptions.	Exclusion, Humiliation & Gaslighting.	Self-worth	
401	Shattered Assumptions.	Unreasonable work demands & Humiliation.	Self-worth	
518B	Shattered Assumptions.	Physical Assault.	Self-worth	
402	Shattered Assumptions.	Rape.	Self-worth	Depression.
403	Shattered Assumptions.	Sexual Assault.	Self-worth	PTSD, Depression.
404	N/A	N/A.	N/A	
405	N/A	N/A.	N/A	
406	Shattered Assumptions.	Unreasonable work demands/Humiliation.	Self-worth	
600K	Shattered Assumptions.	Exclusion, Humiliation & Gaslighting.	Self-worth	
600L	Shattered Assumptions.	Exclusion, Humiliation & Gaslighting.	Others	
407	Shattered Assumptions.	Sabotage by sound engineer.	Others	Changed performance techniques.
408	Shattered Assumptions.	No single event.	Others	
409	Shattered Assumptions.	Sexual harassment.	Others	
410	Shattered Assumptions.	Unreasonable work demands & Humiliation.	Others	Mistrust generalised.
411	Shattered Assumptions.	Exclusion, Gossip & Rumours.	The Industry	Sexism.
412	Shattered Assumptions.	Sexual harassment.	The Industry	
413	Shattered Assumptions.	Several separate episodes.	The Industry	Panic Attacks.
414	Shattered Assumptions.	Sexual harassment.	The Industry	
415	Shattered Assumptions.	No single event.	The Industry	Mistrust.
416	Shattered Assumptions.	Threat of violence.	Personal Safety	
417	Shattered Assumptions.	Perceived Threat (from fans - not specified).	Personal Safety	
418	Shattered Assumptions.	Perceived Threat (obsessive fans).	Personal Safety	
419	Shattered Assumptions.	Aggravated assault & rape of colleague.	Personal Safety	
420	Shattered Assumptions.	Perceived Threat (from colleague).	Personal Safety	
421	Other harm.	Abuse (not specified).	Complex PTSD	Suicide.
422	Other harm.	Not specified.	Mental Health issues	Therapeutic intervention.
423	Reduced Participation.	Unreasonable work demands & Humiliation.	N/A	
600M	Reduced Participation.	Exclusion, Humiliation & Gaslighting.	N/A	Self-worth.
424	Avoidance.	Physical assault.	Self removal	
425	Avoidance.	Persistent Criticism of Work.	Self removal	
426	Avoidance.	Observing the sexual harassment of other female performers.	Self removal	Alternative music work.
427	Avoidance.	Sexual Harassment, Sexual Assault (Digital Rape).	Self removal	Alternative music work.

ACC	TYPE	HARASSMENT	SUB TYPE	OTHER
428	Avoidance.	Harassment from manager.	Self removal	
429	Reduced Participation.	Violent assault.	Physical Breakdown	PTSD.
430	Reduced Participation.	The apprehension of physical violence.	Physical Breakdown	
431	Reduced Participation.	Generalised harassment, Gossip & Rumours.	Nervous Breakdown	
432	Avoidance.	Unspecified abuse.	Breakdown	Panic Attacks.
433	N/A	N/A.	N/A	

Table 4.3 Shattered assumptions, reduced participation and avoidance by account

Avoidance of music industry environments and reduced participation in the music industry both involve an economic loss to individuals affected. Furthermore, there is a personal and vocational loss to those individuals that cannot be quantified. Finally, the impact of avoidance and reduced participation stifles the musical expression of those affected. Workplace harassment generates a wider cultural loss of the potential musical contributions of affected individuals. This loss cannot be calculated.

In the light of the harm caused to individuals, both personal and professional, and in the light of the cost to the music industry of lost musical contributions, this study now turns to an analysis of the most prominent forms of harassment that were reported, and to a discussion of the social and economic mechanisms and structures at work that allow these phenomena to occur.

CHAPTER 5

PATRONS AS PERPETRATORS

This chapter will examine clusters of toxic behaviours that were directed by patrons at music industry practitioners in the context of live music performances: either during or after gigs. Many participants reported incidents of harassment perpetrated by audience members. Of the 33 interviewees, 19 (58%) described incidents of this nature, whereas 28 online survey respondents (15%) used the open-ended comment box to add detail about patron harassment to their responses. Although the *threat of violence* question recorded one of the lowest incident rates in the sample (>1% weekly or daily, 1.4% monthly, 19.6% now and then), 6 participants reported serious examples of this form of harassment, including a music manager having one audience member “so angry...he threatened to come to my place & kill my family” (ID: 98986770, personal communication 08/11/2018)¹¹² and an artist, who at a wedding gig “was groped by the father of the bride” (ID: 89490268, personal communication 05/07/2018)¹¹³. Another respondent commented that they had been “physically assaulted many time at gigs by drunken punters...[that] people want to climb on stage and get aggressive” (ID: 90673365, personal communication 21/07/2018)¹¹⁴. Likewise, although the prevalence of *intimidating behaviour* overall was 3.5% weekly or daily, 6.9% monthly, 30.4% now and then, four online respondents reported incidents including the following two comments: “invasion of personal space from intoxicated people in a

¹¹² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 500.

¹¹³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 501.

¹¹⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 502.

performance situation” (ID: 88284116, personal communication 19/06/2018)¹¹⁵ and “intoxicated persons continually verbally abusing me and touching the sound equipment” (ID: 90593754, personal communication 20/07/2018)¹¹⁶. Further, 19 online participants used the free text fields in Questions 32 and 33 to describe incidents with patrons that they had experienced personally or knew had happened to a colleague. Patron perpetrated workplace harassment directed at musicians and DJs included:

- 1) Verbal abuse including heckling and the persistent criticism of work.
- 2) Disruption of the performer/audience social conventions
- 3) Threatening and intimidating behaviour, including spontaneous anger.
- 4) Physical assault.

Women working in the music industry were subject to frequent and regular incidents of sexual harassment and sexual assault. Sexual harassment took the form of:

- 1) Unwanted sexual overtures or suggestions.
- 2) Sexually objectifying comments in the form of heckling.

Sexual assault took the form of:

- 1) Unwanted sexual touching.
- 2) Sexual assault while at work amongst audiences.
- 3) Sexual assault after work in the vicinity of the venue.

AUDIENCE MEMBERS PERPETRATING WORKPLACE HARASSMENT

¹¹⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 503.

¹¹⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 504.

Participants who reported incidents of harassment from audience members were primarily artists, performers or musicians. Both of the following recollections are from female musicians.

I almost cannot go to a gig without one of us...being harassed in some form. Most recently...I went to a gig and some guy grabbed me by the crotch. Yeah, like, very forced...somebody who paid to come listen to my music and thought it would be a great idea to follow Trump's wise words¹¹⁷ (Monique, personal communication 02/08/18)¹¹⁸.

In more live performance situations than I can count...where alcohol is being served (and in some cases not), I have experienced some form of unwanted sexual behaviour or actual unwanted touching. From groping of private parts, to unwanted kissing, and invasion of personal space. Most common are verbal abuses, such as catcalling of profanities, wolf whistling and generally intimidating behaviour (ID: 88284116, personal communication 09/06/18)¹¹⁹.

These observations raise the broader and yet connected issue of the incidence of sexual harassment at music venues. Sexual harassment is defined as any "unwelcome sexual advance, unwelcome request for sexual favours or other unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature which makes a person feel offended, humiliated or intimidated" (Australian Human Rights Commission 2013). Sexual harassment is assessed in Australia using the "reasonable person" test (Wheeler 2014). This definition is considerably broader than earlier definitions in the US which restricted sexual harassment to circumstances where continued employment, advancement or access to normal work conditions were contingent upon someone acceding to an unwelcome advance (Federal

¹¹⁷ "Trump's wise words" is in all likelihood a reference to the public controversy surrounding US Presidential candidate Donald J. Trump and what subsequently became known as the *Access Hollywood Tape* (SafeWork Australia 2019d) in which Trump was recorded in 2005 advocating non-consensual sexual touching, and that as a star he could "Grab 'em [women] by the pussy" (ABC 2017).

¹¹⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 505.

¹¹⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 506.

Register 1980; York 1989). Accounts 505 and 506 are consistent with early findings in the emerging body of research investigating women's experiences of unwanted sexual attention from patrons while attending music festivals and small licensed venues¹²⁰ (Fileborn 2016; Fileborn & Wadds 2018; Fileborn, Wadds & Tomsen 2018; Graham et al. 2017; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018). Women working in the creative industries of The Netherlands reported that sexual harassment was considered a "normal practice" (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b, p. 7). Similarly, other findings concerning patron on patron sexual harassment at music venues and licensed premises show that the problem is widespread (Fileborn 2012; Graham et al. 2017) and has been found to be a gendered phenomenon with men heavily predominating as perpetrator (Fileborn 2012; Fileborn, Wadds & Tomsen 2018; Graham et al. 2017). A survey of women's experiences of attending licensed venues in Melbourne found that 70% of respondents regarded the risk of unwanted touching as a principal safety concern, and 68% regarded the threat of sexual violence as a principal safety concern (Watson 2000). The extent of sexual harassment at music festivals has prompted Australian band Camp Cope to spearhead a campaign against it (Hennessy 2018; McDonald, Hellmrich & Thompson 2016). The findings of these investigations strongly demonstrate that the sexual harassment of women at gigs is commonplace. Notwithstanding the importance of the aforementioned research, participants in this study regarded their experiences as occurring in the context of their work. Accounts 505 and 506 were unambiguously workplace related, thus those experiences of sexual harassment should be understood not just as sexual harassment, but also as

¹²⁰ A small venue has been defined as a venue with audience capacity of less than 350, a nightclub with audience capacity of less than 500, or a pub, bar, restaurant or cafe with audience capacity between 20-100 (Bullock 2016).

workplace harassment, given that some workplace harassment researchers consider sexual harassment to be a form of workplace harassment (Keashly & Neuman 2004; Lutgen - Sandvik, Tracy & Alberts 2007; Neuman & Keashly 2004), or to be connected in some way (Quigg 2016), or to be part of a continuum of incivility (Lim & Cortina 2005).

Workplace harassment perpetrated by audiences on musicians was described as a widespread problem. When asked to estimate how many people had in her opinion harassed her over the last three years, Monique gave the following answer.

Kind of hard to put a number on it so I'd probably just ball park it at somewhere between 50 and 100...and the majority of it is punters (personal communication 02/08/18)¹²¹.

Respondent ID: 89490268 commented that she “can’t count how many times [she has] been harassed by male audience members” (personal communication 05/07/2018)¹²². Mariquita also found it difficult to select a specific incident to describe because “there's been so many” (personal communication 31/05/18). Furthermore, other participants described a range of behaviours on the part of audiences that were not confined to sexual harassment.

Verbal abuse, disruption of performance conventions and intimidating behaviour

Some participants who had worked in the live music scene reported incidents of verbal abuse because of their song selection, failing to play a request, or as a

¹²¹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 507.

¹²² This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 508.

consequence of their general selection of musical styles. Such behaviour can be seen as a *persistent criticism of work* in the NAQ-R taxonomy (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009). Persistent criticism of work was reported in the online survey with the following pattern of prevalence: weekly or daily by 11.7% of respondents, monthly by 8.2% of respondents, and now and then by 40% of respondents. As a caveat, the survey did not establish the contexts where this behaviour was experienced. One participant, however, related an incident that occurred when she was working as a DJ¹²³ where her competence was called into question.

"How long have you been doing this job for?" I went, "I've been in music for a while." He goes, "DJing?" I was like, "Two years." He goes, "I was just wondering how come when 20 guys walk into this bar and there's no one else here, why wouldn't you play to entertain us?" I'm like, "Excuse me?" He goes, "Well...your job is to entertain us and you're not really doing it." I'm like, "First of all, I'm not here to entertain you. I'm here to entertain everyone in the venue." He goes, "Yes, but there's no one else here" (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)¹²⁴.

Her account makes it clear that the patron made the connection between her competence and her playlist, although he appeared willing to make allowances for inexperience. Regardless, the central thrust of his communication was that she was failing to do her job, and the benchmark in his mind was whether he and his friends were feeling satisfactorily entertained. The precise intentions of this perpetrator can only be speculated upon; however the implied equation of aesthetic dissatisfaction with poor job performance was more likely to be communication with an ulterior component, and to have the intention of a negative psychological impact that would be plausibly deniable (see Berne

¹²³ DJ literally stands for 'Disc Jockey' and in live music venues is someone who plays and mixes play lists of pre-recorded music using various reproduction technologies (Newton & Coyle-Hayward 2018).

¹²⁴ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 509A.

1968; Summers & Tudor 2000). As the following account also reveals, there were venue specific complications and restrictions at work in the matter of playlists.

This one chick came up to me just as I started DJing. You have to keep in mind that when you're booked to play the venue, they...give you a brief of the things you can and can't play. When someone walks up to you and goes..."What's this shit that you're playing? No one fucking likes this stuff," I'm like, "Okay cool." It's so weird that people think they have a right to own you because they're in a pub (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)¹²⁵.

Thus, a genre or style restriction that is imposed by a venue can leave the artist vulnerable to verbal abuse that is misdirected towards them instead of a venue owner or manager. This may be so because adept DJ's are thought to contribute to crowd control by altering and adapting playlists (Hadfield 2006) and along with musicians, must develop strategies for keeping the audiences in the right mood (Forsyth & Cloonan 2008; Forsyth, Lennox & Cloonan 2016). Marianne's testimony suggests that there a pervasive form of entitlement on the part of some patrons, which may well manifest in an incivility in the way that patrons communicate their dissatisfaction with the entertainment. Further, accounts 509 and 510 both suggest that both male and female patrons perpetrate these kinds of incidents. This can be seen in the following recollection that is another example of how declining to play a patron's song request can put a musician at risk of abuse.

A young lady who's had too much to drink and comes out and asks for her favourite song and A, you don't play or B, you're not going to do it that night, because...you're under no obligation to play a request...She says, "You're a useless fuck head." or "You're a prick." I do have to say that with

¹²⁵ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 510.

female punters, there's genuinely a pattern of behaviour if... intoxication [is] involved...if you don't do what they ask you're being nasty to them, "You're a prick. You were an asshole to me" (Maxwell, personal communication 20/07/18)¹²⁶

The following recollection is in the same vein, except that in this instance the target of abuse was a venue manager, who was also ultimately responsible for music selection at that venue.

This regular was having a nice discussion with me and then the discussion went up to another level where they were accusing us of not paying bands, and accusing us of not doing things and saying that we had ruined the music scene in town; using swear words and getting angry. Then calling me an F and C, and telling me that I had F'd the local music scene up the A. I was down there on my own, I had no backup (Laurita, personal communication 07/11/18)¹²⁷.

A male perpetrator communicating in this fashion and in this context was undoubtedly a highly intimidating experience. The episode was complicated by the fact that the perpetrator was a local musician, and directly challenged her position in the local music community. His use of language was not only threatening but also an example of the use of sexualised epithets to undermine the power of a woman in authority (see Sobieraj 2018). It is notable that a largely positive conversation rapidly turned to anger and abuse. Question 17 in the online survey asked respondents to report the frequency of shouting or spontaneous anger. This kind of behaviour was reported weekly or daily by 6.9% of respondents, monthly by 4.8% of respondents, and now and then by 43.5% of respondents, although as before, the survey did not establish the

¹²⁶ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 511.

¹²⁷ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 512A.

contexts where this behaviour was experienced. Regardless, the previous examples of verbal abuse raise the question of how to classify this behaviour.

The seminal work of Anderson & Pearson (1999) described behaviour termed workplace incivility. Workplace incivility is behaviour which involves “insulting and degrading verbal and non verbal conduct” (Abolfazl Vagharseyyedin 2015, p. 116). Some researchers see workplace incivility as being on a continuum with workplace aggression (Pearson, Anderson & Porath 2005), although aggression has the clear intention to harm (Schat & Kelloway 2005), Workplace incivility is milder than workplace aggression and ambiguous in intent (Anderson & Pearson 1999; Vasconcelos 2020). Workplace aggression has also been described as including behaviour such as intimidation and rudeness (Dupre & Barling 2006) as well as abuse and threat (Martin 2014). Negative behaviours such as verbal threats, insults, yelling, rumour spreading and withholding information appear in measures for workplace harassment (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009) as well as for workplace aggression (Coombs & Holladay 2004). The boundaries between bullying and workplace incivility are also somewhat blurred in terms of characteristics (Dzurec & Bromley 2012) with some writers arguing that everyone will experience workplace incivility at some time (Cortina et al. 2001). Thus a definitive classification of verbally abusive behaviour is problematic, and more so because music industry workplaces lack the kind of organizational coherence seen in the contexts where measures of workplace incivility, workplace aggression and workplace harassment have commonly been developed and

validated (Coombs & Holladay 2004; Cortina & Magley 2009; Hughes et al. 2016b; Notelaers et al. 2019; Waschglar et al. 2013).

Audience disruption in live music performance can also be regarded as heckling. Heckling is behaviour that is thought to be an intentional attempt by patrons to alter the balance of power between artist and audience by diverting attention away from the artist, demeaning the performance or disrupting the planned course of the show (Duffett 2009). One participant, with extensive experience in live performing, offered the following explanation for heckling.

It's so impotent, isn't it? Maybe they want to be up there on stage or maybe it's something like that...whether that's the ability to get up there and sing or play, or have confidence in front of an audience. Little do they know...it's the way you present and maybe they want a piece of that action, but they go about it all wrong (Miriam, personal communication 23/01/20)¹²⁸.

Her account supports the notion that heckling is an attempt to change the power balance, although she further attributed the motive of hecklers to envy. Although little research has been undertaken investigating the phenomenon of verbal abuse in small live venues (Duffett 2009), it is also possible that disagreements about whether the music was good enough lie at the heart of such incidents, given that poor quality music has been found to be related to aggression in bars (Homel, Tomsen & Thommeny 1992). A precise categorisation of verbally abusive patron behaviour presents challenges to the researcher in the absence of a taxonomy that has been rigorously developed for the music industry context. Nonetheless, this discussion turns now to the matter of overt threats of assault on the part of audiences or audience members

¹²⁸ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 513.

and how participants reported them. The approach taken here will be to show how the abusive behaviour experienced by participants fits within several frameworks, shown later in Table 5.1.

Physical assault and the threat of physical assault

Only a few participants reported experiences of actual physical assault; however their recollections suggest that these incidents left behind significant and in some cases lasting impact. The definition of assault in NSW encompasses any act by which a person either recklessly or with deliberate intention causes another person to “apprehend immediate and unlawful violence” (Judicial Commission of NSW 2019a). Therefore assault involves the fear of physical harm, not necessarily the actuality of physical force being applied, although assault also includes actions where physical force is applied (Judicial Commission of NSW 2019a). Question 28 in the online survey asked respondents to report the frequency of threats of violence or actual violence. This kind of behaviour was reported in the survey with a weekly or daily prevalence of only .7%, and a monthly prevalence of 1.4%. A prevalence of now and then was reported by 19.6% of respondents. Additionally, 20.3% of respondents reported they had experienced this behaviour only once, and 58% reported that they had never experienced it at all. Despite the low prevalence of violence or the threat of violence reported in the survey, some interview participants recalled serious violent or threatening incidents as can be seen from the following exchange.

***Interviewer:** Have you ever experienced a threat of physical violence or physical abuse, or have you actually ever experienced it?*

Lupina: *Only from punters, never from anyone I work with.*

Interviewer: *Right, but punters, that's the environment, so frequently with punters?*

Lupina: *There's one in the club once a week (personal communication 29/06/18)¹²⁹.*

In the mind of one music manager, the experience of violence from audience members was common in her sector of the live music industry.

In nightclubs...I've seen fights, had arguments, been caught in the middle of things, have people threaten me with things...a person being stabbed in front of me, getting thrown off balconies...That situation was not me being thrown. That was happening in front of me in one of the venues I was working at; by a security guard (Fiona, personal communication 12/10/18)

¹³⁰.

These accounts are important for three reasons. Firstly, account 515 involved behaviour beyond what would be considered normal for a workplace using the reasonable person test (see Wheeler 2014). Experiences of stabbings and threats are usually confined to employees of police services, where employers have robust protocols in place for supporting staff after those events (Professional Standards Command 2017). Secondly, because both Fiona and Lupina were working as venue managers or in a similar capacity it can be inferred that the nature of violent behaviour experienced by Lupina was similar to account 515. Finally, the experience of working in the nightclub scene¹³¹ means that there is a likelihood of being involved not only as an assault victim, but also as a witness to incidents of assault. Music industry practitioners are thereby placed at risk of vicarious trauma (see Cohen & Collens 2013).

¹²⁹ This exchange will be referred to subsequently as account 514

¹³⁰ This amalgamated observation will be referred to subsequently as account 515.

¹³¹ Fiona was still working in a career that exceeded 12 years at time of interview (personal communication 12/10/18).

Vicarious trauma can occur in those who are constantly exposed to the trauma of others (Adams, Matto & Harrington 2001) and can include disruptions to the lives of trauma witnesses by altering their fundamental beliefs (Agaibi & Wilson 2005), a process previously discussed in Chapter 4. Fiona was not alone in having been the victim of assault. The events in account 512A reported by a venue manager escalated further as can be seen in the following recollection.

I asked this person to leave numerous times calmly and they wouldn't leave and when I finally got them out the door, they then tried to push back against the door, I had to push the door and snip it to keep them out and then they hit the door and yelled some more obscenities at me and walked away. I was quite shaken up after that and I quickly went upstairs and grabbed my husband and told him what had happened (Laurita, personal communication 07/11/18)¹³².

Similarly to accounts 509A-511, security at this venue was absent. Laurita's apprehension of imminent physical threat was unequivocal, and her testimony shows that her assailant not only used unlawful physical force, but also that there was additional threatening behaviour after the door was locked. Her subsequent physiological reaction was previously described in Chapter 4. Similar to these accounts, the absence of security was also a factor in the following observation made by a respondent when describing the intimidating behaviour they had experienced.

At cover gigs this is extremely common with drunk patrons. Security either takes a very long time to remove them, doesn't remove them if they see them acting this way or are not around to be asked for help (ID: 90117133, personal communication 13/07/18)¹³³.

¹³² This episode will be referred to subsequently as account 512B.

¹³³ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 516

One participant, working in country music venues, recalled only one incident where a manager attempted to charge locals an entry fee to see the band where they normally had free access. He recalled that the locals “all jumped over [the fence], and the bouncers proceeded to fight [them], while we kind of grabbed our gear and ran away” (Manuel, personal communication 15/11/18). Notably security intervened in this case although clearly the numbers of patrons involved were greater than other examples cited here, which mainly involved one or two individuals or small groups of perpetrators. Maxwell attempted to quantify the frequency with which he and his colleagues faced the threat of violence in the live music workplace.

If we are talking 200 shows, maybe 5% of the year I feel that I'm in a situation where physical violence could be a factor because of the way that someone is dealing with me...Maybe 25% of the year, I feel that I'm in a situation that could generate [sic] very quickly depending on what I do next...I've been in numerous situations...where I feel like the way that I decide to respond to this person is going to decide whether I am then involved in a physical altercation. That is always in the back of my mind...the 5% is a guy [who] comes out to me and I'm thinking, wow, something could genuinely happen here and I feel like I have to leave or get help or try and move away from the circumstance, because I feel like someone's going to do something stupid. It's amazing how often they end up in a fight with someone else (personal communication 20/07/18)¹³⁴.

This account underscores an additional difficulty faced by working musicians faced with threatening behaviour: what is the threshold for alerting venue security? This, and earlier testimony, demonstrates that playing in the live performance scene involves musicians having to make rapid judgements about the seriousness of threats they face. They must do so with nothing but their past experience to inform their decisions and actions, which may or may not

¹³⁴ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 517.

precipitate violence. The constant presence of potential threat is evident in his contention that individuals who he estimated to be of the most concern often became engaged in violent altercations later. Maxwell's vigilance is a pragmatic response when the landscape of alcohol related violence in licensed premises is clearly understood. One study found that of all assaults in NSW in licensed premises, patrons comprised 57% of all perpetrators, and staff or other persons associated with the venue comprised 22% of all victims, although musicians and entertainers were not identified as a victim group in that research (Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010).

Other forms of assault also occurred outside venues, or after gigs as the following two recollections illustrate. The first of these describes a frightening example of assault and attempted robbery.

There was nobody around, it was all pretty scary stuff and some nut bag who'd been in there before and got thrown out...comes running in and sticks a knife to my throat and demands the money and I gave it to him, because, what else are you going to do. Scared absolutely out of my pants, and I wet myself; the whole horror... the bloke was arrested and the money was returned and all that was fine...I finally go backstage, I'm shaking and crying it's a fucking disaster. The tour manager bloke goes, "Well that's all right, you've got the money...do you want a glass of water or something?"
"No I'm fine."
"Okay, well the band are coming off stage in a minute. You'll have to go"
(Luciana, personal communication 11/12/18)¹³⁵.

Her immediate physical reactions were consistent with what is understood about responses to stress and critical incidents (American Institute for Stress 2018). The tour manager's response was remarkably callous, and in

¹³⁵ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 518.

diminishing the importance of her visible distress, as well asking her to return to work despite her trauma, he failed to meet minimum standards for duty of care. Given that Luciana had been the victim of a violent crime, inadequate provisions were made for her welfare and her personal safety not only prior to the incident but also immediately after it (see NSW Department of Customer Service 2019). This account, along with accounts 512 and 515, are also examples of violence against women, a phenomenon that manifests as a broad range of violent and oppressive behaviours in contexts that range from state sponsored violence to intimate partner violence (Tjaden 2000; Watts & Zimmerman 2002). Violence against women has its roots in social and cultural structures (Crenshaw 1990; Goodman et al. 1993; Sokoloff & Dupont 2005) and sexual harassment is regarded by some as a subset of violence against women (Fitzgerald 1993; Kilmartin & Allison 2007). Luciana's experience is an exemplar of gendered attitudes towards violence against women, in that her (male) oversight showed little empathy for her, and minimised or even ignored the harm that was a consequence of the assault (Flood & Pease 2009, p. 4). Notably, Luciana also regarded harassment from audiences as commonplace.

I would say, one out of every two nights, I'd be picked upon, followed, asked out; generally harassed. If you said "No," then you'd get someone calling you a slag or a moll or spitting in your face or something and all you're doing is just standing there minding your own business (personal communication 11/12/18)¹³⁶.

Clearly, as well as recording the physical act of assault, i.e. spitting (Legal Aid NSW 2011), this testimony further supports the notion that there is a pattern of gendered violence against women in the music industry by audience members.

¹³⁶ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 519.

Moreover, it also supports Maxwell's earlier observations concerning the high frequency of threatening or violent behaviour.

To summarise, music industry practitioners work in an environment that features threats of violence and actual violence on the part of patrons. The lack of intervention by security staff is evident in a number of accounts that described this landscape. Violence against female music industry workers is less surprising given the widespread prevalence of violence against women (World Health Organization 2012). It is also known that women experience high levels of sexual harassment in public spaces (Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018); therefore the gendered nature of the incident in account 519 should not be separated from the apprehension and actuality of the physical assault itself. Without diminishing the significance of this kind of abuse from patrons, a more detailed discussion of gender harassment in other music industry contexts will be undertaken in Chapters 6 and 7. This discussion turns now to the matter of the sexual harassment of musicians by patrons, in the form of innuendo and other sexually targeted acts.

Unwanted sexual approaches

As previously discussed workplace harassment is the perpetration of negative behaviours that are intended as hostile (Brodsky 1976; Einarsen 1999; Einarsen & Mikkelsen 2002; Høgh, Mikkelsen & Hansen 2011; Leymann 1990; Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011). Many participants reported acts that can be regarded jointly as forms of workplace harassment (Brodsky 1976; Einarsen

1999; Keashly & Neuman 2004; Leymann 1990) and also as sexual harassment (Graham et al. 2014; Jenkins 2018; Lim & Cortina 2005; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018; Russell & Trigg 2004). One clear example of sexual harassment can be found in the following recollection.

I had a residency in Alice Springs...I'm staying at a hotel...as well as performing there. Then some guy comes up to me, he's like, "After the gig, can I come back to your room?" I said, "Well, I don't know you." He's like, "That's all right. We can get to know each other." I'm like, "I don't think so." Just this assumption that you can meet someone and they're just going to sleep with you: "You're the singer." I'm like, "No, that's not going to happen" (Melinda, personal communication 7/05/18)¹³⁷.

The nature of the unwanted sexual approach (see Australian Human Rights Commission 2013) is manifestly evident. However, this account is also noteworthy because of Melinda's apprehension that there was a presumption of her sexual availability on the part of the patron, simply because she was the singer. The following account describes another incident (that happened after the events of account 509A) with similar features to Melinda's encounter.

Then they came up to me and they're like, "It's my bucks party tonight." I'm like, "Awesome. Congratulations. That's awesome." Then they went, "We were about to book strippers for later on, but would you want to make 500 bucks later, an extra 500 bucks later tonight in our hotel room?" I didn't say anything, and they're like, "500 bucks?" I'm like, "Yeah, no" (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)¹³⁸.

Both of these can be regarded as a product of two factors, the de-legitimizing of female performers and the objectification of female artists, both of which have been observed as prevalent in the music press (Davies 2001; Hatton & Trautner 2011). Further, some writers have argued that the music industry has a tradition

¹³⁷ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 520.

¹³⁸ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 509B.

of marginalising women by ascribing female interest in music and musicians to sexual motives (Cline 1992; Orloff 1974). These notions are supported by the following comment made by one respondent.

I think it is assumed that female performers are “up for it” or whores by about 40% of male audience members in Melbourne (ID: 132865374, personal communication 16/12/19)¹³⁹.

While the boundary between harassment behaviour and a genuine romantic overture can be misunderstood (Graham et al. 2014), all three of these accounts show that the women involved did not regard this behaviour as appropriate in the context of the workplace. Further, while account 520 could be construed as an extremely misguided overture, the same cannot be said for account 509B, in which a patron made an unequivocal commercial offer to procure a sexual act (see NSW Government 2019a, p. Sect. 91A). In comparison with account 520, it is difficult to ascertain whether the patron in this case held a presumption of sexual availability that was linked to Marianne’s music work, although account 521 suggests that this specific sexist stereotype of female musicians is widespread. Marianne subsequently expressed an unequivocal opinion regarding this stereotype when she described the way the incident unfolded later that evening.

He's in my personal space on top of me, and I was just like, "I'm at work. This is my job. Yes, I have to deal with someone breathing down my neck who has nothing to do with what I'm —I'm not here for this person. I'm here to play exactly what the venue has told me to play, which I'm doing." I played here for two years. I know what to do; yet I have to deal with that and deal with...sexist fucking bullshit about “Do you want to make an extra 500 bucks later on” (personal communication 21/06/18)¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁹ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 521.

¹⁴⁰ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 509C.

Consequently, the sexual harassment described in these accounts in the form of unwanted intrusion (Australian Human Rights Commission 2013), should be regarded as a manifestation of sexism that can be attributed to beliefs held by male patrons. These beliefs are not only an expression of a more widely held sexism described earlier, but also manifest in the music industry specifically in the form of a belief that females in the industry must really only be there for sexual reasons (see Cline 1992). Furthermore, account 509C can also be categorised as workplace harassment in the form of intimidating behaviour. Notwithstanding the discussion that will be undertaken in Chapters 6 and 7, all three of these accounts not only feature behaviour that is considered unacceptable in the wider community (Jenkins 2020, p. 10) but also serve as evidence that sexual harassment is normalised in the subculture of audiences attending live music events (Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019).

Sexually objectifying heckling and comments from patrons

Female musicians reported frequent occurrences of sexual teasing or sexual joking on the part of audiences, and what might also be thought of as “sexual comments or gestures” (Felix et al. 2011, p. 239) or “sexist remarks” (Neuman & Keashly 2004, p. 372). More than half of the female artists who participated in the interviews reported episodes that conform to these descriptions of aversive behaviour. Further, Question 29 in the online survey asked respondents to report the frequency of this kind of behaviour. Sexual innuendo (teasing) was reported weekly or daily by 12% of all respondents, monthly by 14.8% of all respondents, and now and then by 36.7% of all respondents, although the

survey did not establish the contexts where this behaviour was experienced. Unsurprisingly (and as discussed briefly in Chapter 3) female respondents reported a higher prevalence of sexual innuendo than male respondents. The prevalence of sexual innuendo for women is 13.5% weekly/daily, 20.8% monthly and 42.7% now and then. Conversely the prevalence of sexual innuendo for men is 3% weekly/daily, 3% monthly and 25% now and then. These results support findings from other research that sexual harassment is experienced by women at higher rates than men (Jenkins 2018, 2020). Monique (a musician) noted that people's behaviour towards her was generally different than that experienced outside the context of live music venues, evident in the following testimony where she amalgamated several separate incidents.

People almost take it as like an open invitation to come up to you and say things that they wouldn't say in day-to-day life...because I don't get that when I'm walking on the streets, but if I go to a gig, I almost definitely get something.

"Oh I bet that she'd be a good root" or ..."if she screams like that then she screams like that in bed. I bet I can make her scream like that" just awful horrible, you know "I'm going to sex you up" thing, which is totally gross (personal communication 02/08/18)¹⁴¹.

Thus audiences appear to regard the gig environment as having different social norms than in day-to-day life. Therefore, what is unacceptable in 'normal' circumstances becomes legitimised within the walls of a venue. This account is noteworthy firstly because it lays bare the gendered nature of this kind of harassment and secondly for the remarkable similarities in the type of sexual harassment that is experienced by female patrons in licensed venues (see Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018). The sample of audience remarks she

¹⁴¹ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 522.

reported was evidently offensive. While the experience of sexual harassment for a female patron ranges from distressing to traumatic (Fitzgerald, Swan & Fischer 1995; Jenkins 2018), being an artist involves adopting a specific social role in what amounts to a ritualised activity (McCormick 2015), where a social distance exists between performer and audience marked by the boundary of the stage (Small 1995). Further, and as has been discussed, heckling can stem from a power play by audience members. Therefore, the kinds of sexual harassment Monique experienced involve a greater degree of public humiliation that is not necessarily in play in a patron on patron sexual harassment encounter.

While some audience members restricted their observations to generalised sexual language such as, “you’re hot” (Marisol, personal communication 24/9/18), patron harassment featured more specific sexual innuendo, such as “innuendo about [the] instrument because...you use your lips and your tongue and you blow hard” (Mirabelle, personal communication 30/01/20). Other variations of this type of sexual innuendo were offered in the following account.

“She can use her fingers”...or...She’s a fox”...stuff like that...just quite sexual...when it initially happened it was quite confronting, because you put yourself out there. It’s something that I kind of expected, but also when it happens to you it’s confronting (Marisol, personal communication 24/9/18)

¹⁴²

While this example was a recollection of social media comments on some of Marisol’s first broadcast musical offerings, a more directly sexualised taunt often

¹⁴² This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 523.

manifested in a very specific way in small live venues, as exemplified in the following recollection.

Some people will just shout that it's a bad version of a song, or some people will just be like, "Nice tits." There's just lots of things (Milenia 5, personal communication 27/6/18)¹⁴³.

This account is an unambiguous example of sexual objectification (Szymanski, Moffitt & Carr 2011). Sexual objectification involves a dehumanising of the objectified, by reducing them to a series of body parts meant for the gratification of another (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997). As already discussed in Chapter 2, the music industry has a history of sexually objectifying female performers that is also evident in the highly sexualised representation of women in music videos (Aubrey & Frisby 2011). Further, this mediated form of sexual objectification is associated with attitudes towards sexual violence in male viewers (Aubrey, Hopper & Mbure 2011). The existing cultural milieu may in part explain the common nature of this kind of sexual objectification.

This specific form of harassment is widely experienced by female performers according to Miriam, who noted that “pretty much...every female performer I know have all said the same thing [about this form of sexual harassment]” (personal communication 23/01/20). Accordingly, this research frames this form of sexual harassment as a trope, termed the *nice tits* trope. For example, the nice tits trope became evident for a male musician when he personally encountered it during a performance where he had included female performers in his line-up for the first time.

¹⁴³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 524.

This guy was drunk, he was with two of his mates and he started up the, 'show us your tits' line. He was basically saying it between songs. He was motioning to the girls at the front of the stage, and they sort of stopped...the guy went on. I noticed security kind of looking at him. I was thinking, "Okay, do I stop the show and say I want something done or do I try and keep them?" In the end, when the guy said it one more time, I was mid-sentence...and I stopped what I was talking about, and over the mic, I said, "What's that mate, do you want to see my tits?" He sort of goes, "Oh," and the whole crowd laughed at him (Maxwell, personal communication 20/07/18)¹⁴⁴.

Firstly, and in a way that is strikingly similar to earlier accounts, venue security did not intervene. Secondly, it is apparent that Maxwell had to improvise a strategy to deal with heckling, an ability shared by other musicians who work regularly in live venues (see Duffett 2009; Mullen 1987). Thirdly it was apparent that his previous experience of working with male colleagues had not prepared him for sexual harassment. His solution was to highlight the double standards of sexual objectification. Notably, he felt a responsibility for the safety of his female colleagues although he was not the target. He also took some form of action in accordance with WH&S¹⁴⁵ legislative requirements, although the venue failed to do so (Safe Work NSW 2019b). He has since questioned how he approached dealing with the incident.

The girls weren't particularly rattled by it, but that wasn't really my concern. My concern was there is still a responsibility there regardless, right? My blind willingness to want to keep the show on the road, exposed two of my musicians in a negative way for longer than they should have been... It...is four years old now that gig and it's a gig that I reflect on almost every day of what should I have done differently (personal communication 20/07/18)¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁴ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 525A.

¹⁴⁵ WH&S stands for Work Health and Safety.

¹⁴⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 525B.

Maxwell was one of only three male live performance musicians who participated in the qualitative component of this research. He is notable for being the only male musician to describe patron harassment in the small live venue scene (apart from the larger incident reported by Manuel and cited earlier). He is also notable for the fact that he offered this account (529A/B) of sexual harassment, which (as already noted) is more of a problem for women generally, not just for female musicians. His perspective as a male colleague is an important one not just for his subsequent reflection on those events, but also because of the action he took as a bystander to the harassment. By publicly challenging the sexual harassment in front of others, Maxwell's actions can be categorised as a *high-immediacy-high-involvement* intervention, a form of intervention found to be the least common form of bystander behaviour in incidents of sexual harassment (McDonald, Charlesworth & Graham 2016). Further, this account can be regarded as similar to account 519, given the possibility that Maxwell experienced a form of vicarious trauma. As previously discussed, individuals who witness trauma in others can also be traumatised by that experience (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Notwithstanding Maxwell's account of these events, other women who were the target of this kind of sexual objectification reported their reactions differently, as can be seen in the following comment.

Performing at pubs & bars was an eye opener as remarks about my person ("nice tits") were commonplace. As an ex senior manager in the oil & construction industries I was appalled (ID: 132865374, personal communication 16/12/19)¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁷ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 526.

Like Monique, this respondent makes a distinction between what is normalised in audience subcultures as opposed to other contexts, even though the industries where she previously worked were highly likely male dominated. Importantly, accounts 524-526 also show a very similar pattern of sexual harassment to that experienced by female DJs more broadly (see Gadir 2016). While the request for a female performer to expose her breasts is the common attribute of the nice tits trope, the following recollection shows that there were variations in what part of the anatomy was objectified.

Show us your tits or show us your this, or your that. On the other hand you get women saying, "Oh, she must be a slut because she's the only girl in the band." You get that thing (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)¹⁴⁸.

Taken together with accounts 524-526, this account shows that the nice tits trope can be understood as sexual objectification perpetrated by total strangers (Logan 2015). Manuela's testimony in account 527 is also a possible variation of the slut bashing or slut shaming phenomenon, where women are punished or judged for the act of presenting themselves in a sexually attractive way (Tanenbaum 2015b). Slut shaming is regarded as a manifestation of sexism (Tanenbaum 2015a); however in this account the 'slut' label was levelled at Manuela by female patrons. It is not unreasonable to consider account 527 to be an example of internalised misogyny (Szymanski et al. 2009; Willis 2009) as well as a further example of the objectification and trivialisation of female musicians (see Cline 1992; Orloff 1974) evident in earlier accounts 509B, 509C, 520 and 521. One final example illustrates the nice tits trope as well as the presumption of sexual availability in greater detail.

¹⁴⁸ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 527.

There are times when you'd have to tolerate men yelling out, "Get your tits out." I still get this when you meet people when they find out you work with a heap of men and it's in a band, they assume, you must be a swinger, or you're into groupie sex or ...or drink, drugs, sex, rock and roll. That assumption still happens to an extent...the worse would be like, "Get your tits out." They think you're bar club stripper I suppose (Margarita, personal communication 02/07/18)¹⁴⁹.

This incident is also closely related to account 509 because of the female musician/stripper association that appears to be in the minds of some patrons. Further, Margarita also suggests that the problem is widespread, supporting assertions made by Australian musician Siobhann Heidenreich from the band GF4, who recalled that when performing in a pub, patrons would yell out “show us your tits” and that this behaviour was typical of pub audiences because “that's how they are” (Morrison 1995 22:43-22:48).

In summary, accounts 521-528 and 509 report sexual teasing and sexual joking behaviour from patrons that is widespread and normalised in small live venues. A discussion of the further sexual objectification of female musicians by their colleagues will occur in Chapter 6. That discussion notwithstanding, in an attempt to explain the nice tits trope, Margarita invoked the industry mythos of *sex, drugs and rock and roll* (see Driver 2010; Inglis 2007; Strong forthcoming 2019). Despite the on-going discussion about the extent of certain aspects of this mythos in actuality (Oksanen 2012, 2013), another participant invoked similar ideas when describing her experiences as a performer.

In the breadth of experiences that I've had across the spectrum of genre in Australia...there's sex, drugs and rock and roll, sex drugs and classical

¹⁴⁹ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 528.

music, sex drugs and gypsy jazz, sex, drugs and whatever (Mirabelle, personal communication 30/01/20)¹⁵⁰.

Her observation challenges the notion that this mythos is confined solely to one genre. Regardless, these accounts have serious implications for both the way the music industry markets artists, as well as how the music media reports the industry. Both mechanisms exert a normative influence on industry culture and thus directly contribute to female performers being exposed to the risk of sexual objectification and sexual harassment as well as workplace harassment.

Sexual touching and sexual assault

Some participants reported incidents where audience members sexually assaulted them. While the threshold for defining assault has been discussed earlier, defining a physical touch as sexual assault is clearly articulated in law (see NSW Government 2019a; Judicial Commission of NSW 2019a). Sexual touching is described in Section 61H of the Crimes Act in terms of a specific part of the body that was touched, including the genital, anal or breast areas, as well as any touching that a reasonable person would consider to be sexual (NSW Government 2019a). One additional problem when locating sexual harassment with workplace harassment is that the precise boundaries of acceptable behaviour can be vague (see Einarsen 1999; Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Einarsen et al. 2011); however the definition of sexual touching itself is precise. Furthermore, none of the participants reported ambiguous or vague sexual harassment on the part of audience members. The following recollection serves as an example.

¹⁵⁰ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 529.

It was a corporate event for a predominantly...male audience. A guy comes up and he goes, "Oh, my gosh, those shoes are amazing. They look really nice."...He goes, "Can I have a look at your shoes?"...I just put my foot out; he lifts my leg up, and puts my foot in his mouth and licks my toes...I ran off stage, went to the ladies to wash my feet. The guys in the band were like, "Oh, my gosh." They couldn't believe what had happened...It was just so gross (Melinda, personal communication 07/05/18)¹⁵¹.

Melinda had earlier observed that in her career she had been “completely oblivious to [sexual harassment] going on”, and she also remarked that she didn’t “know why [she] didn’t see it coming” (personal communication 07/05/18). This last comment can be explained in terms of the shattering of her assumptions (see Chapter 4). However, this account is important because it demonstrates how unwanted touching can be overt. Even her band regarded the incident as unusual. The unambiguous nature of other acts of sexual touching can also be seen in the following recollection.

I've had stuff from the general public as well...like being grabbed on the genitals when you've got a speaker box in your hand and you can't do anything...a slap on the bum. When you're...walking out with the speaker box or walking in with the speaker box...people would be off their face by 3:30 in the morning. You just have to deal with drunk idiots, grabbing you when your hands were full with the 4 by 10 speaker box and you can't do anything (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)¹⁵².

This account was an amalgamation of opportunistic incidents that unequivocally qualify as criminal acts of sexual touching (NSW Government 2019a). The seriousness of this testimony should not be underestimated, because Manuela’s experience suggests that female musicians in the live music scene are frequently subject to acts that meet the threshold of indictable behaviour

¹⁵¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 530.

¹⁵² This account will be referred to subsequently as account 531.

(see NSW Government 2019a Sect. 61HB). Merlina also experienced sexual touching at gigs. She reported incidences that occurred while she was in a burlesque style of show and performing a character that required her to move off stage and amongst audience members.

I'd go into character as this character [character name redacted]...I could go on stage and be her – and...just give shit back straight away. In that kind of character...maybe it's only three times that I've had guys grab my butt. Out in a bar...I've had people sexually harassing me out in public way more than that (personal communication 03/01/19)¹⁵³.

This account is noteworthy because of the comparison she made with her experiences of sexual harassment when she was a patron in a bar, experiences supported by recent research into this phenomenon (see Fileborn 2012; Fileborn 2016; Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019). However, she regarded her performance persona as one that mediated the experience of sexual harassment, suggesting observations that an aggressive response to sexual harassment is a tactic successfully deployed by some women in the face of unacceptable sexual overtures in bars (see Graham et al. 2010). It is possible therefore that adopting certain types of performance personae may prove an effective strategy for female performers to reduce the frequency of workplace harassment/sexual harassment, in the same way that musicians and DJ's must find and adopt strategies to deal with heckling (see Duffett 2009).

Other participants used language such as “groping” or “physical assault” to describe their experiences, as is evident in the following account.

I've had a lot of shows where people have groped me... I was on stage, got pulled into the crowd and I had a guy touch my butt and another guy lick my

¹⁵³ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 532.

face and my arm. The crowd was so riled up. The security had to come...The Bodyguard...it was like that; it was so insane. The crowd were going so crazy that they pulled me in and were all ripping at me...

I went backstage and I told the band, I said I was having a panic attack because I'd just been physically assaulted. I said, "Guys, this just happened," and they literally said to me, "Yes, our friend [female artist name redacted] always tells us about how she gets abused," and then they turned around and kept drinking...That just even made me more upset: the fact that it was normalised (Mariella, personal communication 08/06/18)¹⁵⁴.

This incident involved moments clearly definable as sexual touching in addition to the further possibility that an assault took place, particularly since Mariella construed the audience behaviour as physically threatening. Notably this account is evidence of the normalisation of sexual harassment, not only on the part of patrons at this venue, but also of the acceptance of it by colleagues (see May et al. 2009; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018). While the normalisation of sexual harassment will be discussed in Chapter 7, the behaviour of the band in this instance should be contrasted with that in account 530, and is evidence that the normalisation of sexual harassment and workplace harassment can occur when colleagues either tolerate, turn a blind eye to or give tacit encouragement to aversive behaviour. Tolerance of sexual harassment has been found to be a factor contributing to pervasive sexual harassment in the creative industries (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b) and entertainment industry workers in the UK have reported that bullying is condoned when senior figures or managers either ignore or participate in bullying (Federation of Entertainment Unions 2013). Evidently, the band had ignored past incidents of groping, thereby condoning it.

¹⁵⁴ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 533.

Working conditions in the creative industries are complicated by the freelance nature of economic activity, and further exacerbated when bullying behaviour has historically been the norm, which is then learned and passed down over time (Federation of Entertainment Unions 2013). Moreover, Mariella's description of this incident appears to show that the audience acted together as a group to perpetrate sexual harassment/workplace harassment, in a way that is reminiscent of the phenomenon of *mobbing*, where a small group gangs up on an individual (Leymann 1990, 1996; Leymann & Gustafsson 1996). To be regarded as mobbing, negative group behaviour has to occur for at least a six-month period (Leymann 1990), a criterion that is difficult to establish from account 533, particularly where audience membership will vary from one night to the next. Notwithstanding this limitation, it is possible to infer from Mariella's account that either the venue or the band itself drew an audience that had established a pattern of this kind of behaviour.

Researchers studying the phenomenon of fandom have argued that fans create identity, form communities and make their own meanings that derive from their engagement with artists and texts (Bickerdike & Downing 2017; Cavicchi 1998; Click, Lee & Holladay 2013; Duffett 2015; Fiske 1992; Grossberg 1992; Jenkins 2012). Despite arguments against regarding negative fan behaviour as pathological (Cavicchi 1998; Jenson 1992) there has been little investigation into toxic fan practices (Proctor & Kies 2018). However, Australian large event security personnel identified several risk factors that were predictive of poor audience behaviour, including a crowd composition that was predominantly male, intoxication, and style of music (Earl et al. 2004). These findings mirror

factors that emerged in earlier research conducted in small venues (Hemel, Tomsen & Thommeny 1992). Following these studies, Roberts & Mattern have proposed that musicians are able to exert some measure of social control of their audiences (2014). This would suggest that the band in account 533 were not simply functioning as apathetic bystanders but were complicit with the groping behaviour (see Rosenthal 2015), a circumstance known to have a gendered component (Carlson 2008). It is also likely that the groping behaviour experienced by Mariella was not caused by the entire audience, but by a subgroup (see Grossberg 1992) within that audience. The self socialization of that subgroup from their engagement with music (Rhein 2000) may well have been one that permitted the groping of female artists. Finally, these examples are consistent with what is widely understood about the nature of sexual harassment in licensed venues and public spaces: that women are predominantly the targets and men are predominantly the perpetrators (Graham et al. 2014; Hustwaite 2019; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018).

The sexual touching of male performers by female patrons also occurs, as evident from the following account.

We had a major band, a really well known Australian band in our venue. One of the females, she came downstairs and she was all excited because she touched the guy's bum. I was horrified...If that had been a male doing that to a female, that's harassment and it's no different...but I do know for a fact that this particular band did not like mixing with the public for that (Laurita, personal communication 07/11/18)¹⁵⁵.

One writer proposed that adult female fan behaviour is not comparable to sexual harassment, because the nature of the female fan sexual fantasy is

¹⁵⁵ This example will be referred to subsequently as account 534.

rarely intended to be acted out in reality (Cline 1992). In contrast to this view Laurita felt that female to male sexual harassment was no different to male to female sexual harassment, and notably the band members in this case employed avoidance type behaviour, not unlike that described by female sexual harassment victims in the previous chapter. The legal definition of sexual touching does not preclude a female perpetrator and male victim, and the NSW Crimes Act further notes that an act can be regarded as sexual touching if “any other aspect of the touching (including the circumstances in which it is done) makes it sexual” (NSW Government 2019a Sect 61HB), thus providing a standard that supports Laurita’s contention.

Nonetheless, what appears to emerge through the accounts of participants is that the live music environment is a workplace where music industry workers are at high risk of different forms of aggressive, aversive or unwanted behaviour. In their most severe forms, sexual harassment, workplace aggression and workplace harassment have serious consequences for recipients. In some cases sexual harassment is sufficient to meet the definition of sexual assault (NSW Government 2019a Sect. 61I) as is evident in the following testimony from a music journalist who was working at a music festival.

I was quite close to the front, so there was very little room for me to move...I'm quite short, so I was getting really crushed by the people around me and I felt a hand on my waist coming from behind me. I tried to turn around to see who it was, but I couldn't quite move, so I couldn't quite wiggle away. All I've done is grabbed the hand and thrown it back behind me and sent an elbow back to get whoever it was off. Quite literally, couldn't even turn around. I felt it again, this time it was both hands on my hips pulling me back, into the person. I managed to look up and see his face, he was clearly on another planet...I tried to shove my way forward and out,

there was really no point in vocalizing at that point because it was so loud, no one would have heard me, so I've tried to push forward, away from this guy through the other people, but because the mosh pit started surging forward and back, everyone just thought I was part of the jostle. He then put his hand up under my skirt, and between my legs and managed to get around my underwear. At that point I screamed and threw myself backwards and kicked the person in front of me to get them away and push myself through the mosh under everyone's legs...on my hands and knees to get out, because no one would let me through. I've run back to my tent and gone to sleep (Juanita, personal communication 25 19/12/18)¹⁵⁶.

This account is consistent with findings from research recently investigating sexual harassment at music festivals (Fileborn & Wadds 2018; Fileborn, Wadds & Tomsen 2018; Hustwaite 2019), in particular the gendered reactions to women within the close proximity of patrons in the moshpit (Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019). However, Juanita's testimony should not just be seen in this light. Her experience of being sexually assaulted needs to also be regarded as a part of a larger pattern of workplace incivility/workplace aggression/workplace harassment/sexual harassment of music industry workers by patrons. Juanita was at work, and although her perpetrator might have mistaken her for another patron, she was in fact a journalist in the process of writing a story and was doubtless identifiable as a media professional, given that press passes are considered high value items and are normally limited in number (Bigsound 2019). Her immediate reaction (falling asleep) after the assault is consistent with what is known about the stress response following a serious life event (American Institute For Stress 2018).

¹⁵⁶ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 535.

Luciana gave an account of a more serious case of an assault by a patron following a live performance. The incident occurred to a colleague she was working with at the event, and can be classified as an aggravated sexual assault (NSW Government 2019a Sect. 61J). Her account of the incident appears in the following excerpt, which has been condensed from different parts of her interview.

The odd one would come out quite pissed...and they start hanging around you...so you say to a security guard, "That bloke makes me uncomfortable hanging around", and the security is "Ah...don't worry love he's just a bit pissed" and that's how a friend of mine got raped...because some weirdo who was a punter¹⁵⁷ was hanging around...this bloke followed her. She went to get in her car and he bashed her from behind and he made a mess of her. She was an absolute mess physically when I saw her. She was bruised and cut up and broken bones, and the whole thing. He raped her and was caught fairly quickly...I went to see her the next day and she couldn't talk because she had a broken jaw. Her mouth was all wired up and everything. She was an absolute mess and she just never recovered (personal communication 11/12/18)¹⁵⁸.

Although the assault took place in a car park, the perpetrator was a member of the audience, and had waited for the female crewmember to emerge from the venue. As with Juanita's assault, it is impossible to know whether the perpetrator understood his victim to be a professional leaving her workplace, or a member of the public. Notwithstanding, this account is evidence that the environment immediately adjacent to music venues should be regarded as unsafe for women in the same way that audience spaces at festivals are. Furthermore, incidents of assault and domestic violence are known to occur at higher rates in locations close to licensed premises (Donnelly, Menéndez &

¹⁵⁷ The term *punter* in the context of the music industry is understood to mean a member of the audience (<https://thesession.org/discussions/4794>, accessed 05/07/19).

¹⁵⁸ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 536.

Mahoney 2014). This incident, in addition to others cited earlier, form a body of evidence showing that audiences at live music events are behaving in ways that subject music industry workers to abuse or mistreatment in the workplace (see Einarsen & Nielsen 2015) and also more specifically to unwanted sexual overtures and violence.

ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN PATRON ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Some participants made attempts to explain their experiences of patron antisocial behaviour. Some of the explanations were embedded in their recollections, evident in accounts 505-508, 520 and 524, all of which feature a mention of some level of alcohol intoxication on the part of perpetrators. Other participants devoted some time in the interview to reflect on their experiences and offer their opinion as to what factors contributed to their abuse. The following excerpts are examples of attempts to explain aversive behaviour.

The reason why I think there's more casual abuse in the cover scene is because you are dealing with people who have no investment in the music. They aren't necessarily there to see you play. They aren't necessarily there to see anyone play. They're drinking, they're doing whatever they're doing, and that's that...People that go and see an original line up are usually somehow invested in the music. They know the band, they're fans of the band, they're friends of fans of the band, they're somehow connected to it. I think that that is somehow linked to an underlying expectation of behaviour (Maxwell, personal communication 20/07/18)¹⁵⁹.

Maxwell's explanation is supported by other research that proposes that in many venues audiences regard the main function of music to be entertainment (see Forsyth & Cloonan 2008; Forsyth, Lennox & Cloonan 2016; Roberts &

¹⁵⁹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 537.

Mattern 2014). His explanation relies on forms of connectedness with original music, and is more in accord with notions of fan behaviour, and the high level of significance of specific music and artists in the formation of fan identity, meaning and community (Baym 2012; Cavicchi 1998; Rhein 2000). The threshold for aggressive behaviours directed towards a well-known artist is quite high for fans; as is evident in case of Sinéad O'Connor who was booed on stage not long after she had torn up a picture of the then Pope on live television as an act of protest against allegations of church based sexual abuse (Mayhew 2017). Conversely, this present study has shown that at cover gigs, the simple frustration that the band or the DJ isn't sufficiently entertaining (Roberts & Mattern 2014) has been enough for a patron to intimidate or harass¹⁶⁰. Maxwell's explanation can also be considered within notions of authenticity, a concept that has been much debated in popular music studies (Barker & Taylor 2007; Hughes 2000). In drawing together the discussion about how authenticity is constructed, Moore proposed a tripartite framework based on who was being authenticated; namely *first person authenticity*, *second person authenticity* and *third person authenticity* (2002). Moore argued that third person authenticity is an "authenticity of execution" in which a performer conveys the impression of having accurately represented the work of another performer, presumably regarded as authentic in their own right (2002, p. 218), whereas second person authenticity is regarded as one of audience experience, where a performer's music validates the audiences life experiences, and facilitates a sense of belonging or identity (2002, p. 220). Finally Moore described first person authenticity as where an audience endows authenticity on an artist because of

¹⁶⁰ See accounts 509-511

their “interpretation of the perceived expression of an individual” (2002, p. 214). Therefore Maxwell’s observation in account 537 can be seen either as an example of the importance of first person authenticity in the credibility of original bands, or as an example of an audience judging that a cover’s band lacks credibility by the standards set up in notions of third person authenticity. Maxwell’s presumptions were somewhat borne out by Luciana who ascribed specific behaviour to audiences on the basis of genre.

It’s kind of like what certain kinds of music does to certain kinds of people in their mindsets. Before they even start out, people who are going to a heavy gig are probably going to have been oiled up before they even turn up. But they’re not dropping an E to have fun, they probably had a smoke, they probably had three or four beers maybe more, and they’re out for good time and for a lot of those people part of that good time is having a fight. Now I’ve seen that a million times and I’ve seen it an absolute million times (personal communication 11/12/18)¹⁶¹.

Like authenticity, the homologous nature of scenes is largely a constructed mythology (Bennett 2000, 2002; Homan 2008a). However, a number of studies have demonstrated that there are relatively stable music genre stereotypes (Rentfrow & Gosling 2007; Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow 2009). These stereotypes are also evident in research that suggests that type of music is a risk factor for toxic audience behaviour (Earl et al. 2004; Roberts & Mattern 2014). Audience behaviour is a complex set of interactions that are driven by personality (Delsing et al. 2008; Dunn, de Ruyter & Bouwhuis 2012; Rentfrow 2012; Rentfrow & Gosling 2003) as much as social, political and cultural factors (Bennett 2000; Frith 1981; Hesmondhalgh 2005; Sloboda, Lamont & Greasley 2009; Toynbee 2000) in addition to location and age (Johnson & Homan 2003).

¹⁶¹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 538.

Notwithstanding these factors, forms of audience behaviour that can be defined as sexual harassment or violence against women are known to be the product of homosocial audience subcultures and sexism more generally (Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019). Finally, and as noted earlier, participants regarded aversive patron behaviour as in part due to drug or alcohol intoxication (see accounts 535-538), regardless of genre or type of venue.

Participants also attempted to hypothesise mechanisms by which intoxication changed patron behaviour, as can be seen in the following explanation.

Here's the thing; I often find that alcohol will highlight the kind of person you are. There is no way I would walk up to anyone, no matter how drunk I was, and said, "You're not doing your job properly." Well-adjusted people don't do that (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)¹⁶².

This incident appeared to breach Marianne's boundaries of social acceptability, and presented as an example of workplace incivility, behaviour with ambiguous intent (Abolfazl Vagharseyyedin 2015). Notwithstanding this classification, such occurrences can also be regarded as another example of a disruption to the dynamic of music performance (Duffett 2009). Laurita recalled a less ambiguous incident, which involved both heckling and adult female fan behaviour similar to that noted earlier. Both of these appeared to be alcohol related.

We often get groups of women in. They've usually had a few drinks. They have no qualms at all. They're asking guys to take their shirts off for them. At the end of the gig, when they come off stage, just grabbing them, giving them a hug (personal communication 07/11/18)¹⁶³.

¹⁶² This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 539.

¹⁶³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 540.

Both Marianne and Laurita also appear to describe what researchers regard as *disinhibition*, a form of impairment caused by the pharmacological effects of alcohol, defined as a broad deficit in the ability to control behaviour (Young et al. 2009). Those manifesting behavioural disinhibition are more likely to act impulsively and undertake risky behaviour (Quinn & Fromme 2016; Topper et al. 2014) although the actual biological mechanisms are not precisely known (Giancola et al. 2010; Weafer & Fillmore 2015). Behavioural disinhibition is one theory amongst several attempting to explain the effects of alcohol consumption (Fillmore & Blackburn 2002; van Bommel et al. 2016); however it does not explain all types of alcohol induced behavioural change (see Wall & Quadara 2014). Nonetheless Marianne's observation in account 537 not only points to alcohol induced behavioural disinhibition as an explanation, but also suggests that disinhibition may suppress the normal constraints exercised by individuals to conceal aspects of themselves for reasons of social acceptance.

The different social space of audiences

Magdalena offered an alternative explanation, when she was discussing the differences in social norms and how these manifested at gigs.

Music clubs can be dark places. They can get away with various things without a lot of people seeing it necessarily (personal communication 18/12/18)¹⁶⁴.

This account suggests that behaviour changes when there is a lack of accountability for patrons brought about by the anonymity of darkness, where behaviour goes unwitnessed. Fiona held a similar view.

¹⁶⁴ This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 541.

People think that they're in a club they can do what they want, like it's a different space. Even if they're not on drugs and alcohol...they're with their friends. That's a whole dynamic because when they're in a group compared to when they're on their own they act completely different (personal communication 12/10/18)¹⁶⁵.

In suggesting that patrons consider a club a “different space” Fiona proposed that the social environment of a club was a type of subculture (see Williams 2011), one with a homology of place and unique rules and norms, where presumably patrons are free to behave with less restraint. This notion is supported by other research that has described the social spaces of music performances as liminal ones with unique norms (see Ensminger 2013) permitting audience behaviour that elsewhere would be unacceptable (Ravenscroft & Matteucci 2003). Further, the club or gig environment can also be understood in Bourdieusian terms as specific field with associated doxa. In that context, aversive patron behaviour towards musicians can be framed as an attempt to establish and enforce social power. Fiona also invoked notions of group dynamics and social pressure that might account for individuals’ different behaviour. That group dynamic alters the behaviour of the individual needs no further explanation, as it is a phenomenon that is widely accepted across multiple disciplines (for example see Bourdieu 1985; Epley & Gilovich 1999; Forsyth 2014; Hooker, Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi 2014; Lewin 1947; Marques et al. 1998; Tajfel 2010). While a definitive examination of the group dynamics of patrons is beyond the scope of this study, the notion that patrons believe they can behave differently in a club or bar was also evident in earlier

¹⁶⁵ This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 542.

recollections, specifically in accounts 512B, 515 and 519, and is clearly evident in the following recollection.

Alcohol definitely plays a part in this stuff. It makes people a little looser. For them, they're relaxing and in a bar, so they [patrons] don't have to behave professionally because there's no repercussions for them. They see someone like me and they're like, "She's in a bar. I'm in a bar. I'm going to say whatever I want" (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)¹⁶⁶.

Similar to Magdalena's explanation (account 540), the lack of accountability for unacceptable behaviour also emerged as a factor in this testimony. Conversely, patrons definitely seemed aware that there were potential repercussions for the musician if she was not doing her job¹⁶⁷. Marianne also noted that in addition to little structural accountability, a patron's engagement with musicians is often ephemeral.

These people are there in the venue once and then they leave. It's hard for [musicians] to go in and file a complaint and say okay, can we please relay our side of the story and then let's have a chat to this manager about what actually happened. There's these gaps where it's really hard to stand up for yourself (personal communication 21/06/18)¹⁶⁸.

Furthermore, at large festivals, it can be difficult to properly identify perpetrators because of the crush of the crowd (Fileborn, Wadds & Barnes 2019) and insufficient staff numbers (Earl et al. 2004), also evident in account 535. However, the majority of participants experienced patron harassment in clubs and bars where some modes of sexual harassment are fleeting and therefore difficult to properly attribute to a specific individual (Graham et al. 2010). Anonymity is available to patrons because they are in dark venues, payments

¹⁶⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 543.

¹⁶⁷ See Account 509.

¹⁶⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 544.

can be made in cash, and they may never visit that club again. Consequently patrons may feel able to discard normal social rules and thereby harassment and aggressive behaviour can become normalised. In this way musicians and artists become easy targets for antisocial behaviour.

Security staff non-intervention, reputation and future work

Participants reported that patrons were able to get away with abuse because of the interplay between the need to secure future work and security staff non-intervention. The following observation is another example of the lack of security intervention.

There was a security guard at that venue, but he never ever seemed to intervene. I think he thought that they were just having fun, or they were friends of ours, or something - or I don't know (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)¹⁶⁹.

This account adds to the evidence from earlier testimony (particularly account 516) that the non-intervention of security staff in small live venues is a factor in workplace harassment and sexual harassment. Manuela was then asked if she had ever taken this particular matter up with management.

No, no because I feel like if you want to keep working-- didn't want to be the people that complained or say, "Could you guys help us out here?" I don't know. I've always just taken it as a part of the job, to be honest, because it's always been there (personal communication 11/10/18)¹⁷⁰.

Thus, not only is patron accountability at a minimum because of the lack of intervention from venue staff, but also musicians consider that their job would

¹⁶⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 545.

¹⁷⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 546.

be in jeopardy if they were to engage venue security over audience behaviour. While Manuela did not assert that there were direct consequences for calling on security, there was in her mind a relationship between keeping the gig and the need to not make waves. Another participant supported Manuela's view; however the following testimony suggests that more direct responsibility should be attached to patrons, who appear to be very aware of the economic and sociocultural dynamic of the live music scene.

People are pretty sly. [The patrons who harassed musicians] were leaving: they were drunk. They knew that they didn't care if they got thrown out because they were already on their way. They also have a sense of something else. I believe that they have a sense of the fact that they can say whatever they want and that's it. If I react in a certain way, that affects my future there. I think a lot of people have at least an unconscious idea, sort of like a twisted, skewed version of the customer is always right. I think these guys a lot of the time go in knowing that the musician is going to protect their job as much they can, so they've pretty much got free reign (Maxwell, personal communication 20/07/18)¹⁷¹.

Firstly, this recollection supports the contention that the lack of repercussions for patron abuse is a factor in the harassment of musicians working in small live venues. A parallel can be found in research into cyber bullying, where one study proposed a General Learning Model (GLM) to explain antisocial behaviour (Gentile et al. 2009). The GLM suggests that a learning encounter "can have affective, arousal and/or cognitive effects" in the short and long term (Gentile et al. 2009, p. 754). The GLM theorises a process whereby an online perpetrator learns from their first act of bullying that they are effectively anonymous in the online world, creating a power imbalance in their favour, which then encourages further bullying activity (Barlett, Gentile & Chew 2016).

¹⁷¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 547.

This theory has been supported in more recent research (Barlett, Chamberlin & Witkower 2017). The GLM might explain the phenomenon described by Maxwell in account 547, in that patrons act and speak in ways that breach normal social practices because not only have they learned that there are no repercussions, but also they have come to understand the subcultural norms of the audience space. Secondly, Maxwell pointed to an additional power imbalance in the small venue live music scene, one that centres on the ability of an audience to directly affect the livelihood of the performer or worker. This dynamic is likely to be so because of the very nature of the live music venue micro economy: one that is intertwined with alcohol sales and patrons' willingness to attend and drink there (see Homan 2019a; Johnson & Homan 2003). The nature of this imbalance of power is similar to that at work in online bullying and underpins the so-called act of 'griefing'¹⁷² (Barlett & Gentile 2012; Barlett, Gentile & Chew 2016; Chesney et al. 2009).

Accounts 546 and 547 show that one reason why many musicians fail to approach venue security when they are under threat is clearly to do with the fear of losing future work. As Maxwell proposed, at any gig where he faces harassment, the matter of reputation is an important consideration that informs how a threat is responded to.

*Who wants to be the guy who punched out a punter at a local venue? Then, the story essentially becomes local musician hits audience member because he didn't want to play the request they wanted (personal communication 20/07/18)*¹⁷³.

¹⁷² "Griefing" is the act of deliberately causing virtual harm to the avatar of another player in an online game or virtual simulation (Adasso 2019).

¹⁷³ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 548.

Firstly, this testimony serves as more evidence for patron incivility in the context of perceptions of the quality of entertainment. Secondly, the concern over reputation equates with a concern for future livelihood. Further, in the face of harassment or incivility, the issue of the non-intervention by security staff on behalf of musicians (also seen in earlier accounts) was contrasted with expectations of how security might act to protect venue staff.

There's two security there, there's a duty manager there who doesn't tend to be behind the bar so he's kind of a floating guy. You got three guys free there that can potentially run security. They were aware of what this guy was saying because he's pretty loud in between songs, if that guy had gone up to the bar to any number of the female staff who work behind the bar, and asked them to show him their tits, would he have been thrown out straight away? I bet you he would. I bet you he would have been dragged out, but because he was saying it to the musicians on stage it is not viewed as the same thing (Maxwell, personal communication 20/07/18)¹⁷⁴.

Maxwell's hypothesis was based on the behaviour of bar staff during the incident described in account 525. It is not hard to imagine that security would intervene to reprimand patrons for sexual harassment of female bar staff, because bar staff are employees, a work relationship that places WH&S obligations on the venue (see NSW Department of Customer Service 2019). Musicians are generally self employed small businesses (Hughes et al. 2016b) and as such are expected to assume responsibility for their own WH&S as well as the people who work for them (Safe Work NSW 2019b). Maxwell's contention that there is differential WH&S treatment for musicians at small venues is supported by the fact that WH&S legislation in Australia was only recently revised to reflect contemporary workplace practices in 2011 (Commonwealth of Australia 2019a). Since January 1, 2012 the provisions of

¹⁷⁴ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 549.

the WH&S Act in NSW were extended to include a new definition under WH&S legislation, that of a *person conducting a business or undertaking* (PCBU) (Safe Work NSW 2019b). A person who owns and runs a venue is now classified as a PCBU, and has WH&S obligations not only to employees (as before) but also to other subcontractors, including musicians and music industry workers (Safe Work NSW 2019b; NSW Department of Customer Service 2019). Despite this change, the Fair Work Commission website uses language with respect to bullying that describes only traditional employment relationships (2018). Even though venues can be in breach of WH&S legislation for failing to take reasonable care to ensure the safety of musicians in the face of known hazards (Safe Work Australia 2019c), the contradictory nature of two government websites may be contributing to significant inertia in how WH&S laws are implemented at the grass roots of the live music industry. This kind of inertia would doubtless magnify the impact on music workplaces as a result of legacy practices from previous versions of WH&S legislation. Regardless, the fact remains that musicians are reluctant to bring matters of abuse from patrons to the attention of venue owners and managers.

Intoxication and patron antisocial behaviour

Of all interview participants, 76% specifically mentioned alcohol as a factor in their experience of harassment. Alcohol and drug intoxication were also associated directly with negative behaviour in 20 separate comments in the free text fields of the online survey. When Luciana was asked how much she thought alcohol was a factor in the toxic behaviour of audiences she replied,

“Oh 90% of it” (personal communication 11/12/18). Her estimation was strongly supported in the following testimony.

I can't deny that alcohol and drugs play a big part in that because it gives people a lot of confidence, they've got that front, they can just say whatever they want because they are just sort of loose and wild and all the false confidence, it definitely plays a part. When we play venues that don't have a liquor license, like all ages venues and stuff, I don't think we get anything really (Monique, personal communication 02/08/18)¹⁷⁵.

Monique's experience at alcohol free venues represents a significant contrast to those where patrons can become intoxicated. That drugs and alcohol are closely associated with popular music is widely understood (Oksanen 2013; Van Havere et al. 2011; Winstock, Griffiths & Stewart 2001), a notion succinctly asserted by one respondent in the following comment.

We can't deny that drugs and alcohol are extremely prevalent in the music industry (ID: 88534060, personal communication 22/06/2018)¹⁷⁶.

Researchers have described a long history of drug references in popular music lyrics, as well as reports of a high incidence of explicit lyric references to substance use (Markert 2001; Primack et al. 2008). More recently in NSW however, audience drug use at music festivals has captured public attention, debate, research and a coronial inquest following several drug related deaths at outdoor music festivals (Dias 2019; Lai et al. 2013; McKinnell 2019). While informed debate continues about how to best manage illicit substance use at festivals (Barratt et al. 2018; Brandle 2019; Hughes et al. 2017; Vumbaca et al. 2019), musicians and music industry workers in this present research reported patterns of negative behaviour from intoxicated patrons, clearly evident in

¹⁷⁵ This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 550.

¹⁷⁶ This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 551.

accounts, 510, 516, 525, 529, 531, 535-540, 543 and 550. Accounts 538 and 539 in particular draw a direct causal link between toxic audience behaviour and alcohol use specifically. Furthermore, Maxwell made an important connection between alcohol consumption and the funding of live music performance.

I think one of the biggest downsides to working in the music industry at ground level, in the trenches or at the coalface as it were, is that the majority of work available to us as musicians is in licensed venues. We are essentially in some way shape or form, alcohol salesmen. We are in the unfortunate situation where we are trying to make our way in an arts career that is in constant exposure to people at their worst due to alcohol abuse (personal communication 20/07/18)¹⁷⁷.

The nexus between the alcohol and the live music industries is well known and long established (Ballico & Carter 2018; Cockington 2001; Forsyth & Cloonan 2008; Homan 2002, 2008a, 2019a; Homan et al. 2017). Although reports of bar takings at live music venues vary (Miller et al. 2019a; Whiting 2015), earlier research that investigated the shrinking live music scene in NSW cited one venue where bar takings increased by a factor of 10 on a Friday night with live music (Johnson & Homan 2003). That study clearly bears out Maxwell's previous assertion. Given this nexus, and the known association of alcohol consumption with aggressive behaviour (Commonwealth of Australia 2017; Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010; Giancola et al. 2010; Miller et al. 2012; NSW Department of Industry 2018; Wall & Quadara 2014; Wells & Graham 2003), it is unsurprising that music industry workers in this research reported so many experiences of abusive or unwanted behaviour from intoxicated patrons.

¹⁷⁷ This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 552.

AN ECONOMIC/HARASSMENT RISK CYCLE FOR MUSICIANS IN SMALL LIVE VENUES

As previously discussed in Chapter 1, the value of both the night time economy and the live performance industry to the Australian economy as a whole have been important to arguments made to policy makers against the imposition of restrictive trading practices on licensed live music venues as a result of alcohol related harm (Homan 2018). Shane Homan has argued persuasively that episodes of 'moral panic' (Cohen 2011) over alcohol consumption and its associated harm have been an entrenched feature in the recent history of Australian society (2019a).

Notwithstanding this discussion, what is significant to this research is that all sides of the debate, whether in the public arena or in the academy, have primarily been concerned with the prevalence of alcohol related harm caused to members of the public, and whether this is outweighed by the economic and cultural consequences of policy such as lockout laws¹⁷⁸. Further, and as also previously discussed in Chapter 1, in the light of major shifts in the burden of financial risk (Hughes et al. 2016b), the insecurity of music work (Bennett & Bridgstock 2014), and the high levels of stress experienced by musicians (Parker 2015), there has been a failure on all sides to regard alcohol related workplace harassment and sexual harassment as a WH&S risk for musicians and other music industry workers, even though their labour is at the centre of the live music economy. The absence of discussion concerning these specific

¹⁷⁸ See Chapter 1.

risks is even more glaring considering the relatively recent calls elsewhere in the discourse for musicians to be regarded as workers (Cloonan 2014).

One participant noted that the insecurity of music work has been heightened by a surfeit of competition for available gigs.

You've got herds of kids coming through...educational systems popping up everywhere...you can't sustain this. There will always be someone to replace you...You're getting a market that's flooded with kids who now...have an EP or some kind of press kit and fancy photos in social media and websites and all that stuff (Mirabelle, personal communication 30/01/20)¹⁷⁹.

Mirabelle's description of the emerging competition suggests that her career began prior to the present era of the entrepreneurial DIY artist described in Chapter 1. It may be that her business model, like that of the major labels, has been impacted by the same technological changes. Regardless, one survey respondent echoed her concerns about oversupply and described the competitiveness of the Melbourne live music scene in the following terms.

The music industry in Melbourne is incredibly competitive. It is not uncommon to have venue info hidden by gig mates who are training to get more gigs for their band [sic] (ID: 132865374, personal communication 16/12/2019)¹⁸⁰.

These accounts suggest that the economic reality for a musician or DJ in small venues is far more nuanced than the macro economic data of the live performance industry and the Night Time Economy suggests. In Melbourne alone, there were 553 venues (Newton & Coyle-Hayward 2018) offering patrons a wide choice. Similar data is not available for New Zealand, although over

¹⁷⁹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 553.

¹⁸⁰ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 554.

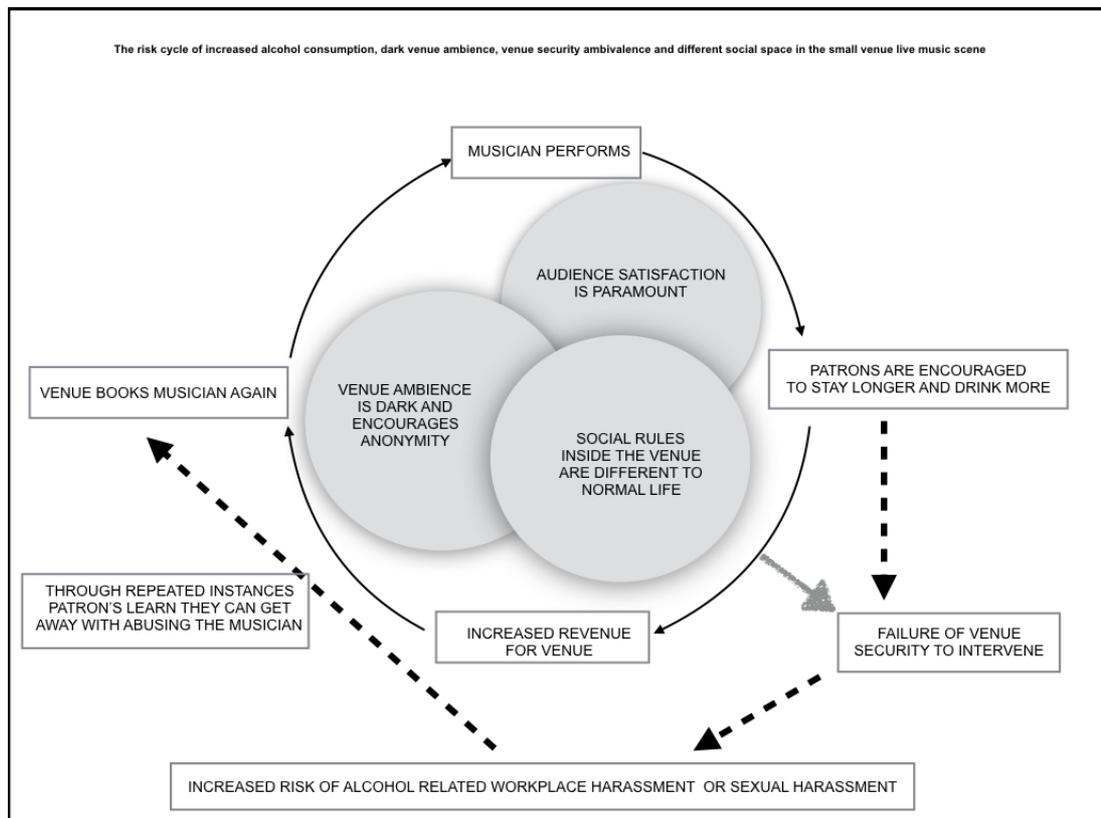
1020 gigs were reported nationwide during New Zealand Music Month in 2019 (Anderson 2019), although this figure may not be representative of the normal live performance landscape¹⁸¹. On the basis of Australia Council estimates, 4,050 of Australia's musicians live in Victoria (after Throsby & Petetskaya 2017). Thus it is not surprising that musicians and DJ's not only struggle financially (as has been previously examined in Chapter 1) but also struggle to find work. The most recent Melbourne Live Music Census reported that for 69% of musician or DJ respondents (N = 312), the income earned from music did not cover the costs of their music practice (Newton & Coyle-Hayward 2018, p. 72). The disparity between the macro view of the night-time economy and the experience at the grass roots level is doubtless a product of the small share of total music revenue that goes to artists generally (Basinet et al. 2018), as well as being fuelled by the brutal realities of supply and demand evident in accounts 553-554. These factors, coupled with the fragmentation of the industry, undoubtedly contribute to a great many musicians and other performers possessing relatively little power within the live music economy. It is little wonder that Maxwell (account 547) feels that audiences at small venues are somehow aware of the power they hold over a musician's potential livelihood, that of withdrawing patronage. The little power possessed by working musicians in small venues is therefore complicated by a triangle of supply and demand. As is evident from the accounts of participants in this chapter, venue security may well act in cases of violence amongst patrons and cases of abuse directed at venue staff; however they do so less often when musicians are harassed. Doubtless this is because the more a venue removes patrons for

¹⁸¹ New Zealand Music Month is a celebration and promotion of New Zealand music and music makers (<https://www.nzmusicmonth.co.nz/what-is-nz-music-month/> accessed 16/03/2020).

aversive behaviour, the less alcohol is consumed. Further, as described earlier, aversive patron behaviour is often nuanced, and either occurs away from the direct scrutiny of venue security, or occurs opportunistically with patrons minimising the risk of repercussions. These factors explain why many participants seemed to regard antisocial behaviour and workplace harassment/sexual harassment as ubiquitous to performing live music.

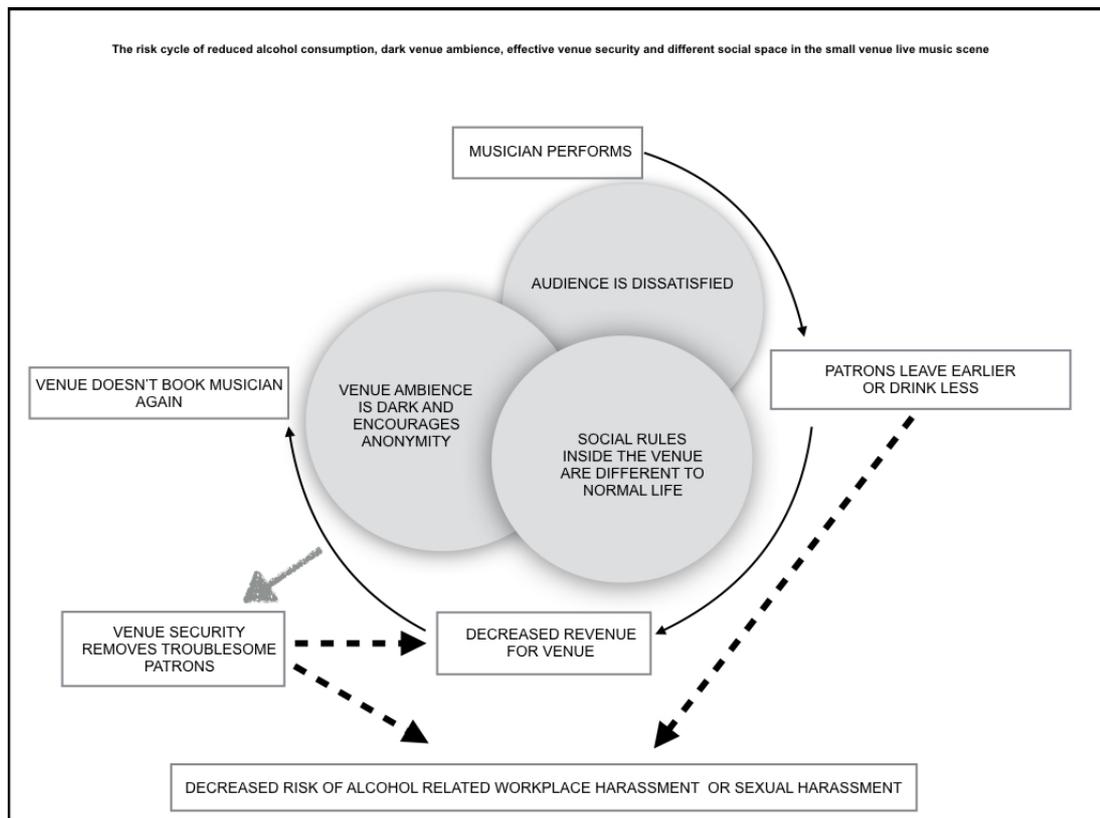
The ubiquity of antisocial behaviour and workplace harassment/sexual harassment is explained in the following two diagrams that summarise the dilemma faced by musicians in the small live venue economy, and as set forth in this discussion. Simply put, if the artist successfully keeps the audience happy, patrons stay and drink more, thereby creating an environment of greater workplace harassment/sexual harassment risk, but the venue will be likely to book them again in the future (see Figure 5.1 below).

Figure 5.1 The risk cycle of increased alcohol consumption



If the musician directly addresses the risk by either withdrawing from the gig, directly confronting patrons over their harassment or calling security to intervene, they risk future work at that venue (see Figure 5.2 below).

Figure 5.2 The risk cycle of reduced alcohol consumption



In accordance with Bourdieu's conceptualisation, there is an evident unequal distribution of capital that lies at the heart of this problem. Within the field of small live music venues, the weight of economic capital collectively lies in the audiences' favour. Accordingly they can exert this power as well as their social capital to create environments that place musicians at risk of harassment. Those who work in live performance without the power of stardom and prestige, do so from a position of great vulnerability.

To summarise, this study contends that the provisions and protections of legislation intended to protect workers in the face of workplace aggression; workplace harassment and sexual harassment are rendered ineffective in the case of artists, musicians, DJ's and other contract music industry workers. The

relative anonymity of patrons, coupled with a lack of repercussions for toxic behaviour, are both exacerbated by the need for venues to maintain viability by alcohol generated revenue. This dynamic along with the nature of supply and demand for artists in live music work is a convergence of circumstances that make for a high-risk workplace, rendering musicians relatively powerless, and with little practical access to the protections available to them under WH&S legislation. Regardless of all other workplace considerations, musicians and other music industry workers are regularly exposed to levels of antisocial behaviour, sexual harassment and incidents that reach the thresholds of criminality. Moreover, despite research examining the extent of alcohol related violence in the night-time economy, the circumstances of musicians and other music industry workers reported here have been absent from other research investigating the scope of this phenomenon (see Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010; Miller et al. 2019a).

CLASSIFYING THE NATURE OF PATRON HARASSMENT

This chapter has detailed incidents of toxic behaviour on the part of patrons, ranging from stage invasion¹⁸² to aggravated sexual assault¹⁸³. The question of how to classify the nature of these behaviours arises, particularly whether toxic audience behaviours should be regarded as workplace incivility, workplace aggression, workplace harassment or sexual harassment. As discussed earlier, many incidents fell within the definition of sexual harassment as defined by the Australian Human Rights Commission (2013). These will be enumerated in

¹⁸² Accounts 502 and 503.

¹⁸³ Account 536.

Table 5.1 below. An act of sexual harassment can be considered as such whether it is a one time event or occurs repeatedly (Australian Human Rights Commission 2013); accordingly Table 5.1 will show whether sexual harassment was reported as a single incident, or as emblematic of a pattern of similar incidents. However, the question of how to correctly classify patron behaviour is only clear-cut when it comes to sexual harassment, leaving out much of the aversive behaviour experienced by participants in this study.

Even though sexual harassment is regarded as a systemic phenomenon by many researchers, workplace harassment is described rather as a systematic phenomenon, which explains why many workplace harassment researchers set a minimum timeframe of 6 months for negative acts to be classified as workplace harassment (Cowie et al. 2002; Einarsen 1999; Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Leymann 1996). As discussed in earlier chapters, the music industry presents a challenge to this framework primarily because the vast majority of those working in the music industries are not formally employed in large organizations (Davidson-Irwin 2017; Hughes et al. 2016b; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017). Nonetheless music industry workers are highly networked and operate within identifiable professional relationships, which vary in function, significance and duration (Hughes et al. 2016b). It is plausible therefore that the nature of these networks could replicate formal organisational power relationships such as superiors, colleagues and subordinates. As discussed in Chapter 2, contractual relationships can exhibit similar power differentials to those that exist in organisations, including the kinds of power relations inherent in the A&R manager to artist relationship, the band mate to band mate

relationship and the artist to session player relationship. Therefore, and as previously discussed, the NAQ-R can serve as a suitable starting point for classifying aversive behaviour. Even though toxic behaviour perpetrated by patrons may have occurred as single instances in many cases, it nonetheless appears systemic, and in some cases appears to be systematic. Ultimately the conundrum of classification is best resolved by understanding how participants themselves understood their circumstances.

It is evident from testimony cited here that musicians and music industry workers tend to think of audiences somewhat in terms of stereotypes. The term *punter* is one example of this form of generalization, along with the genre stereotypes discussed earlier. Fiona generalised audiences even further by attributing the trends in patron intoxication to a broader cultural problem.

It's the culture in Australia which needs to get addressed because a lot of the time, these people that are coming in are usually drunk before they've even got into the club or they're like two, three drinks off being completely off their face. They'll come to the clubs buzzing, have a few more drinks and then they leave, and they're gone (personal communication 12/10/18)¹⁸⁴.

Her observation has been given additional weight by controversy around the forthcoming National Alcohol Strategy, which has been watered down significantly as a consequence of changes imposed by the alcohol industry following the release of the draft document in 2017 (Gregory 2019). Accordingly, and notwithstanding the limitations described above, audience behaviour that conforms to the NAQ-R typology of workplace harassment will be classified as such in table 5.1, and additionally, behaviour that falls within the

¹⁸⁴ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 555.

definitions of workplace incivility, workplace aggression and violence against women will also be so noted. Table 5.1 below also categorises harassment described by participants as either emblematic or a single incident. Further, the table also shows if respondents (Resp.) were either working as artists and musicians (A) or managers, crew, or in other industry roles (O), or when venue security was noted as not intervening (VS).

Abbreviations: EMB = emblematic. SYS = systematic. INC = single incident

Account	Prevalence	Description	Type	VS	Resp.
500	INC	Death threat, (Threats and intimidation*).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility		O
501	INC	Sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment		A
502	EMB	Physical assault and stage invasion (*Threats and intimidation*).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility		
503	EMB	Stage invasion (*Threats and intimidation*).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility		A
504	EMB	Verbal abuse and stage invasion (*Threats and intimidation*).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility		A
505	EMB	Harassment (not specified), Sexual assault.	Workplace Harassment/Sexual Harassment		O
505	EMB	Harassment (not specified), Sexual assault.	Workplace Harassment/Sexual Harassment		A
507	EMB	General remarks.	N/A		A
508	EMB	Sexual harassment (unspecified).	Sexual Harassment		A
509A	INC	Ridiculed about work* (Gendered).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility/Sexual Harassment		A
509B	INC	Sexual advance.	Sexual Harassment		A
509C	INC	Threats and intimidation*.	Workplace Harassment/Sexual Harassment		A
510	INC	Ridiculed about work*.	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility		A
511	EMB	Ridiculed about work*, Spontaneous anger*.	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility		A

Account	Prevalence	Description	Type	VS	Resp.
512A	INC	Ridiculed about work*, Spontaneous anger* Threats and intimidation* (Gendered).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility/Workplace Aggression	✓	O
512B	INC	Spontaneous anger*. Threats and intimidation* (Gendered).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility/Workplace Aggression Violence Against Women	✓	O
513	EMB	Heckling.	Workplace Incivility/Sexual Harassment		A
514	EMB	Threats and intimidation* (Gendered).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility/Workplace Aggression		O
515	EMB	Spontaneous anger*, Assault (Gendered).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Aggression Violence Against Women		O
516	EMB	Threats and intimidation*.	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Aggression	✓	A
517	EMB	Threats and intimidation*, Assault.	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Incivility/Workplace Aggression		A
518	INC	Aggravated assault, (Gendered) attempted theft.	Workplace Aggression Violence Against Women	✓	O
519	EMB	Spontaneous anger*, Sexual advance, Assault (Gendered).	Workplace Harassment/Workplace Aggression/Sexual Harassment Violence Against Women		O
520	INC	Sexual advance.	Sexual Harassment		A
521	EMB	Sexual advance (implied).	Sexual Harassment		A
522	EMB	Sexual advance.	Sexual Harassment		A
523	EMB	Sexual innuendo.	Sexual Harassment		A
524	INC	Sexual advance.	Sexual Harassment		A
525	INC	Sexual advance.	Sexual Harassment	✓	A
526	EMB	Sexual advance.	Sexual Harassment		A
527	EMB	Sexual advance, Insults about personal life*.	Workplace Harassment/Sexual Harassment		A
528	EMB	Sexual advance, Insults about personal life*.	Workplace Harassment/Sexual Harassment		A
529	EMB	Sexual advance, Insults about personal life*.	Workplace Harassment/Sexual Harassment		A
530	INC	Sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment		A

Account	Prevalence	Description	Type	VS	Resp.
531	EMB	Sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment		A
532	EMB	Sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment		A
533	INC	Sexual assault, Opinions and views ignored*.	Sexual Harassment/Workplace Harassment		A
534	INC	Sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment		A
535	INC	Sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment		O
536	INC	Aggravated sexual assault.	Sexual Harassment	✓	O
537	EMB	Unspecified, Possible intoxication.	N/A		A
538	EMB	Assault, Possible intoxication.	N/A		O
539	EMB	Unspecified, Possible intoxication.	N/A		A
540	EMB	Sexual suggestion, Possible intoxication.	Sexual Harassment		O
541	EMB	Unspecified.	N/A		A
542	EMB	Unspecified.	N/A		O
543	EMB	Unspecified.	N/A		A
544	EMB	Unspecified.	N/A		A
545	INC	Unspecified.	N/A	✓	A
546	EMB	Concern for future work.	N/A		A
547	INC	Concern for future work.	N/A		A
548	EMB	Concern for future work.	N/A		A
549	INC	General – venue security not intervening.	N/A	✓	A
550	EMB	Possible intoxication.	N/A		A
551	EMB	Possible intoxication.	N/A		-
552	EMB	Possible intoxication.	N/A		A
553	EMB	Oversupply of musicians and DJ's.	N/A		A
554	EMB	Oversupply of musicians and DJ's.	N/A		A
555	EMB	Possible intoxication.	N/A		O

Table 5.1 Classification of audience harassment¹⁸⁵

An asterisk * indicates an act of harassment identifiable on the NAQ-R.

CONCLUSION

Musicians and music industry workers in Australia and New Zealand are subject to frequent and regular episodes of workplace harassment/sexual harassment on the part of audiences in their work in the live music industry. There is no precise quantification of the extent of patron on musician/music industry worker

¹⁸⁵ An entry of N/A in Table 5.1 indicates that it was not possible to make a determination based on a respondent's account.

sexual harassment or workplace harassment; however some participants reported that incidents of workplace harassment and sexual harassment occur weekly or monthly. The nature of patron abuse should be classified in terms of workplace harassment particularly when the target is a male musician, except in cases where a female patron perpetrates sexual harassment against a male target as in account 534. Forms of abuse that were perpetrated on both men and women include verbal abuse, heckling, persistent criticism of their work, the disruption of audience and performer social construct and threatening or intimidating behaviour. Both men and women reported physical assault or the threat of physical assault. Notwithstanding these findings, however, the majority of participants reporting patron harassment were female, and therefore a finding that there is widespread gender-based harassment by patrons is inescapable. The nature of this harassment conforms to accepted definitions of sexual harassment, including unwanted sexual overtures and heckling by patrons that features sexually objectifying language. Further, female musicians and music industry workers experience sexual assault, including unwanted sexual touching from audience members before, during or after performances at venues. Some types of sexual harassment experienced by female musicians in small live venues are similar to the sexual harassment experienced by female patrons in bars and clubs. Female music industry workers, such as crew, door personnel, media personnel, managers and venue managers, more commonly experience gender harassment in the form of physical assault (violence against women) or sexual assault both during and after work in the vicinity of venues. The most serious forms of assault can be classed as aggravated physical assault or aggravated sexual assault. The gendered harassment of women by

patrons is normalised behaviour that in Australia stems in part from the earliest formations of Oz Rock as a music that shuns the feminine, as well as the pub rock scene that initially featured spaces of overt working-class masculine aggression.

The working environment of small live venues is one that renders music industry workers, both male and female, more vulnerable to harm owing to a variety of factors. Firstly, the economy of the live music industry at the small live venue level is heavily dependent on the sale and consumption of alcohol by patrons. This means that musicians are at high risk of being subject to disinhibited behaviour on the part of intoxicated patrons. Additionally, small venues fail to protect the safety of musicians and musician industry workers, as a consequence of the non-intervention by security personnel where musicians are being harassed. In the case of large venues and festivals this failure occurs because promoters hire insufficient security staff. These factors in turn mean that there are rarely any repercussions to patrons for incidents of antisocial behaviour. The small live music scene represents a high-risk environment for musicians where there are many factors outside of their control.

Finally there is a distinct power imbalance between venues and musicians as well as between patrons and musicians. Venue managers in major urban centres are aware that there is a high ratio of musicians to available venues, and wherever supply exceeds demand, power is in the hands of those who hold access to the valuable resources, in this case the gig itself. Consequently musicians do not report patron harassment to venues, and do not report venues

for possible WH&S breaches. Furthermore, patrons are aware of the precarious nature of employment for musicians. Patrons in urban centres rely on the anonymity of music venues and the ease in which they can come and go from one venue to another to perpetrate abuse without repercussions.

Moreover, widespread sexism, in combination with the economic structure of the small live venue scene, converge to render female music industry workers vulnerable to abuse and sexual harassment from patrons.

The findings of this chapter contribute new understandings of what it is like to work in the small live venue scene in Australia and New Zealand. While previous studies have found associations between alcohol intoxication, licensed venues and patron aversive behaviour, they have done so from the perspective of understanding patterns of aggression or harassment that patrons perpetrate either on other members of the public or on venue staff. The findings of this chapter contribute further to this discourse in the identification of musicians and music industry workers as targets of harassment. As noted earlier, the study of popular music in Australia has addressed the moral panic arising from alcohol related violence at licensed venues in structural and economic terms. This chapter however, identifies the stresses, risks and dangers to music industry workers that are the consequence of those structures and economy. As extensively discussed, workplace harassment is known to arise from an imbalance of power, and is traditionally regarded as a phenomenon that occurs when those who possess legitimate power in organizations misuse this power on their staff. This chapter contributes a new understanding of power in the

small live venue scene, in that patron harassment is evidence that audiences possess greater power compared to musicians than has previously been described. Further, the findings of this chapter uniquely contribute a model that explains the convergence of four factors contributing to harassment risk; namely the anonymity of patrons afforded by the venues, the different social space created by audiences, an economy that depends on alcohol consumption and the non-intervention of venue security. Moreover, and as previously discussed, gender discrimination in the music industry has been widely identified and analysed. This chapter however, uniquely adds to the understanding of gender discrimination by documenting and categorizing specific types of toxic behaviours from members of the public that are faced by women working in music. These toxic behaviours are the direct consequence of gender discrimination.

CHAPTER 6

PEER-TO-PEER HARASSMENT: GENDER AND SEX

Results from the online survey showed that female participants experienced different forms and prevalence of harassment than males. This pattern was also evident in the previous chapter, where 82.7% of all testimony concerning incidents of patron harassment was from women as opposed to 17.3% from men. Overwhelmingly, women reported that harassment was directed at them by men. This finding is unsurprising given the pattern of sexual harassment that has been found in the Australian workforce (Jenkins 2018, 2020). Female music industry practitioners experienced a breadth of gendered anti-social and aversive behaviour from their peers. Respondent ID: 132967048 commented that, “Stories of abusive musicians are commonplace” (personal communication 17/12/19). These behaviours include:

- Sexist comments
- Offensive remarks
- Sexual joking
- Social exclusion
- Sexual objectification
- Unwanted sexual attention
- Unwanted sexual touching
- Unwanted sexual overtures
- Sexual assault

One participant also described incidents of rape or the threat of rape from colleagues.

This chapter is principally concerned with negative behaviours perpetrated by those who can be categorised as peers: colleagues or co-workers. These included band mates or other collaborators such as sound engineers and crew. Negative behaviours fell into clusters of similarity, with close comparisons possible amongst participants. The starting point for this discussion is so striking for its uniformity that it is presented here as a case study.

A CASE STUDY OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Female artists and musicians reported sexist interactions with male sound engineers, prior to or during live performances. This form of sexist interaction occurred with relatively high frequency as is evident from the following testimony.

There appears to be an assumption [from sound engineers] that you don't know what you're talking about (Mirabelle, personal communication 30/01/20)¹⁸⁶.

...The obvious ones are sound guys talking to you like you're stupid. [laughs] It's a pretty obvious thing, it's happened [sic] all the time (Milenia personal communication 27/06/18)¹⁸⁷.

While these accounts describe this sexism in a generalised way, one participant offered more detail about the way female artists are treated by sound engineers, as is apparent in the following observation.

It happens a lot as well with female artists...who don't get taken seriously...especially a lot with the sound tech technicians...they'll get

¹⁸⁶ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 601.

¹⁸⁷ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 602.

pushed and shoved off like they're some random person when they're the key artist who's touring. They probably know more than the sound person does, but they get completely sideswiped just because they're female (Fiona, personal communication 12/10/18)¹⁸⁸.

In addition to the gendered nature of this behaviour, it can also be classified by the NAQ-R as a form of workplace harassment known as *having one's opinions and views ignored* (see Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009). As outlined in Chapter 3, this form of workplace harassment is gendered (79.5% of females reported experiencing this 'more than once' as opposed to 69.3% of males). Arguably, when opinions and views are ignored, there are assumptions being made about the knowledge or competence of the other individual. This pattern was also evident in the following account from Antonella, who described the experiences of her female performer friends.

They'll instantly not talk to them and talk to a male band member about tech issues...or if they mention something in terms of the levels, in terms of the mix ...[you] just get completely ignored essentially...a lot of it is attributed to sexism, which is absolutely the case (personal communication 12/12/18)¹⁸⁹.

Thus not only do sound engineers ignore female artists, but in technical matters they also privilege male musicians. This form of discrimination is commonplace, as is evident from the following amalgamated reflection.

*We...had all our live set going through Ableton¹⁹⁰, we gave the guy basically our leads...and you just mix it from this...each lead was labelled... When I went over and gave him this he was just like, "What do you expect me to do with this?"
"Plug it in, put it in your desk."*

¹⁸⁸ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 603.

¹⁸⁹ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 604.

¹⁹⁰ Ableton is a popular proprietary digital audio workstation software for music recording and sequencing <https://www.ableton.com/en/> (accessed 06/08/19).

He's just like, "Well, I don't know why you would give me this, why would you give me a feed from your laptop?"

I'm like, "Because it's all running through my laptop." And then, [name redacted] my [male] partner went over and he explained to him and he was like, "Oh, okay yes I get it," and plugged it in¹⁹¹ (Milenia personal communication 27/06/18).

When I started playing with him [male collaborator] they would go up to him and...ask him what the set up was, and...he'd come after me. It was something that he wasn't really aware of either until I was like, "Do you notice that they never talk to me?" (Milenia personal communication 27/06/18)¹⁹²

Male musicians can be oblivious to gender discrimination taking place around them, supporting assertions that men are less aware of sexism than women (Martínez et al. 2010; Smith 1992). A similar example of sound engineer sexism can be seen in the following recollection, which also amalgamates several episodes.

I had one sound guy say to me, "Do you need help setting that amp up sweetheart?" Like I didn't know how to set up my own amp. But then I've also had sound guys walk up on stage while I'm playing and adjust my EQ...I know how to get the sound I like - that's how I want to sound...I feel like I would never do that to a man...Did you seriously just come up on stage and call me sweetheart...? Really? Seriously? (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)¹⁹³

These interactions are not only gendered, they are patronising. Furthermore, they also demonstrate that this kind of discrimination is tantamount to a criticism of someone's competence as a musician, particularly in the gendered breaching

¹⁹¹ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 605.

¹⁹² This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 606.

¹⁹³ This amalgamated recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 607.

of technical protocols customary in live performance ¹⁹⁴. Another female instrumentalist made a similar observation.

I find a lot that sound engineers will treat me very differently to anyone else on stage, especially being female. It'll be once or twice a week out of doing five to six gigs that I'd be treated like I have no knowledge of my instrument or my amp...they would always explain it like really dumbed down as if it's your first time picking up an instrument...

I had one recently, that apparently: my amp wasn't good enough. One of the guys had a small amp. He's like, "I'm a [instrument redacted] I play full time. I've got a better one in the back. Do you want my one?" My MD at that time knew that my amp was really good quality... He stood up for me and went to the sound engineer...soon as a male figure steps in, they stop but when it's just me, they weren't listening (Morella, personal communication 02/11/18)

¹⁹⁵.

As with account 606 a male colleague stepped in to avert unwarranted interference; however the sexist beliefs are readily apparent: a female instrumentalist prima facie lacks professional knowledge and competence, compared to the superior knowledge of a male sound engineer. Notably the engineer asserted that he was a 'full time' player, pointing to the assumption that a female musician must be in music 'part time'. Accounts 603-608 point to a widely experienced problem, addressed in the song "They Need Us" by Perth duo *Feels*.

*Do you ladies need some help? Did you make that beat yourself?
Who does all your production? I've got some mixing tips (Taylor & Reitze 2018).*

¹⁹⁴ Amplifier and instrument settings are normally the sole province of the instrumentalist. This can be seen by entering the term 'amp settings' in a search engine and noting the large number of websites and discussion threads devoted to discussion about what kinds of settings to use. The discussion (dominated by guitarists) is almost exclusively musician-to-musician, and also reveals the importance that is placed on instrumentalists being able to create the 'right' sound for themselves.

¹⁹⁵ This amalgamated recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 608.

According to co-composer Reitze, the song lyrics were drawn from comments directed at them by men in the music industry (2018). Marisol's experiences of sound engineer sexism are very similar.

It's often the case they will want to set my gear up for me or change the tone on the bass amp while I'm on stage, which would never happen with a guy... I would say most shows there are interactions like that... and then, after a...show, them coming up to me and being like, "You were actually quite good" (personal communication 24/09/18)¹⁹⁶.

The subsequent compliment is significant because of its admission of surprise about Marisol's competence, and serves as further evidence for a prevailing sexist belief: that female musicians are of low skill. A very similar example can be found in this recollection from a member of an all-girl band.

Some of them [sound engineers] will take one look at us and think; "Okay, it's a bunch of girls. I don't really have to put that much effort into making them sound good. I'll just put them on the generic one"¹⁹⁷ because they're just a bunch of chicks. They'll be right. They're not really professional musicians"...a quarter to a third of our experience of sound checks are like that. We'll get up and they'll often talk to us like we're stupid...and say, "Use the big drum."...I'm a musician, you know? I know what I'm doing. Just because I'm a female doesn't mean I'm stupid" (Monique, personal communication 02/08/18)¹⁹⁸.

The concept of professionalism should be regarded as a highly constructed one (Evetts 2013; Noordegraaf & Schinkel 2011), in the same kind of manner that 'authenticity' is constructed (Barker & Taylor 2007; Frith & Horne 1987; Hughes 2000; Moore 2002). If, for example, the usage of professionalism was constructed to mean a band that can get lots of gigs or earn significant

¹⁹⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 609.

¹⁹⁷ Presumably "the generic one" refers to compression, reverb and EQ settings that are saved as factory settings and are available as templates in digital sound desks.

¹⁹⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 610.

revenue from music work, then it would not be possible for a sound engineer to make a valid comparison between male and female bands. Further, and as already discussed in Chapter 1, a large proportion of working musicians (regardless of gender) are not generating sufficient income from their music work to either derive a livelihood or even pay all of their music related expenses (Newton & Coyle-Hayward 2018; Throsby & Petetskaya 2017). Therefore, arbitrary judgments about whether someone is a 'professional' are based in assumptions and extremely problematic. Notwithstanding the fine distinctions in the discrimination evident in accounts 601-610, it is evident that sound engineers subscribe to underlying assumptions that routinely diminish and dismiss female musicians in terms of their competence. Account 609 is also notable in that the level of disregard extended to a form of indirect or covert aggression (Archer & Coyne 2005; Warren, Richardson & McQuillin 2011) that was effectively sabotaging the performances of Monique's band. Finally, the behaviour of sound engineers can also be regarded as an example of gatekeeping power. In NET terms, a live music performance can be regarded as a network of exchange. Given that a sound engineer is the one who makes the final decisions about what is heard by an audience, it is possible to regard sound engineers as those who grant access to the intangible resource of a good sounding gig. Thus, the gendered behaviour of sound engineers can be regarded as an exercise of symbolic capital to disempower female musicians and demonstrate that they have less symbolic capital.

Further insight into sound engineer attitudes towards women can be found in the following recollection from Luciana, who had a long career working

alongside tech crew for large and small live performances. She recalled the remarks of a prominent sound engineer who complained about female artists by saying that they “would start changing things”, “they would want things, and it was never right” and that [female artists] would “sing over time or too long or change shit” (personal communication 11/12/18)¹⁹⁹. Accordingly, her explanation for sound engineer behaviour is from an ‘insider’ perspective.

So there's this attitude...in the technical world, that women are difficult. That's the phrase: "Oh God, there's a fucking female singer. Fuck me"...that will come out of someone's mouth...Misogyny (personal communication 11/12/18)²⁰⁰.

It is likely that these remarks were not intended to be heard by a female artist in person; therefore they should be regarded as a window into a specific music industry subculture as opposed to harassment per se. The pervasive view of sound engineers that “women are difficult” appears linked to behaviour such as “changing things” or “wanting things”, all of which are interactions where female artists are likely to have expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the sound in their mix, for example during sound check. Changing levels and expressing dissatisfaction with sound are normal aspects of communication between artist and sound engineer during a sound check (Pack 2017). Further, Luciana noted that she had “seen blokes that were far worse than women” in similar contexts (personal communication 11/12/18)²⁰¹. Consequently, these remarks represent additional evidence of entrenched sexist beliefs amongst sound engineers that can be explained in terms of misogyny (see Gilmore 2010) as described in Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 611A.

²⁰⁰ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 611B.

²⁰¹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 611C.

Additionally, some participants faced open and direct hostility from sound engineers, as can be seen in the following recollection.

I played the [name of venue redacted] in September and... he was so vicious. I made a joke about Rank Arena²⁰²...he was like, "That's my generation. How dare you talk about that? How old are you? I've been here for--", literally yelling at me, and he's the sound guy...Then I was talking about pads²⁰³ with him because we've got the same Zoom²⁰⁴ recorder, and I was trying to converse with him on an equal level of tech. He was so aggressive. He hated the fact that I knew anything...because they just assume that you're a female: "You don't know anything, you don't know anything about inputs, outputs, phasing: position of microphones." I'm doing a bloody degree in music production...(Mariquita, personal communication 31/05/18)²⁰⁵.

The hostility seen in this account is a more direct and harsher version of the attitudes reported in account 611. Taken together, accounts 601-612 lead to the conclusion that sound engineers hold the view that the women involved did not belong in the spaces they were occupying, whether on stage or off, behaviour that can be understood as job role stereotyping and social exclusion (see Chapter 2). Although other participants did not report the kind of open hostility Mariquita experienced, one participant noted that hostility was expressed in the guise of humour: evident in the following recollection.

They would always joke about #MeToo and how it was so stupid and women should get over it and harden the fuck up, and here's me going, "Oh my God, can we really do it?...you guys are joking about #MeToo. I have no leg to stand on because you're joking about it."...

²⁰² Rank Arena was a brand of theatrical lighting widely used in Australia in the 1960's through to the 1980's.

²⁰³ The term pad is an acronym for Passive Attenuation Device, which normally appears on audio equipment as a switch that when engaged reduces the level of audio signal by a predetermined amount. A major function of a pad is to ensure that an audio signal does not exceed the maximum level for the electronic circuitry (<https://www.audiomasterclass.com/newsletter/what-is-a-pad-what-is-it-used-for> Accessed 21/8/19).

²⁰⁴ Zoom is a popular brand of digital recording and audio interface hardware. <https://www.zoom-na.com/> (accessed 09/08/2019)

²⁰⁵ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 612.

They would always joke about #MeToo. If someone would make a joke, they'd be like: "Oh, #MeToo" (Maria Jose, personal communication 03/04/19)²⁰⁶.

Thus #MeToo joking was not only intended to undermine Maria Jose's equality, but also that of women more generally; supporting arguments that misogyny "is intended to remind women of their proper patriarchal place, one that is subservient to the interests of men: a place that is not public, powerful or political" (Vickery & Everbach 2018, p. 13). In the broader context of her entire testimony in account 600, this form of joking can be understood not only as networked misogyny (Banet-Weiser & Miltner 2016), but also as indirect aggression (Archer & Coyne 2005) that was aimed at Maria Jose, the sole female musician in the band. Further, given that the behaviour was systematic and took place over a duration exceeding six months, this form of joking qualifies as *excessive teasing and sarcasm*, and is also a form of workplace harassment in the NAQ-R typology (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009). Further, this account paints a picture of a pervasive sexist culture that extends beyond sound engineers to the wider touring crew community. Accordingly, this chapter turns now to examine how widely sexist beliefs are held in the music industry beyond these technical roles.

SEXISM, SEXUAL JOKING AND OFFENSIVE COMMENTARY

Almost every female participant who was interviewed for this research reported some way in which they had faced gendered discriminatory behaviour,

²⁰⁶ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 600A.

language or attitudes on the part of colleagues²⁰⁷. As respondent ID: 132967048 remarked about her experience in the music industry, “casual sexism is rife” (personal communication 17/12/19). As male hegemony has been described in Chapter 2, it needs no further explanation except to note that for the sake of this chapter and the next, the terms *sexism* and *gender discrimination*, as manifestations of male hegemony will be taken to be interchangeable. This is so because participants used the term sexism to explain their experiences in a form of vernacular theory (Baker 1984; McLaughlin 1998). Participants reported incidents where they were regarded or treated less favourably than men would have been in similar circumstances, or where they were disadvantaged because they were female (*Sex Discrimination Act 1984 No 4, 1984 as amended 2013*; Bird 1968; Gill 2011). gender discrimination appeared in this research in multiple forms, including gender stereotyping (Basow 1992; Rudman & Glick 2001; Talbot 2008), an example of which can be seen in the following recollection.

I've had girls...seven years old say to me, "I didn't know a lady could play the guitar." Still this idea that instruments have a gender. It's really interesting to me that it still happens (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)²⁰⁸.

The gendering of instruments is an example of social role stereotyping, identified in Chapter 2 as a manifestation of male hegemony. Mariquita also described gender discrimination and instrument stereotyping in the hip-hop scene.

It's an open band situation, it's a jam; the guys are always going to sit at the drum kit. Women don't get access to drums, ever. You'd be the vocalist. “I

²⁰⁷ One female participant denied that there was sexism in the industry; however her testimony reflected that she was complicit in the normalisation of industry culture in her sector. Her testimony will be discussed in Chapter 7.

²⁰⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 613.

want you to sing that out front but you can't sit on drums"...there's so much stuff of women not getting access to instruments that are considered the gendered, the loud ones, or the aggressive ones (personal communication 31/05/18)²⁰⁹.

As discussed in Chapter 2, gender stereotyping is associated with gender discrimination (see Bobbitt-Zeher 2011) and as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, gendered job role stereotyping is not only a feature of the music industry globally (Davies 2001; Leonard 2016, 2017b) but also of the wider creative industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015). This account however exemplifies the specific music industry stereotype that "men just [don't] want to listen to women play bass, drums or electric guitar" (Carson, Lewis & Shaw 2015, p. 3). Social role stereotyping has been widely discussed (see also Bayton 1997; Cohen 1997; Larsen 2017) and is also apparent in the following two excerpts.

One thing in terms of the artists' management which I still get today, every single artist I had ever managed-- I even managed a male artist that always got a comment from people going, "I thought you were the girlfriend" (Fiona personal communication 12/10/18)²¹⁰.

I can be standing there these days with my husband and he says to them, "We're in a band." They turn to him and completely don't hear that I'm a musician too – don't get it at all. I think it might have to do with social perceptions of what gender roles are as well (Magdalena personal communication 18/12/18)²¹¹.

The stereotype at work involves a quite specific underlying assumption that limits the role of women in music to that of girlfriend or groupie. This research supports earlier findings that the music industry has forced women into outsider roles in music that are not only subservient to men (Coates 2003) but are also

²⁰⁹ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 614.

²¹⁰ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 615.

²¹¹ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 616.

peripheral to the 'serious' business of music making (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015). A pointed example of this phenomenon can be found in the following recollection.

This bloke [A prominent male in the Australian concert production industry]... said to me, what is it that you want to know?

...I said, "I really want to learn how to be a lighting person..." [He] looked at me as if I was just shit on him or something. He started laughing, he said, "Sweetheart...there's only two places for women in this business." He said, "Either at the door or on their back"...it was a traditional role for a woman (Luciana, personal communication 11/12/18)²¹².

It would be difficult to find an example of gender stereotyping as unambiguous as this, given the blatant intention on the part of the male to cause significant career and personal disadvantage solely on the basis of gender. Accounts 615-617 taken together form evidence suggesting that gender discrimination in the music industry can be framed in a dyadic trope: one that embodies two primary facets of a sexism that firstly others women and then marginalises them. On the one hand, women are frequently positioned as a girlfriend, a groupie or a sexual prospect, in accordance with observations made by Carson, Lewis & Shaw that, "women [are] welcome on the sidelines as fans or groupies" (2015, p. 3). On the other hand, women are dismissed as incompetent, too difficult or too unprofessional to be involved in serious music industry work except at an unskilled level. An example of the first kind of othering can be found in a post by an anonymous source quoted in the #menomore open letter to the music industry. The post described how a tour manager "told the room there were only two types of women: bitches and sluts" (Arena et al. 2017), suggesting that the

²¹² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 617.

sexualised nature of this othering is common. The second of these can be found in Luciana's description of her early career trajectory.

I worked on the door, so I took the least of the evil options and I started doing a whole bunch of door work, which...paid me an income. It was a traditional role for a woman. I mean that whole door bitch²¹³ term which I've always...fucking hated...(personal communication 11/12/18)²¹⁴.

Although the so-called door bitch role can also be filled by a man (Fidock 2014; Robinson 2017), Luciana was marginalised by being excluded from her preferred role, one that would have required developing skill and technical understanding. Her experience reinforces the findings of other researchers that women are excluded from 'craft based' jobs in the creative industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015). Thus, the dyadic trope lying at the heart of music industry gender discrimination will be referred to henceforth as the *admirer/amateur trope*. This trope is essentially a typology of music industry gender discrimination that is intended to marginalise women through a dipolar framework of acceptance and rejection: women are accepted in the industry in a limited set of roles, but are rejected from the industry should they attempt to occupy 'important' or 'skilled' roles. The amateur/admirer trope is a product of the music industry male hegemony, and represents two main ways that women are subordinated to men. In this trope, acceptance and rejection have been joined together as two consequences of a single entrenched stereotype. To clarify: the term 'admirer' is taken to represent how a female is acceptable to the industry in a limited range of male subservient roles. The term 'admirer' is not intended to avoid the debate concerning how labels such as 'groupie' have been used to marginalise women (see Larsen 2017). Instead, it is intended to

²¹³ A door bitch is a person who acts as a gatekeeper for entrance to a nightclub, bar or music venue. Duties include collecting money, admitting or denying admission to patrons and managing access to VIP's (Chesney et al. 2009).

²¹⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 618.

encompass the othering of women into a number of categories including that of girlfriend, groupie or sexual prospect, where the permissible female social function is to admire the musician, the sound engineer, the label executive and the like. Similarly the term 'amateur' is intended to encapsulate the kinds of participant experiences reported earlier, including that a female is prima facie unprofessional, unskilled, lacking in knowledge, or suitable only for unskilled or inconsequential roles in music. The admirer/amateur trope should be regarded as a type of ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske 2018) that produces a dualistic sexist view of women that is on the one hand benevolent and on the other hand hostile (Glick et al. 1997; Glick & Fiske 2011). Not only is this trope a gender stereotype (see Basow 1992; Bligh et al. 2012; Bobbitt-Zeher 2011; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015; Ter Bogt et al. 2010) but also misogyny (an entrenched prejudice) and therefore a manifestation of male hegemony. Other forms of this trope were evident, albeit with subtle variations.

The admirer dyad can be seen in the following account of an incident that took place in a music school involving a male student with a history of gender discrimination in the form of "leering, dismissing what [the female lecturer] said" and "talking over [the female lecturer]" (Magdalena, personal communication 18/12/18).

At one point he had just said to a student, a classmate, "I've got a friend who might be looking for work, would you like me to ring him for you if you're looking... to intern somewhere?" She said, "Yes, that sounds good." He rang, and while she was standing there... he was on the phone, [and] he said, "Hello, so-and-so. I've got a classmate of mine here. She's very sexy...she won't have sex with me, but she's looking for a job." [This incident] made her feel so uncomfortable that she said there's no way she

would even go to an interview after that introduction (personal communication 18/12/18)²¹⁵.

This account highlights the marginalization of the female student by positioning her primarily as a suitable sexual prospect. Both the discrimination and the sexual inference were so clearly understood by the woman involved that she declined to follow up the opportunity. Conversely the amateur dyad appeared in other participant experiences, where gender discrimination served to discount their experience, work or competence. In one case this took the form of overt social pressure.

This guy says to me, "What you need to understand...is that you need to keep quiet sometimes." Now I looked at him and I said, "Would you say that to a bloke?" and he said "What?" I said, "Would you tell a bloke in my position, [role and event redacted] the person who's in charge of the whole fucking thing, who's been spending two weeks trying to bust their ass to get a headline act of suitable quality... would you tell a bloke who'd done all that to shut up?" He went, "No," and I went, "Yes fuck off." That's five years ago (Luciana, personal communication 11/12/18)²¹⁶.

This account is notable for the attempt to both confine female behaviour to a limited range, as well as to silence female opinion. Despite her organisational authority and responsibility, Luciana was nonetheless expected to behave in a manner defined by a sexist social construct (see Gangoli 2017; Lerner 1986; Walby 1989), and not one that reflected her position. In this instance, the silencing of her opinion would have the effect of undermining a female leader's power and sabotaging her chances of success, creating a circular argument for the ongoing disregard and marginalisation of women in similar roles in the future. The willingness of the perpetrator to admit to his gender discrimination is

²¹⁵ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 619.

²¹⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 620.

striking, and points to a sexist belief that a male in the same position would more likely be considered competent, with opinions that were acceptable. The amateur dyad can be understood as a mechanism of privileging male workers and their abilities while assuming a generalised lack of female competence. A similar example can be found in the following recollection from a former label executive.

We had a new signing, and I appointed the marketing manager to that new signing, really capable, smart young woman and [the senior executive above me] went apoplectic about it, and screamed, "You don't give an important artist like that to a weak female" (Alphonso, personal communication 11/03/20)²¹⁷.

The admirer/amateur trope is evident in the stereotypical assertion that a woman is weak. Alphonso noted that the episode in account 621 "wasn't too long ago" (personal communication 11/03/20), and also noted that there was "incredible sexism" in the 1980's and 1990's, but that even presently "the language in polite society doesn't mean there isn't an underlying issue" (personal communication 11/03/20), an observation that supports notions that male hegemony is entrenched. Monique reported a variation of the admirer/amateur trope in the following reflection where she described a pattern of reaction by colleagues when hearing her band for the first time.

We'll come out on stage and we'll all just be three young females wearing normal clothes and guys will be like, "Yeah, let's see what's going to happen here. I bet you this is going to be a load of shite." People do make assumptions based on our gender. The one that pisses me off is, "Yes, they're good for a bunch of chicks." Why can't we just be a good band? Why can't you just enjoy our music? I would never go to a gig and be like, "Oh,

²¹⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 621.

yeah, they're alright for a bunch of men" (personal communication 02/08/18)

²¹⁸.

This research

argues that the expression: “good for a bunch of chicks” is really a variant of the admirer/amateur trope, because the underlying assumption is that an all-girl band cannot be as good as an all-male one, and that women are not competent enough to do the skilled work of playing music²¹⁹. Both versions of the trope can be understood to emerge from a common cause, the assumption of women as somehow ‘less than’ men: less capable, less skilled, and suited only for specific and often objectified roles. Both accounts can also be understood as a consequence of entrenched thinking on the part of men, thinking that is both unconscious and deliberately negative (see Cobb & Horeck 2018; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015; Hope 2019; Reskin 2000); in other words, the misogyny inherent in male hegemony. Marianne offered a comparison of the male/female experience when she was explaining why she was so “angry...over it and just disappointed” with sexism in the music industry (personal communication 21/06/18).

Interviewer: *What about men, are there any other men who're sick of it?*

Marianne: *I've never heard a man talk about it. I've never heard a man say to me: "I hate it that that chick said that to me or made me feel like I'm not worth anything more than a trophy." no man has ever raised this issue with me. Just seems like for a guy, seems like things are black and white...(personal communication 21/06/18)²²⁰.*

²¹⁸ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 622.

²¹⁹ A contrast can be found in the work of Laura Imbruglia and Amateur Hour, a “web based variety show” featuring a team of musicians, writers and video content producers who have produced two seasons of comedic sketches, based on their experiences as creative practitioners. At least two episodes feature gender reversal scenarios derived from thought experiments that highlight the stark nature of gender discrimination in the music industry (Staff Writer 2015a).

²²⁰ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 623.

This account not only highlights the difference between the male and female experience of working in the music industry but also supports findings of inequality facing Australian female screen composers (see Strong & Cannizzo 2017). Marianne also remarked that she was “never appreciated for who [she was]” (personal communication 21/06/18), and also felt that as a woman she was “never seen as a person with experience” (personal communication 21/06/18). Several other female participants also made this observation, one made by only two male participants in this study (accounts 525, 621). These are remarks that can be understood in the light of the admirer/amateur trope and add further weight to the contention that the lived experience of females in the music industry is affected by a male hegemony, which promulgates a gender bias that minimises the contribution of women in the music industry (see McCormack 2019; Smith, Choueiti & Pieper 2018; Strong & Cannizzo 2017). The admirer/amateur trope was also identifiable in the following recollection of a single back-stage incident.

I'm around guys that make jokes about a lot of masturbation jokes and objectifying women, bitching about other female musicians. There was a circumstance where [artist name redacted] was on stage and they're going, "Does anyone fuck to this music?" Like, "Her band is shit" (Maria Jose, personal communication 03/04/19)²²¹.

The amateur dyad is clearly evident in the “her band is shit” remark as well as in the general pattern of objectification. Merlina reflected on discussions she had held with other musicians about matters of gender equity in festival line-ups²²².

"Why are there not the same amount of women at music festivals...than there are men?" Then they are like, "Well, it's to do with talent." I go, "Okay

²²¹ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 600B.

²²² The Instagram account *lineupswithoutmales* posts publicity photos of music festival line-ups with the names of male artists digitally removed in order to highlight gender inequity in artist selection for music festivals (na 2016).

then, if it's to do with talent...in symphony orchestras...why is gender diversity more equal there, if women aren't able to play?" (personal communication 03/01/19)²²³

Her recollection makes clear the underlying assumption that is at work in her male colleagues; that women lack competence (i.e. "talent"). Although Merlina mounted a strong rebuttal of this assumption, she also reflected on the discussion reported in account 624.

Everyone's like, "But it wasn't a deliberate thing." I don't think people realise that - there's this thing, what's it called? The way... gatekeeping... where you're a gatekeeper for misogyny: where you allow misogynistic behaviours to exist by not examining your own behaviour. They were gatekeeping that (personal communication 03/01/19)²²⁴.

The reaction of male colleagues (account 624) is further evidence of the unconscious and also pervasive nature of sexist assumptions that underlie the admirer/amateur trope. Account 625 also presents an important insight into the way misogyny is perpetrated by men gatekeeping their own hegemony (see account 625).

To summarise, participant testimony points to discriminatory behaviours by men that stereotype women, so that their skills, abilities and potential contribution to the music industry are disregarded. The evidence from accounts 600A and 601-612 strongly supports the existence of an entrenched admirer/amateur trope that constitutes a culture of misogyny in the sound and technical world of the music industry (Johnson 2005). Accounts 600B and 613-625 are further examples of the subtle and not so subtle ways that the misogyny inherent in the

²²³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 624.

²²⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 625.

admirer/amateur trope reinforces the marginalisation of women. Finally, accounts 509, 520, 521, 527 and 528 from Chapter 5 can also be seen as examples of the amateur/admirer trope in action, albeit on the basis of aversive behaviour perpetrated by patrons, as opposed to colleagues. Accordingly, and in the light of this evidence, this discussion turns now to other ways participants in this research reported forms of gender discrimination that they experienced from their peers in the course of their music industry work.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Many female musicians reported feeling unwelcome in the industry, unwelcome in the band, or welcome only on certain terms. Merlina described it by observing that “the music industry isn't a very [pause] it's not a welcoming space for women” (personal communication 03/01/19). Other participants described being made to feel unwelcome in more specific terms. The following two accounts report aspects of a twelve-month period of harassment that lasted for the duration of a national and international tour²²⁵. The entire episode began shortly after Maria Jose joined the band. As noted earlier, she was the only female musician.

They didn't like the fact that he had asked two new band members on and that one of them was a female... one of the band members said, "I'm not going to change my behaviour because there's a female on board"...that's actually where it started (personal communication 03/04/19)²²⁶.

²²⁵ This entire episode will be referred to as account 600. Specific instances already cited are 600A and 600B. Subsequent instances will be referred to as account 600C, 600D, 600E and so on.

²²⁶ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 600C.

One possible explanation for her band mates' resistance to having a woman in the band may be found in account 600B, and she also noted that she had been categorised as someone who "doesn't like sex jokes" (personal communication 03/04/19). Maria Jose reported one incident she described as "a build up of sustained" sexual joking (personal communication 03/04/19). She described how, as a consequence, she eventually felt compelled "to remove [her] self from the green room" (personal communication 03/04/19). The use of sexual teasing is widely understood as a form of bullying (see Cowie et al. 2002; Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Einarsen et al. 2011; Namie & Lutgen-Sandvik 2010), and this testimony is an unambiguous example of the way that "women are excluded by jokes and sexist language" (Cohen 1997, p. 22). The full extent of Maria Jose's experience is better understood when her testimony is taken as a whole, including that cited in Chapters 4 and 7; however some of her experiences of workplace harassment took the form of a nuanced but persistent criticism of her musical ability.

When you say to someone who's...studied [redacted: their instrument], and go... "You should probably listen because you'd actually learn a thing or two. I think you should check them out because you need to, because you can't keep time." Something like that, it was like a backhanded thing (personal communication 03/04/19)²²⁷.

Although framed as advice, the implied criticism of her playing skill was not lost on Maria Jose. The encounter was not only consistent with the admirer/amateur trope but also appeared designed to make her feel unwelcome, as the following recollection shows in greater detail.

As the tour went on, I saw that things that they said apart from the jokes, even...questioning my musicianship, it was a tactic to be like, "Yes, you

²²⁷ This incident will be referred to as account 600D.

don't belong here"...the whole rest of the tour I felt unwelcome... I wasn't good enough to be there. They would always talk about other male musicians in front of me like they're really good. Like, "Maria Jose...you'd learn a lot from that [redacted: name of instrumentalist], he's really good." That would happen a lot (personal communication 03/04/19)²²⁸.

The subtle othering, disguised as one musician offering professional tips to another, is a form of communication that can also be regarded as an example of micro-aggression, or hidden insult (Sue 2010a, 2010b). A hidden insult offers the perpetrator a plausible basis for denying any negative intention, although the target understands very well the nature of the message. Notably, the nature of the harassment was also systematic (lasting as it did for the entire tour). Mariquita described her treatment in the recording studio at a higher education institution in somewhat similar terms.

...Well it makes me feel like I'm not welcome there... but that whole talking yourself into something... I wonder whether every other guy... has to do that in the morning (personal communication 31/05/18)²²⁹.

Earlier in her interview Mariquita opined that women conduct an internal dialogue in preparation for music industry work.

Women have to constantly have this fight, have this internal thing of talking yourself into it, whereas I don't think men do (personal communication 31/05/18)²³⁰.

A more detailed account of being unwelcome can be found in the following recollection from a female participant who was a member of a band but was also the romantic partner of the lead singer at the time.

²²⁸ This incident will be referred to as account 600E.

²²⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 626.

²³⁰ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 627.

It was just about: know your place. You're not welcome here. You're not allowed here...one of the drummers sort of said, "We've been encouraging him to break up with you since day dot, because we don't want you in the band. Please don't be offended; it's just business."...I remember saying, "...It's not business; it's my life." It's been my life for the last four years. So I'm extremely offended. All of these guys were all in relationships. It was like their way of cutting loose when they went on tour...I don't think they wanted a woman around (Merlina personal communication 03/01/19)²³¹.

This account strongly suggests that band members were actively planning a tour lifestyle that positioned women as prospective sexual partners, something she would have resisted. It is unknown whether tours eventually transpired in this manner; however Merlina's subsequent exclusion from the band (personal communication 03/01/19) can be seen as the direct outworking of a homosocial culture. She also offered the following explanation about the industry in general.

I think it's because of the nature of this industry is that it's a wild man space. It's a man space and men get to go on stage with their guitars and take up that stage and be really crazy and wild. What happens, what goes on tour stays on tour and...it's a really unwelcoming space for women (personal communication 03/01/19)²³².

Thus the homosocial nature of bands in live performance is a way of reinforcing the admirer/amateur trope: to exclude women from the real business of music making, and position them at the margins, specifically in the role of admirer. This account was strongly supported by other female participants who described how they were marginalised.

If you succeeded, you got abused. If you failed, you got abused. If you made a mistake, you got abused. If you were minding your own business, you got abused. It just went on and fucking on and fucking on. It's why most women just don't bother. It's just like, "Why bother?" I'm like a dog with a

²³¹ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 628.

²³² This account will be referred to subsequently as account 629.

bone and I was just determined, I was going to succeed and I did, despite all of it (Luciana, personal communication 11/12/18)²³³.

This account serves as further evidence of powerfully entrenched beliefs that act to undermine women. The persistent criticism of Luciana's work is not only a manifestation of misogyny but is also a clear example of workplace harassment as defined by the NAQ-R. Participants also described the homosocial nature of the music industry by adopting a particular terminology for it.

It's boys' club culture. That's all it is. It's the guys in that company. It's basically an entire company of dudes are all of a similar age [sic], and so if one of them pipes up and starts badmouthing some girl for being in the way, all of them are going to rally together and have that as a collective response to that one person...boys' club culture, they are excusing one another's behaviours (personal communication 19/12/18)²³⁴.

The *boys' club* terminology was used to describe professional exclusion in the matter of finding song writing collaborators in a particular music scene.

I've been singing for 20 odd years; can't collaborate with anybody. Here's him. Here for four years, just did a TAFE course and everyone wants to work with him. It was bizarre. Very bizarre...now he's going round telling everyone it's his EP...I credited him 50% because I wanted it done. As a woman, I couldn't get collaboration because it's a boys club. He's...four years in TAFE and bang; everyone – it's a boys club (Margarita, personal communication 02/07/18)²³⁵.

Both the exclusion from homosocial networks and the wrongful claim for creative credit are evidence of the admirer/amateur trope. Within a misogynist worldview it would be inconceivable that a woman had done any of the 'real work' of producing the EP. Apart from the question of intellectual property theft,

²³³ The reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 630.

²³⁴ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 631.

²³⁵ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 632.

such behaviour should also be regarded as forms of workplace harassment known in the NAQ-R framework as being ‘ignored and excluded’, and as having ‘opinions and views ignored’ (see Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011). In a similar way, Merlina was disadvantaged in a dispute because of a homosocial network. She recalled how one incident came down to her word against that of a man who “said [she] was completely lying”; however the other men in the band sided against her (personal communication 03/01/19). She noted “that defence...that was the boys’ club” (personal communication 03/01/19). A similar homosocial closing of ranks is evident in the following recollection from a female musician who had previously needed to sack a male musician well-known in her scene, following his failure to learn arrangements for an upcoming gig²³⁶ (personal communication 23/01/20). Subsequently she was excluded by other male colleagues from playing at a key venue until she met a condition placed on her by a senior member of that scene.

[Senior member of scene said] *“We want you to come and play at the... Club but [name redacted]²³⁷ ...is on sound now, and you have to ring him and apologise.” I said, “Why do I have to apologise?” He said, “You know fucking well why you’ve got to apologise.”*

I rang [name redacted]...he was acting like nothing was wrong...it was just...weird, obviously blokes all pissing in each other's pockets about what a bitch I was...I've been to the [name redacted] Club when they've had anniversaries. The stage has been absolutely burgeoning with men, 19 guitarists all raging and carrying on. Not one invitation to get up for a song. Everyone knows I'm there, but no one's invited me up (Miriam, personal communication 23/01/20)²³⁸.

²³⁶ Miriam had sent this musician tapes ahead of an important gig and his performance at the rehearsal prior to the gig was considered so abysmal by another male member of the band it was thought that he hadn’t bothered to listen to the arrangements ahead of time. The decision to sack the player was taken jointly by Miriam and her male colleague (personal communication 23/01/20).

²³⁷ The musician whose name is redacted in this account was the musician Miriam had sacked previously.

²³⁸ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 633.

The extent of the social exclusion that Miriam experienced following her sacking the male player is notable, particularly for the length of time involved. She recalled that the invitation to play, along with the demand for an apology, came “years later” (personal communication 23/01/20) in the chronology of events. The large numbers of players at regular jams indicates that the homosocial network of this scene was closely-knit, with a remarkably effective hierarchy. The male musicians not only conspired together, but also none of them broke ranks over a long time period. A similar insight into the workings of the boys’ club can be found in Fiona’s reflection about her experiences as a female manager.

It comes back down to that bro code... its just men standing up for each other. Even if they know that they're right or wrong, they'll still stick up for them. Stick up for each other in the same crew: same clique (personal communication 12/10/18)²³⁹.

This research finds that informal homosocial networks in the music industry disadvantage women by social exclusion. This testimony, and the use of the term boys’ club, supports very recent findings concerning similar networks that exist amongst screen composers in Australia (Strong & Cannizzo 2017; Strong & Cannizzo 2019). Homosocial networks are theorised as a component of male hegemony as discussed in Chapter 2 and are also inextricably bound up with misogyny. Homosocial networks are further evident in Fiona’s description of how she came to recognise that male colleagues were sidelining her professionally. The following excerpt was a part of an extended discussion following her assertion that a feature of her career was that she was not taken

²³⁹ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 634.

seriously or was underused (personal communication, 12/10/18). When asked to describe what forms that took, she gave this reply:

Getting left out of conversations, not getting invites to certain places. Even now, when there's certain conversations happening or certain mentions about people in the industry at this particular level, I'm not included (personal communication 12/10/18)²⁴⁰.

While Miriam's exclusion was much more direct, the kind of withholding of critical information described by Fiona is used to functionally exclude women from either formal or informal meetings. In Fiona's view these meetings were important to progressing in the industry. As noted earlier, the act of withholding information is a form of workplace harassment (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009) as well as a product of misogyny. While gender discrimination plays a dominant role in the marginalization of women in the music industry, the competitive forces that are at work within localised power structures within a scene can have the same effect. As also discussed in Chapter 1, precarity and competition are factors that have been identified as contributing not just to sexual harassment in the wider media industry, but are also factors that contribute to the reluctance of women to report gender discrimination when it happens (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). The power of the "boys' club" in the music industry has meant that female composers have been forced to strategise ways of disguising their femaleness in order to avoid gendered exclusion (Bennett, Hennekam, et al. 2018).

A number of researchers have described how exclusion has been used as a means of structuring gender disadvantage (Daly & Saraceno 2002; Fisher &

²⁴⁰ This summary of experiences will be referred to subsequently as account 635.

Kinsey 2018; Kabeer 2000). One paradigm of exclusion posits that power groups with well defined cultural identities use social exclusion to limit the access of others to valuable resources (Silver 1994). In this present research, the boys' club or the "bro code" (see account 634) were both used as epithets for homosocial networks of industry figures that reinforce male hegemony by the exclusion of women. Male hegemony is not only industry-wide but can also be intra-band as well – as is apparent in the following recollection.

I felt for a while that my views weren't valid or that...my opinion was often taken for a joke...or...I didn't have anything worthwhile saying [sic], or my view wasn't worthwhile. It felt like there was a hierarchy. It was like this weird kind of thing in the band where the guys wouldn't tell us everything and they held this weird power play for a while...(Marisol, personal communication 24/09/18)²⁴¹.

Marisol's band had both male and female musicians; thus it is notable that both women were kept out of the loop. Although there are differences in the experiences seen in accounts 601-603, 607 and 609-610, it can be argued that all are the result of exclusionary relationships (see Renner et al. 2007) that fundamentally form the basis of social exclusion (Taket et al. 2009). Further, given that being ignored and excluded is a bullying tactic, social exclusion is also held to be a product of workplace harassment (Einarsen & Nielsen 2015). The use of social exclusion to bully a colleague is evident in the following testimony.

I was a swing performer²⁴² and highly bullied by the main cast and completely kept out of things, uninvited to things, constantly bitched about...I would walk into a room and they'd stop talking. Or there'd be lunches that I just wasn't invited to or when you'd ask a question or

²⁴¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 636.

²⁴² A swing performer in live musical performance is "is an off-stage performer responsible for covering any number of ensemble tracks" (Williams 2018).

contribute to [sic] something to a conversation it was just ignored (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)²⁴³.

While this account is not necessarily an example of male hegemonic social exclusion, male colleagues can deploy the same kinds of exclusionary tactics to exclude females. Although Maria Jose didn't use the boys' club term to describe her experiences throughout account 600, the homosocial nature of her social exclusion is apparent in the following excerpts, which have been amalgamated for clarity.

What would happen is I'd go into the Green Room. When I'd walk in, [male colleague name redacted] and [male colleague name redacted]: they would just go silent. They had started not talking in front of me, and then if I sat down on a couch in the room, they would get up and go to another room...it was not subtle...(personal communication 03/04/19)²⁴⁴.

When we were going to a gig... we all have to get in buses and the vans. We were running late, we were waiting for [main artist name redacted]. I hopped in the back because I was like, "I'll just sit at the back, everyone can sit where--" The other two guys...refused to get in because no one wanted to sit next to me (personal communication 03/04/19)²⁴⁵.

The exclusion...went from the band to the whole crew...On one occasion, I turned up to the hotel pub in [location redacted] where everyone was staying, and arrived to see the whole team already there...it was extremely awkward for everyone as they had already eaten dinner. When I was asked why I didn't go to the beach with them that day, all I could reply was I wasn't invited and I didn't know" (personal communication 03/04/19)²⁴⁶.

Notably, Maria Jose's social exclusion spread from her male band-mates to the entire touring party. Account 600F occurred near to the end of her contract, and

²⁴³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 637.

²⁴⁴ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 600F.

²⁴⁵ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 600G.

²⁴⁶ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 600H.

occurred because a senior crew figure sided with her perpetrators (personal communication 03/04/19). Whether the social exclusion was devised as personally targeted harassment (see accounts 600C, 600D) or a more professionally targeted hindrance of access to crucial professional networks (Hughes et al. 2016c) (see accounts 632, 634-635), both forms demonstrate the power of exclusion as a strategy to reinforce male hegemony.

The professional significance of Maria Jose's experience of social exclusion can be understood in the light of Mirabelle's observation that "people talk about how the hang after the gig is really important for the networking side of things"²⁴⁷ (personal communication 30/01/20). Further insight into the way informal networks function can be gleaned from the following observation.

*If I was a guy and you meet another guy and have a drunk, wild night... means that I'm not going to then get hit on. Being a girl would mean at some point I probably would. I generally don't have a lot of those nights because I don't want to be put in a position where that has to come up. That means I don't make the connections I need to often make in the music industry and this happens to a lot of women (Merlina, personal communication 03/01/19)*²⁴⁸.

Informal networking opportunities in the creative industries frequently occur "in the presence of alcohol" (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b, p. 426). Merlina's testimony demonstrates that the combination of alcohol at informal networking opportunities can lead to sexual harassment. Leanne de Souza has noted that women seeking greater connection in the music are faced with the choice of either navigating a social landscape of frequent sexual harassment or avoiding

²⁴⁷ This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 638.

²⁴⁸ This reflection, which describes an exemplar rather than actual circumstance, will subsequently be referred to as account 639.

it outright (de Souza 2014). This is a state of affairs that is paralleled in the UK music industry (Perraudin 2019) and the US film industry (Cannon 2019; Kantor & Twohey 2019); however men in the same situation do not face the same pressure (Ridgeway 2011). Thus, Merlina's strategy to avoid sexual harassment can be seen to lead directly lead to social exclusion, with the consequent loss of access to networks and future work opportunities.

It is evident that female participants experienced social exclusion across a range of professional contexts and behaviours. While at some level this behaviour can be classified as a form of workplace harassment, it was also objectively based in male hegemony. Further, there have been multiple independent reports from women working in the music industry globally who have experienced social and professional exclusion similar to that reported by participants in this present research (Hopper 2015).

Behaviour that was the consequence of gender discrimination was not limited just to social exclusion. More serious forms of harassment including sexual harassment and other antisocial behaviour from colleagues will be examined later in this chapter. However, this discussion now turns to address participant experiences of sexual objectification on the part of their peers.

SEXUAL OBJECTIFICATION

Many participants experienced sexual objectification from colleagues, and described the pressure to present visually in a way that they were uncomfortable with.

The other girl in the band started wearing corsets and I didn't really want to do that, but there was a little bit of an emphasis on how nice she was looking in them (Magdalena personal communication 18/12/18)²⁴⁹.

Although Magdalena felt sexually objectifying pressure from other members of the band, she opined that it was “unconscious on their part” (personal communication 18/12/18). One participant attempted to describe that she had come to understand the nature of the music industry as a place of gender discrimination and sexual objectification. Firstly, Marisol described how she felt objectified in her work as a musician, and subsequently became conscious of changing her visual presentation.

I've definitely transformed myself and the way I look; I've dyed my hair blonde, I've tried to lose weight. I've gone through a phase where I feel like I need to wear a lot of makeup, wear a certain style of clothes, to be more cool: or to fit into something...part of it in performing is I want to be able to be visually entertaining as well. I'm quite creative...I love style and I love showing that, but I think there's a point where it can...become gross and not right (personal communication 24/9/18)²⁵⁰.

Although Marisol did not articulate where the boundary between being “visually entertaining” and being “gross” lay, doubtless it would boil down to her sense of agency in the matter of her appearance (see Aubrey & Frisby 2011; Fredrickson & Roberts 1997). Despite the view of some that mediated female sexuality is a form of power (Attwood 2006; Bellafante 1998; Paglia 1992), Marisol’s dislike of the circumstances as well as her subsequent actions are more in accord with

²⁴⁹ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 640.

²⁵⁰ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as reflection 641.

writers who regard female beauty image making as a form of oppression and control (see for example Deliovsky 2008; Dworkin 1995; Wolf 1991). Marisol also described how the intentional strategy of the band to present the female musicians in a sexually objectified way had exceeded her levels of personal comfort.

I felt it as well, being in this band, that there's a push to present yourself in more of a sexual way and present yourself as being hot, because that will get more attention and it does [laughs]. In some cases it does. It's something that I have got to the point where I kind of hate a lot (personal communication 24/9/18)²⁵¹.

Arguably Marisol's sense of agency about the way she appeared was undermined, as is suggested in the following excerpt.

I got to this point where I had the pressure of...[making] mood boards on Pinterest with Jane Bardot [sic] and Brigitte Birkin [sic] and that whole style...[of a] French sexual icon...(personal communication 24/9/18)²⁵².

Thus Marisol was experiencing pressure to conform to a commodification of her femaleness (see Gill 2003, 2012), with aspirations that were culturally and ethnically very specific (Deliovsky 2008). Furthermore, Marisol compared the way her work in the music industry was different from her part-time work in a café.

It's...been this weird time trying to understand music as a workplace, because it's so messed up in a lot of ways. It's hard, because when I go to work in a cafe, obviously everyone's going to act professionally and I'm not going to be treated in that way...there's no discrimination, or there's no looking at people differently (personal communication 24/9/18)²⁵³.

²⁵¹ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as reflection 642.

²⁵² This reflection will be referred to subsequently as reflection 643.

²⁵³ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 644.

Despite the widespread prevalence of sexual harassment known to occur in Australian workplaces (Jenkins 2018), Marisol's experiences of working in a café were sufficiently different so as to form a distinct contrast with her music industry experience. While gender discrimination is the product of wider power structures that subordinate women (Bartky 2015; Walby 1989), her experiences of objectification (and also sexism) were in her mind a pronounced feature of the music industry. Her experiences were far from isolated, and other participants had similar stories of sexual objectification from colleagues.

Being in bands as well...I remember one guy leaning over and just saying stuff like, I can tell you're wearing a G-string under those jeans...for me, like the G-string comment is like way more. I'm just bending over to pick up my iPad to put on my mic stand and all of a sudden it's a sexual thing. Like what the hell? (Personal communication 21/06/18)²⁵⁴

Similar kinds of incidents were reported by other participants, as can be seen in the following excerpts.

I'd be dressed up for a gig...he'd say about how I looked hot or something. I remember sometimes like, lifting my gear up, getting my amp up and putting it up, or bending down to pick something up (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)²⁵⁵.

I remember they would always comment about the way I looked like, "Oh, you look like a really good rock star." I don't mind the rock star comments but like, "Oh, you look really hot in that," or something like that (Morella, personal communication 02/11/18)²⁵⁶.

While this specific form of sexual objectification appeared commonplace, Marianne explained that while sexual objectification is pervasive it is also

²⁵⁴ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 645.

²⁵⁵ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 646.

²⁵⁶ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 647.

difficult in the actual moment of the exchange to interpret exactly what was intended.

Like I say that... so much stuff fly [sic] comments that are made because you're in a band and it's like a boy thing and like the girls [sic] one of the boys. There's a lot of blurred lines where things are said and you're like, is that in jest? Is that personal? (personal communication 21/06/18)²⁵⁷

Consequently, identifying sexual objectification or sexual harassment can sometimes be problematic, partly because all behaviour is interpreted in the context of workplace culture, and partly because of the intentions of the perpetrator and the interpretation of behaviour made by the target (Giuffre & Williams 1994). Notwithstanding those dynamics, Mirabelle also felt that lines were blurred in the music industry because work life and social life become intermingled.

The unfortunate thing is that this blurring of work and social life means that certain behaviours pass or are accepted that wouldn't normally be acceptable, like, it wouldn't be acceptable to be drunk at work, if you worked in an office (personal communication 30/01/20)²⁵⁸.

Mirabelle's observation supports findings in a study of sexual harassment in the creative industries in The Netherlands, where the blurring of work and social life was also noted as problematic in the music industry (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b, p. 426). The precise extent of the blurring of professional with personal relationships in the music industries is unknown; however 8 of the 26 women who were interviewed for this research (30.7%) mentioned that at some time they were involved in a romantic relationship, marriage or domestic partnership with someone else from the music industries. Accordingly, this research

²⁵⁷ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 648.

²⁵⁸ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 649.

proposes that the effect of domestic partnerships on the workplace safety of women should be the subject of further investigation.

Given the weight of evidence in this present research, it is likely that account 644 was an example of sexual harassment; however, Marianne's doubts about how to identify it in the moment are consistent with what is known about the device of disguising sexual harassment as a joke and relying on the ambiguity of humour (Hopper 2015), although this phenomenon also requires more research (Clason 2019). Men may even feel like their joking is casual and harmless; however women are more likely than men to perceive behaviour as sexual harassment (Rotundo, Nguyen & Sackett 2001) and particularly so with joking behaviour (Foulis & McCabe 1997). Additionally, attitudes to sexual harassment and past experiences of sexual harassment also affect how behaviour is perceived (Foulis & McCabe 1997; Rotundo, Nguyen & Sackett 2001). Notwithstanding the potential ambiguity with this and similar forms of exchange, Marianne still felt that the prevalence of such incidents where "something...stood out" was "maybe once every two months" (personal communication 21/06/18). Notably she also described that being a girl in a band meant that that she was "one of the boys". Although she was not forthcoming about exactly what masculine norms she felt she needed to conform to, it is possible that tolerance of sexual joking may have been one of them (see Clason 2019; Schnurr & Holmes 2009).

Conversely, Merlina described an incident following her performance as the support act for an all male band that cannot be regarded as being a case of

blurred lines. Her recollection concerns what happened when she came offstage and entered the green room.

I walk in...and I'm like, "Hey," and the first thing is like, "Fuck, you look hot, look at how hot you look," and it was just...I was like, "Did you just catch that set?" They are all like, "Yes, you guys looked so hot out there, you looked amazing." I just remember going, "Oh," and I was like, "That's all I am?" They didn't listen to the lyrics of my song or anything like that and I just remember just...taking in a really deep breath and just walking, putting my guitar down and just smiling...and that's something that's really burnt into my memory. It just felt like that I wasn't a musician; I was simply there to be looked at (personal communication 03/01/19)²⁵⁹.

The behaviour of the band in this account is consistent with participant reports in accounts 640-647, all of which can be understood through the lens of *Objectification Theory*, which describes sexual objectification as a form of gender oppression (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997; Szymanski, Moffitt & Carr 2011). Objectification Theory posits that “women’s bodies are looked at, evaluated and always potentially objectified” (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997, p. 175). The objectifying gaze plays out in interpersonal encounters, through mediated versions of interpersonal encounters in such forms as advertising and film, and finally by implicitly positioning the observer as the holder of a sexually objectifying gaze towards female bodies (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997, p. 176). Marisol’s intentional pursuit of a more sexual presentation of herself (accounts 641-643) could possibly be considered self-objectification (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997, p. 179); however, her actions were in response to external pressure. Regardless, self-objectification is known to have harmful psychosocial effects (Calegero 2004; Fredrickson & Roberts 1997; Muehlenkamp & Saris–

²⁵⁹ This incident will be referred to subsequently as account 650.

Baglama 2002). Merlina's distaste of sexual objectification is unambiguous in the following account of her feelings following the events in account 650.

Tremendous sense of loneliness and sadness...my pride is in my work and my words. I really care about content and so to have that secondary to the male gaze...secondary to my fuckability...(personal communication 03/01/19)²⁶⁰.

Other female musicians discussed the dissonance between the pressure to appear "hot" and the desire to be respected for the quality of their skills. In the following example, Margarita described how the environment demanded she present in an objectified way.

In 2000, I [was in a] cabaret show...the manager in that constantly emphasised sex sells, sex sells, sex sells. Us girls were encouraged to dress sexy...it was just pushed for us to dress sexy because sex sells...I was not comfortable showing a lot of cleavage and legs and skirts...I just wanted to perform and sing. I believe there is a way to do that and ...execute a show without having to show your bits and pieces (personal communication 02/07/18)²⁶¹.

Her experiences of sexual objectification were similar to those of respondent ID: 105477702.

A former band member used to constantly insist that I flashed my groin on stage and once suggested I should do a live sex show during the set to make what I do more interesting (personal communication 24/01/2019)²⁶².

Thus manifestations of sexual objectification can be thought of as appearing on a continuum of offensiveness. Further research is required to codify the relative offensiveness of objectifying behaviours and matters of subjectivity need to be taken into account. The music industry may also prove not to be significantly

²⁶⁰ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 651.

²⁶¹ This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 652.

²⁶² This reflection will be referred to subsequently as account 653.

different in terms of the kinds of sexual objectification encountered in other industries. However, while the “you look hot” form of sexual objectification might conceivably be at the less offensive end of the scale, undoubtedly the highly objectionable suggestion in account 653 would be at the more offensive end. Regardless of the nature of sexual objectification, any form of it can be uncomfortable to recipients. This is apparent in the following recollection.

He started talking about the industry for like two sentences or something and then went on to talk about how I was attractive and my look is very distinctive...he was like, "You look really good. It's going to help." That wasn't - I was very shocked at that. I didn't say anything because I didn't know what to say. He would talk about musicians. He's worked with female musicians that don't actually look that great and [said] that they wouldn't get a job because they didn't look as good as someone else (Morella, personal communication 02/11/18)²⁶³.

The discomfort of these participants can be explained by the fundamental action of objectification, which is to dehumanise and remove agency from another (Dworkin 1974, 1993; Kant & Schneewind 2002; Langton 2009; MacKinnon 2007). As has been briefly discussed in Chapter 5, the essence of dehumanization with sexual objectification is to regard the objectified not as a whole person, but as a body, or parts of a body, with the purpose of consumption by another or for the gratification of the objectifier (Bartky 2015; Dworkin 1995; Fredrickson & Roberts 1997; Haslanger 1993; MacKinnon 1989). As has also been mentioned earlier, sexual objectification has been the subject of some contention in the feminist discourse (Stock 2015), the full extent of which is beyond the scope of this chapter. There have been arguments suggesting that precise definitions of sexual objectification undermine the larger

²⁶³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 654.

task of forming a systematic feminist worldview (Bauer 2015). Further, one writer has suggested that there is potentially a positive role for sexual objectification despite the moral problems (Nussbaum 1995). That debate notwithstanding, the participants in this study overwhelmingly reported their experiences of sexual objectification to be negative, in line with findings from recent studies that support the prediction of Objectification Theory that sexual objectification causes negative effects in women (Aubrey 2007; Calegero 2004; Gervais 2007) including causing shame and anxiety (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997).

Clearly, sexual objectification is a gendered phenomenon (Bernard et al. 2012), one that has also been found to be linked to attitudes that support violence against women (Wright & Tokunaga 2016). Furthermore, other writers have described sexual objectification as central to sexual predation (Frank, J. in Levine & El-Faizy 2019, p. 89). The gendered nature of sexual objectification is also evident from other research that used Objectification Theory to examine the incidence of sexual objectification in popular music, and found that not only are women the most frequent targets of sexual objectification in song lyrics, but also that self objectification was more common amongst female artists than male artists (Flynn et al. 2016). As a consequence, accounts 640–654 will be mapped later in table 6.2 according to the form of sexual objectification reported, and whether or not those exchanges can also further be regarded as gender discrimination or some form of sexual harassment. However, sexual objectification (like social exclusion) is but one of a number of forms of gender oppression (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997).

Consequently, it is unsurprising that female participants in this present research reported incidents that were other manifestations of misogyny and gender discrimination. Some of these included sexual harassment in the form of unwanted sexual attention from colleagues and band mates. As with sexual objectification and social exclusion, the unwanted sexual attention that was reported by participants was overwhelmingly a male to female phenomenon, consistent with the experience of sexual harassment in the wider social context in Australia (Jenkins 2018). Therefore, this analysis now turns to examining reports of sexual harassment in the contemporary music industry.

UNWANTED SEXUAL ATTENTION AND SEXUAL TOUCHING

A number of participants described a type of sexual harassment that they regarded as common. It manifested as a particular form of unwanted touching that was experienced mostly at industry events.

Hand on back in conversation happens pretty regularly at industry events...I'm trying to work out how to put this. It's usually from the same sorts of people who are making sexual innuendos or who are acting far more friendly than the situation would allow (Juanita, personal communication 19/12/18)²⁶⁴.

As an example, Juanita described a specific episode of this type of sexual harassment.

I was in a similar scenario with [another male industry figure] very recently at an after party, and he was so intoxicated and really unaware of personal

²⁶⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 655.

space, standing very close, putting his hand on my lower back whenever we were in conversation (personal communication 19/12/18)²⁶⁵.

In the wider research of sexual harassment in Australia, a similar kind of sexual harassment is widely known, although it is more broadly defined. This is evident in the methodology of the most recent national AHRC sexual harassment survey, which asked survey respondents about their experiences of certain types of behaviour including “unwelcome touching, hugging, cornering or kissing” as well as “inappropriate physical contact” (Jenkins 2018, p. 12). One difficulty in comparing this sexual harassment with that in the music industry is that ‘hand on the lower back’ behaviour can be classified as both unwelcome touching and inappropriate physical contact. Whereas participants in this present research described ‘hand on lower back’ sexual harassment in ways that were particular in both form and context.

Industry style folk may have more propensity to rest their hand on the backside rather than to shake your hand... [chuckles]. It's got to the stage where I tell young girls that it's pretty hard to keep your back against the wall and your foot on the door at the same time (Magdalena, personal communication 18/12/18)²⁶⁶.

Magdalena's account suggests that this behaviour may be the subject of anecdote amongst music industry women. Notwithstanding, an important feature of the ‘hand on lower back’ behaviour is the physically intrusive nature of the touching as can be seen in the following recollection.

There is some stuff that comes from male musicians but even if you got a hand on the lower back sort of thing, that's like “Whoa, hey dude, I don't know you” or like hitting the side of your hips, almost your bum, “Hey man,

²⁶⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 656.

²⁶⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 657.

whoa, what are you doing there?" (Monique, personal communication 02/08/18)²⁶⁷

This type of sexual harassment takes the form of behaviour that is ambiguous enough to allow for plausible denial on the part of a perpetrator, despite the discomfort experienced by the target (Tata 1993). As previously noted, women are more likely to identify behaviour as sexual harassment than men, a notion that appears to be supported by Monique's recollection. Moreover, recent controversy in the US has drawn public attention again to the question of where the boundaries of acceptable physical touch in the broader workplace begin and end (Todd 2019). As Monique observed, this ambiguity lies partly in the physical proximity of lower back to hips, or lower back to buttocks. However, the ambiguity also lies in a complex interplay of factors, as seen in the following recollection.

Their fleeting physical contact; someone is not blatantly standing there with their hand on your lower back for three minutes to the point where everybody else in that room sees them do it. They'd come up to the group and then as they say hello to you, it goes on to the lower back, or it's a hug that goes for too long, or it's a missed kiss on the cheek. To everybody else in that room it looks like a friendly greeting between two close colleagues, whereas you could feel like all of your physical boundaries are being crossed, but you can't say anything because they just said hello (Juanita, personal communication 19/12/18)²⁶⁸.

Thus the perception of sexual harassment is not only about where on the body the touch occurs, but also about its duration. This account also serves to emphasise that this type of sexual harassment is not only ambiguous but also highly nuanced behaviour that may well appear innocent to others, while

²⁶⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 658.

²⁶⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 659.

leaving the target feeling violated. Juanita's testimony also points to the importance of social context, a view supported by Marianne who noted that "the music industry is so casual...there's always alcohol around" and that "all the locations where music takes place is...where it's encouraged to let loose" (personal communication 21/06/18). Perpetrators may use such industry events as a way of conducting sexual harassment in a plausibly deniable way under the pretext of a greeting. The interpretation of non-verbal socio-sexual behaviour is also known to be mediated not only by gender, but also by the history of the interpersonal relationship in each case (Humphreys 2007; Humphreys & Brousseau 2010). Accordingly the 'hand on lower back' should be regarded as unwanted touching behaviour that breached personal boundaries in subtle but important ways, while appearing innocent (see Arnold 2019). A similarly nuanced example of sexual harassment can be found in the following recollection.

I remember he was just being overly flirty and he would like, "Let's get some photos together and everything." Have his hand around my waist really tight, not like a normal photo (Morella, personal communication 02/11/18)²⁶⁹.

The 'hand on lower back' unwanted touching experienced by participants is very similar in nature to the behaviour of Donald Trump when he was either backstage at modelling events or otherwise interacting with models, who would warn each other when he was nearby (Carr, N. in Levine & El-Faizy 2019, p. 51). More recently, a prominent legal case in the music industry tested not only some of the boundaries of this behaviour, but also the extent to which plausible deniability can protect perpetrators. Taylor Swift alleged that DJ Denis Mueller sexually harassed her in a 2013 photo shoot. Shortly after the shoot she made

²⁶⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 660.

a complaint to Mueller's radio station, which then dismissed him following an internal investigation (Rivas 2020). A photo supplied by TMZ (2016) shows Mueller's hand reaching behind Swift's dress below her hips. Mueller's defence in a subsequent exchange of lawsuits was that although the photo was awkward, any touching was accidental (Associated Press 2017a), and that he may have grazed her ribs or touched her arm (Associated Press 2017b). Mueller's defence essentially put the matter of plausible deniability argument under legal scrutiny. Ultimately Swift was found by a jury to have been the victim of sexual touching (Aswad 2017).

The Swift/Mueller case goes some way to resolve the question of whether plausible deniability can be used to excuse an act of sexual harassment, however ambiguous or nuanced. Despite the fact that Swift has successfully established some form of legal precedent that will help women in the US, the vast majority of women in the Australian and New Zealand music industries do not have access either to Swift's star power or legal resources. The conundrum that most music industry women face at networking functions is made clear in the following observation.

Avoiding dickheads in the workplace at events is a lot more difficult, and dealing with them properly, having a structured approach to it is a lot more difficult, because there really isn't a way to avoid it. If you're standing in a crowded room and everyone's chatting, and someone touches you and it makes you uncomfortable, if you break in the middle of that conversation and say, "Can you please take your hand off me," or, "That makes me uncomfortable," you're putting a spotlight on both of you, and that's the last thing anyone wants at these events. You just want to go in there and make

the right impression, not the wrong impression (Juanita, personal communication 19/12/18)²⁷⁰.

The purpose of an industry function is networking, and the social situation is one that makes calling out such subtle sexual harassment impossible, without putting at risk the entire benefit of being in attendance (see de Souza 2014). Further, sexual harassment is tolerated by women in creative industries because of the need to secure future work (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Monique offered a recommendation as well as another explanation for this form of sexual harassment in the following recollection.

Even things like touching us without consent, not necessarily grabbing me by the boob or something, but still, put your arm around me, no worries and grab you and kiss you on the cheek or something. No asking! You don't even know them that well and they think it's like a rite of passage...I really don't like that. I'm not comfortable with that at all but a lot of them feel that they have the right to do that. Because: "Oh well, musos"...some of them think that they can: the whole touching without consent...I'm not a touchy person in any way. I don't go around hugging people I don't know. It's 2018, if you want to hug someone or put your arm around them or something, you ask. You get consent first (personal communication 02/08/18)²⁷¹.

The fact that a male musician might entertain notions of privilege that are accorded to them by their role, position or profession is explained by male hegemony. Monique's account also invites a discussion of the normalisation of unwanted sexual approaches. This discussion will be undertaken in Chapter 7. However, and notwithstanding the highly nuanced nature of the harassment, the similarity of behaviours in accounts 655-662, when taken together with the similarity of behaviours in the earlier accounts of sexual objectification, sexual

²⁷⁰ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 661.

²⁷¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 662.

harassment and gender discrimination, is evidence of what Ahmed describes as a 'stickiness' of attitudes (2004, 2013). In this case, those attitudes are an entrenched and dehumanising view of women that limits the roles that they are welcome to play in the music industry.

UNWANTED SEXUAL ATTENTION AND SEXUAL ASSAULT

Some participants reported incidents of sexual harassment that were unequivocal and consequently of a serious nature. The following recollections are examples of this type of behaviour.

One of the members of the other band grabbed me in the backstage area and forced his tongue down my throat. So, when I get away from that, he kept trying to do it. I just I couldn't even walk past where he was anymore...then a couple of nights later, getting changed and he didn't leave...he stuck his hand right under armpit and put it up to his mouth. Which just made feel so disgusted. I rang my fiancé crying on the phone (Magdalena, personal communication 18/12/18)²⁷².

Unlike sexual harassment at industry events, this type of harassment was overt, sudden and opportunistic. Given the location, it seems unlikely that there were witnesses to these incidents, which would account for the lack of subtlety and the lack of any need for plausible deniability. Notably, this account records behaviour that likely qualifies as two separate incidents of sexual assault (NSW Government 2019a). A similar pattern can be seen in the following account of a sexual assault in a rehearsal studio.

At the end of a rehearsal one evening, the rest of the band left and I was still packing my gear up. We were chatting and he grabbed me and – yes it got

²⁷² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 663.

pretty serious...he was really nice and everything, but he was definitely flirtatious with me, I trusted him up until that point. I guess maybe because I was leaving, he thought that that was an opportune time to go for it (Manuela, personal communication 11/10/18)²⁷³.

Notably this account features what might be regarded as a form of grooming leading up to the actual assault. Although the assault was opportunistic, the prior flirtatious behaviour raises the question of premeditation. The sexual harassment experienced by female participants did not just occur out of sight however. The following comment is an account of a public and humiliating example of peer-to-peer sexual harassment.

A very well known singer friend of mine...was performing at [name of venue redacted] and one of the musicians (also a friend of mine) who was probably under the influence of cocaine or alcohol...decided he would take both of his hands and wobble her breasts. This singer is an attractive and nicely endowed woman. He did that twice in front of other band members and on the second time she slapped him. He is reported to have laughed the incident off (ID: 82671767, personal communication 07/05/18)²⁷⁴.

The reaction of the other band members was not recorded; so no observation can be made about whether their behaviour tacitly or openly condoned the assault, as was evident in account 533. Similar to the context of informal networking events, intoxication was described as a factor. The role of alcohol in sexual harassment and violence against women is complex (Ullman 2003), but work environments where alcohol consumption is encouraged place women at greater risk of sexual harassment (Brunner & Dever 2014). Further, and as already discussed in Chapter 5, the tolerance behaviour of others is known to affect the likelihood of harassment (Federation of Entertainment Unions 2013).

²⁷³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 664.

²⁷⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 665.

The apparently impulsive nature of this assault however, can be contrasted with other sexual harassment that was typified by increasing amounts of sexual pressure over time, as can be seen in the following account.

I had a married man in the band constantly hitting on me...we all car-pooled at that time. He would be arranging it so he always dropped me off last and then trying to get into my bed...to the point I had messages of me abusing the shit out of him saying, "Leave me the fuck alone..."
He would turn up unannounced at my door and I'd be slamming my door on his face (Margarita, personal communication 02/07/18)²⁷⁵.

Unlike account 665, this type of unwanted sexual pressure is marked by premeditation and persistence. A similar pattern to this account however, is evident in the following recollection, where sexual pressure culminated in sexual assault.

Sometimes the band members of these other bands...would behave in...sexually overt ways to me. Including asking me if I wanted to have an affair with him. I told him I was engaged. When I said no and laughed, they were saying, "Oh, it's not that funny." Then, later on, another gig on the same tour, when I was trying to get changed backstage, they wouldn't leave backstage to give me a private space and inappropriately touched me and things like that (Magdalena, personal communication 18/12/18)²⁷⁶.

Notably, when Magdalena attempted to defuse her rejection with laughter, she was met with a response that was arguably intimidating, in addition to the subsequent refusal of her requests for privacy. In contrast to impulsive acts of sexual harassment, this form of harassment should also be seen in the light of definitions of workplace harassment (as discussed in Chapter 3), in that it is bullying behaviour which takes place over a period of time (see Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Notelaers et al. 2006). Experiences of aversive behaviour

²⁷⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 666.

²⁷⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 667.

and interpersonal problems in the workplace are thought to have more negative consequences than those experienced in other settings (Bolger et al. 1989). This is so because the workplace is necessary for generating a livelihood, and is thereby a social environment not easily avoided (Einarsen & Raknes 1997). Consequently, any sexual harassment that features a longitudinal nature (as in accounts 665-666) exacerbates the negative impact on those who have experienced it.

Overt acts of peer-to-peer sexual harassment shared other similarities. In all instances the women were either unaccompanied by their partners at the time of the harassment, or were single²⁷⁷. Although these accounts do not make clear what other factors were in play, it is conceivable that the admirer dyad was a factor, as perpetrator behaviour was consistent with a belief that women in music are there because they want to have sex with male musicians (Cline 1992; Larsen 2017). Furthermore, the blunt quality of sexual overtures from male colleagues in these accounts is remarkably similar to the sexual harassment perpetrated by patrons (see Chapter 5). In particular, the aggressive quality of these peer-to-peer overtures is notably similar to the kinds of sexual harassment experienced in bars and small live venues (see Graham et al. 2017; Graham et al. 2014; Graham et al. 2010). Moreover, these examples of sexual harassment occurred either post rehearsal, at the gig or on tour; where, according to Luciana, the music industry functions with a more casual sexual ethos, evident in the following recollection.

²⁷⁷ Manuela asserted that she was 17 at the time of account 663. She also implied elsewhere in her testimony that she was wary of male relationships because of earlier abuse (personal communication 11/10/18).

It was that stupid but none the less very true adage, "what happens on the road, stays on the road" definitely happened...there were people doing all sorts of things, whether straight, or gay, or groups. I remember one night...I wandered down to the hotel room and I knocked on the door and a voice said, "Come in, who is it?" and I opened the door and there was an orgy going on in front of me on the floor. They were like 15 people all having sex. I shut the door, and just thought, "Fucking hell, I've obviously gone into the wrong room," and the bloke came to the door naked and just said, "No come on in." I said, "I'm sorry I'm not comfortable with this, I'm not doing that". He said, "I thought you'd like to join in..." (personal communication 11/12/18)²⁷⁸

An industry ethos of 'what happens on the road stays on the road' (see also account 629) in combination with the admirer/amateur trope might explain why peer-to-peer sexual harassment by male musicians manifested in ways that were so confronting for participants. This dynamic is also evident in the following recollection.

When I travel, it happens a lot of the times. When I was working with the festivals, running the after parties, the VIP events, working with...international artists; the biggest part is them coming onto you. You're feeling pressured; they're trying to pressure you to do stuff. The way you get included is more of a sexual way rather than a professional way (Fiona, personal communication 12/10/18)²⁷⁹.

Thus it is apparent that the terms under which women are accepted in the music industry, even at the highest levels, can be framed within the admirer/amateur trope. The testimony here (accounts 663-669) suggests that unwanted sexual pressure and sexual harassment occur within the context of a normalised industry culture. An entire industry that is typified by the normalisation of sexual harassment is arguably firm evidence of a pervasive

²⁷⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 668.

²⁷⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 669.

social system. Notwithstanding the discussion of normalisation to be held later, in the following observation, Merlina neatly summarised the problem as she saw it.

Everyone's exhausted by not knowing what to do about sexual harassment. It's like, "What do we do about racism?" It seems...like the too hard basket because you actually have to change the culture of misogyny. That's a very tricky thing to change (personal communication 03/01/19)²⁸⁰.

Her view that sexual harassment is a product of widespread misogyny accords with the nature of male hegemony as set forth in Chapter 2.

As previously discussed, a number of writers have argued that the discourse of #metoo, #menomore and sexual harassment in the music and media industries needs to be considered as a matter of structural inequity, rather than simply seeking out and laying the blame at the feet of individual perpetrators who have been caught out behaving badly (Baker & Williams 2019; Cobb & Horeck 2018). In the context of the discussion in Chapter 1, and in the light of the Composite Power Network Model, the experiences of social exclusion, sexual objectification, sexual harassment and gender discrimination described by participants can be located as manifestations and consequences of male hegemony. It is therefore unsurprising that female participants in this present research reported facing such entrenched misogynist attitudes. Furthermore, and as also previously discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, sexist stereotypes cause women to be excluded in various ways from what is considered the creative work in music making (Conor, Gill & Taylor 2015; Davies 2001; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015; Leonard 2013, 2016, 2017b). Additionally female artists are

²⁸⁰ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 670.

accorded a diminished cultural value (Davies 2001; Larsen 2017; Rosewarne 2019; Strong 2011). Consequently, women in the Australian music industry have found that they must employ a number of devices to navigate the discriminatory landscape of gender stereotypes (Bennett, Hennekam, et al. 2018). For example, Mariquita described how gender stereotyping restricted her roles in the early years of her work in the music industry.

I didn't front any bands as a teenager because I was never allowed to get access to it but I would often be there doing sort of gendered roles of like feeding people or making zines (personal communication 31/05/18)²⁸¹.

Her recollection accords with earlier testimony of gender-based job-role stereotyping: one that excludes women from technical or creative roles and directs them to receptionist, PR and marketing roles (see Cooper, Coles & Hanna-Osborne 2017; de Souza 2017; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015; Leonard 2013; McCormack 2019). This phenomenon is also clearly evident in the following recollection by a music manager concerning the hiring decisions of her male boss in a Melbourne music management company.

We had... high turnover of interns, obviously. With interns...he would never hire anyone that was male and he would only ever hire females under 25. If I was getting resumes of interns, or if he needed a new assistant or something, I was to delete any resume that was a male or over 25. Delete it. Don't even look at it... The interns were all gorgeous, very beautiful young women (Fabiana 28 personal communication 05/05/19)²⁸².

This account is not only an unambiguous case of gender stereotyping but the attractiveness requirement is also a notable way that sexual objectification can

²⁸¹ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 671.

²⁸² This account will be referred to subsequently as account 672.

manifest²⁸³. Former CEO of the Association of Artist Managers (AAM), Leanne de Souza, described how she had to learn how to “maneuver perceptions and conversations around [her] look and [her] sexuality” in order to fulfill her professional responsibilities (de Souza 2014).

Common perceptions of women in the music business tend to take on one of two roles, that of the mistress or mother figure. As a music manager, the assumption often is that you are either sleeping with or mother to the artist (de Souza 2014).

Although de Souza’s framing is much more closely aligned to the Madonna/whore dichotomy (see Wolf 1997), it is evidence of a misogyny that is similar to the admirer/amateur trope evident in this present research. Entrenched sexist stereotypes however, do not simply occur in the music industry - they are also propagated by it.

The music industries are but a microcosm of a larger popular culture landscape that portrays male/female relations, including responses to violence against women, in a way that reinforces a gendered order of social and cultural power (see Asenas & Abram 2018; Easteal, Holland & Judd 2015; Simons & Morgan 2018). A content analysis of the Billboard Top 100 over a 5 year period found that there were recurring themes that included: men in positions of power, the importance of sex for men, the objectification of women, and sexual violence (Bretthauer, Zimmerman & Banning 2007). In this context it is notable that Mariquita described her own apprehension of the risk of violence against women.

But for women, it's always a situation that you're going to have someone

²⁸³ Account 671 describes a policy that is eerily similar to Donald Trump’s selection criteria for females who were to appear on the reality television show *The Apprentice* (Mercanti 2020).

potentially...[sic] want sexual violence and coerce you. Courtney Barnett sung... “I want to walk in the park, in the dark. Men are worried that women will laugh at them, women are worried the men will kill them”²⁸⁴ (personal communication 31/05/18)²⁸⁵.

Songwriter Barnett attributed this part of her lyrics to a Margaret Atwood²⁸⁶ quote, and attested to the song being about bullying (Newstead 2018).

Mariquita also went on to describe the hip-hop scene in uncompromising terms.

There’s a couple of female MCs²⁸⁷ who experienced rape, and talked about it in the community and had people side on the rapist. A lot of men would side on the rapist side...there isn’t [sic] any real mechanisms for women to report (personal communication 31/05/18)²⁸⁸.

The willingness of male colleagues to engage in victim blaming concerning an incident of violence against women is a more extreme version of the ambivalence seen in account 533, where a female support artist reported an incident of sexual assault by patrons to the male members of the headline band. Further, and notably, this account is also evidence of a gendered social structure in the hip-hop scene that prevents women from reporting rape. This testimony entirely accords with what is known about the low rates of rape reporting in the wider community (Belknap 2010) as well as the difficulty in obtaining convictions for the crime of rape (Larcombe 2011). Furthermore, her account supports research findings about victim blaming more widely (see Belknap 2010; Grubb & Turner 2012; Loughnan et al. 2013; Ståhl, Eek &

²⁸⁴ The Courtney Barnett song lyrics quoted here are from *Nameless, Faceless* (Levine & El-Faizy 2019).

²⁸⁵ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 673.

²⁸⁶ Margaret Atwood is the author of *The Handmaid’s Tale* a dystopian novel in which the US has become a puritanical authoritarian theocracy, and where women live in subjugation to an extreme form of patriarchy (Barnett 2018).

²⁸⁷ The definition of MC in hip-hop or rap music has evolved, but is commonly a term used to describe a vocalist who rhymes over the scratching track supplied by a DJ (<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/mc-emcee-master-ceremonies/> accessed 14/09/2019).

²⁸⁸ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 674.

Kazemi 2010; Suarez & Gadalla 2010), and points to research concerning the high levels of misogyny known to exist in hip-hop music (Adams & Fuller 2006; Armstrong 2001). Moreover, there is a known association between sexually violent lyric content and the acceptance of violence towards women (St. Lawrence & Joyner 1991), with a similar effect found in those who viewed music videos that portray intimate partner violence (Rhodes, Potocki & Masterson 2018). The phenomenon of victim blaming has also been closely associated with men with a history of violence themselves or in their family (Bryant & Spencer 2003) and is associated with hostile sexism and constructs of gender relations where women are subordinate (Anderson 2009; Anderson & Umberson 2001; Manne 2017; Valor-Segura, Expósito & Moya 2011). One researcher has also drawn comparisons between domestic abuse and bullying, noting that many similarities exist between the two phenomena (Quigg 2016).

Consequently, it is unsurprising that Strong has claimed that the abuse of women is normalised in the creative industries (forthcoming 2019). Acts of domestic violence perpetrated by male rock and hip-hop stars against their female partners are consistently reported in a way that minimises or explains away abusive male behaviour (Strong forthcoming 2019). Such reporting appears similar to the phenomenon of *auteur apologism* which explains how high profile film-makers such as Woody Allen escape the consequences of their abusive behaviour, despite the work of the #metoo movement (Marghitu 2018). Furthermore (and as already discussed), the precarious economic landscape for the majority of music industry workers (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b; Hughes et al. 2016b) has created an environment where gender stereotypes and

misogyny can flourish virtually unchecked. Even if male musicians at the bottom rungs of the economic ladder can be described as marginalised, they will clamber over anyone who they regard as beneath them in the social order in order to escape difficult circumstances (see Crenshaw 1989). Men and women may be equally in the lowest echelons of the music industry, and also equally economically disadvantaged; however, male hegemony means that the men will regard the women in the same circumstances as inferior. Finally, the fragmented nature of the music industry exacerbates the proliferation of gender stereotypes because there is no coherent policy to create and ensure the kind of equity that is more often seen in large organizations (see Bobbitt-Zeher 2011).

CLASSIFYING THE FORMS OF PEER-TO-PEER HARASSMENT

This chapter has set forth testimony by female participants who described variations of social exclusion, sexual objectification, gender discrimination, sexual harassment and workplace harassment. Furthermore, Maria Jose's testimony (account 600) invites the application of the NAQ-R framework to the task of classifying peer-to-peer harassment. This is so because her experiences were systematic and occurred for a period exceeding 6 months (see Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers 2009; Nielsen, Notelaers & Einarsen 2011). Accounts 600 and 629-632 also refer to events that can be regarded as emblematic, or generalised recollections of circumstances that emerged from a prevailing climate. Experiences of social exclusion incontrovertibly occurred on the basis of gender and so can be classified simultaneously as gender discrimination, as

well as workplace harassment in some cases. Therefore, experiences of social exclusion will be classified accordingly in table 6.2 below.

All examples of sexual objectification in accounts 617, 619, 640-647 and 650-654 occurred between colleagues in the workplace, although in some cases these colleagues might also be regarded as superiors (see Salin & Hoel 2011). As noted earlier, sexual objectification has its basis in gender discrimination but is also thought to be more prevalent in environments dominated by male power structures (Szymanski et al. 2009). The question therefore arises as to whether incidents of sexual objectification can also be regarded as workplace harassment, or alternatively whether workplace harassment is an indicator of sexual objectification. One problem in attempting to resolve this question is the elusive nature of a strict definition of workplace harassment²⁸⁹ (Saunders, Huynh & Goodman-Delahunty 2007). Although some have alluded to negative outcomes from workplace harassment that include humiliation (Einarsen & Raknes 1997; Field 2016; Fox & Stallworth 2010) or feeling disrespected (Saunders, Huynh & Goodman-Delahunty 2007), researchers in the field of workplace harassment appear not to have investigated stronger associations between sexual objectification and bullying, with the exception of the discourse about misogyny in cyber bullying (see Gardner & Shute 2000; Jane 2014; Mathen 2014; Nussbaum 2010). Notwithstanding the gaps in the discourse, sexual objectification will be classified as a separate form of abusive behaviour; however the NAQ-R typology of workplace harassment will also appear in table 6.2, where it can be reasonably applied.

²⁸⁹ See discussion concerning problems with the definition of workplace harassment in Chapter 3.

Fitzgerald et al. (1997) proposed the Integrated Model of Sexual Harassment in Organizations (IMSHO) as a theoretical framework for measuring sexual harassment, based on the earlier development of the Sexual Experience Questionnaire (SEQ). The SEQ is an instrument designed to measure both the incidence and dimensions of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald & Shullman 1985; Fitzgerald et al. 1988). The IMSHO is a tripartite model, which posits that sexual harassment consists of separate but related dimensions: *gender harassment*, *unwanted sexual attention* and *sexual coercion* (Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995, p. 430; Gelfand, Fitzgerald & Drasgow 1995, p. 168). Gender harassment is not intended to elicit sexual co-operation and includes experiences of disparaging conduct: behaviours that convey hostile and offensive attitudes about members of one gender (Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995, p. 430), which thus can also be categorised as misogyny. By contrast, unwanted sexual attention involves experiences of inappropriate or offensive behaviours that are unwanted and unreciprocated, including verbal and physical actions such as sexually suggestive comments, attempts to establish sexual relationships despite discouragement, and unwanted touching (Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995, p. 431). Finally, sexual coercion is “the canonical example of sexual harassment” and includes behaviour that parallels the legal concept of *quid pro quo*²⁹⁰: subtle or explicit bribes or threats to make opportunities or work conditions contingent on co-operative sexual behavior (Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995, p. 431). The tripartite framework of the IMSHO was subsequently found to be a generalizable construct that applied to different

²⁹⁰ The (Latin) term *quid pro quo* is a legal expression that means literally “something for something” (<https://definitions.uslegal.com/q/quid-pro-quo/> accessed 15/09/2019).

contexts (Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Gelfand, Fitzgerald & Drasgow 1995). Accordingly, the tripartite model will be used to classify sexual harassment reported in this present study.

Table 6.1 below summarises behaviour that is classifiable within the tripartite framework using the revised SEQ for workplaces (SEQ-W).

Factors in Describing Sexual Harassment	
Gender Harassment	Suggestive stories
	Crude sexual remarks
	Offensive remarks
	Display of offensive materials
	Sexist comments
Unwanted Sexual Attention	Attempts to discuss sex
	Unwanted sexual attention
	Staring, leering
	Attempts to form a sexual relationship
	Repeated requests for drinks, dinner, despite rejection
Touching in a way that made you feel uncomfortable	
Sexual Coercion	Subtly bribed you
	Subtly threatened you
	Sexual cooperation necessary in order to be treated well
	Made you concerned about poor treatment if you didn't cooperate
	There were consequences for refusing

Table 6.1 SEQ-W factors in the IMSHO (after Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995)

Incidents of sexual coercion will left for discussion in Chapter 7, because of the implications of the misuse in power in coercive sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al. 1988). As previously discussed in Chapter 3 there is some overlap in how sexual harassment is reported in the investigation of bullying (Keashly & Neuman 2004). Accordingly sexual harassment experiences of participants will

be classified in table 6.2 below as: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion with notations where behaviour was coincident with the relevant questions (27 and 28) from the online survey.

KEY: EMB = emblematic. SYS = systematic. INC = single incident. * An act of harassment identifiable by the NAQ-R. ** An act defined as an offence under the NSW Crimes Act.

ACC		Description	Social Exclusion	Sexual Objectification	Gender Harassment	Unwanted Sexual Attention	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment
600A	SYS	Gender discrimination. Offensive remarks.			✓			Q27
600B	SYS	Gender discrimination. Offensive remarks, Sexual Joking, Ridiculed about work*.		✓	✓			✓
600C	SYS	Gender discrimination. Sexist comment, Teasing and sarcasm*.			✓			✓
600D	SYS	Gender discrimination. Sexist comment, Teasing and sarcasm*.			✓			✓
600E	SYS	Gender discrimination. Sexist comment, Teasing and sarcasm*.			✓			✓
600F	SYS	Ignored and excluded* - physically shunned.						✓
600G	SYS	Ignored and excluded* - physically shunned.						✓
600H	SYS	Ignored and excluded*, Mobbing – Workplace Harassment extends to others.						✓
601	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
602	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
603	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
604	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
605	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
606	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
607	INC	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Opinions and views ignored*.			✓			✓
608	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Opinions and views ignored*.			✓			✓
609	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Opinions and views ignored*.			✓			✓
610	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Sabotage of gig.			✓			✓
611	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments, Offensive remarks.						
612	INC	Gender discrimination. Offensive remarks, Spontaneous anger*.			✓			✓
613	EMB	Gender discrimination. Comment on the gendered nature of instruments.			✓			

ACC		Description	Social Exclusion	Sexual Objectification	Gender Harassment	Unwanted Sexual Attention	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment
614	EMB	Gender discrimination. Ignored and excluded*.	✓		✓			✓
615	EMB	Gender discrimination. Sexist comments.			✓			
616	EMB	Gender discrimination. Ignored and excluded*, Sexist comments.			✓			✓
617	INC	Gender discrimination. Gender Stereotyping, Sexist comments.	✓	✓	✓			
618	SYS	Gender Stereotyping,	✓		✓			✓
619	INC	Gender discrimination. Gender Stereotyping, Sexist comments.		✓	✓	✓		
620	INC	Gender discrimination. Gender Stereotyping, Sexist comments.			✓			✓
621	EMB	Gender discrimination. Gender Stereotyping, Sexist comments. Ignored and excluded*.			✓			✓
622	INC	Gender discrimination. Gender Stereotyping, Sexist Comments.			✓			
623	EMB	Gender discrimination. Differences in male & female experiences.	✓		✓			
624	SYS	Gender discrimination. Gender Stereotyping, Sexist Comments.			✓			
625	SYS	Gender discrimination. Reflections on misogyny.			✓			
626	EMB	Made to feel unwelcome.	✓					
627	EMB	Made to feel unwelcome, Differences in male & female experiences.	✓		✓			
628	SYS	Gender discrimination. Made to feel unwelcome, Hints to quit*	✓		✓			✓
629	EMB	Gender discrimination. Made to feel unwelcome, Homosocial workplace.	✓		✓			
630	EMB	Gender discrimination. Persistent criticism*, Shouting and abuse*.			✓			✓
631	EMB	Gender discrimination. Homosocial networks, Potential allegations and accusations*	✓		✓			✓
632	EMB	Gender discrimination. Homosocial networks, Ignored and excluded*. Opinions and views ignored*.	✓					✓
633	INC	Gender discrimination. Homosocial networks, Ignored and excluded*.	✓					✓
634	EMB	Homosocial networks.	✓					✓
635	EMB	Homosocial networks, Ignored and excluded*, Withholding information*.	✓					
636	EMB	Gender discrimination. Ignored and excluded*, Withholding information*.	✓					✓
637	INC	Ignored and excluded*, Withholding information*.	✓					

ACC		Description	Social Exclusion	Sexual Objectification	Gender Harassment	Unwanted Sexual Attention	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment
638	EMB	Recognition of informal networks.						
639	EMB	Informal homosocial networks and the risk of sexual harassment.	✓			✓		
640	SYS	Pressure to present as "hot" or "sexy".		✓				
641	EMB	Self-objectification.		✓				
642	SYS	Pressure to present as "hot" or "sexy".		✓				
643	SYS	Pressure to present as "hot" or "sexy".		✓				
644	EMB	Comparison with other workplace. Possible gender discrimination.		✓				
645	EMB	Unwanted compliments of a sexual nature about physical appearance.		✓	✓	✓		
646	EMB	Unwanted "you look hot" comments.		✓	✓	✓		
647	EMB	Unwanted "you look hot" comments.		✓		✓		
648	EMB	"Blurred Lines", Possible unwanted sexual attention.				✓		Q27
649	EMB	"Blurred Lines".						
650	EMB	Gender discrimination. Objectification.		✓				
651	EMB	Gender discrimination. Objectification.		✓				
652	SYS	Pressure to dress in a sexualised manner.		✓	✓			
653	SYS	Objectification, Pressure to exposed herself to the audience.		✓	✓			
654	EMB	Gender discrimination. Comment on appearance.		✓	✓	✓		
655	EMB	Unwanted sexual attention, Sexual innuendo, Hand on lower back.				✓		Q28
656	EMB	Unwanted sexual attention, Hand on lower back.				✓		Q28
657	EMB	Unwanted sexual attention, Hand on lower back.				✓		Q28
658	EMB	Unwanted sexual attention, Hand on lower back.				✓		Q28
659	EMB	Unwanted touching that makes you feel uncomfortable.				✓		Q28
660	INC	Unwanted touching that makes you feel uncomfortable.				✓		Q28
661	EMB	Unwanted touching that makes you feel uncomfortable.				✓		Q28
662	EMB	Unwanted touching that makes you feel uncomfortable.				✓		Q28
663	INC	Sexual assault**.				✓		Q28
664	INC	Sexual assault**.				✓		Q28

ACC		Description	Social Exclusion	Sexual Objectification	Gender Harassment	Unwanted Sexual Attention	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment
665	INC	Sexual assault**.				✓		Q28
666	INC	Pressure to form a sexual relationship.				✓		Q28
667	SYS	Pressure to form a sexual relationship, Sexual assault**.				✓		Q28
668	SYS	Pressure to form a sexual relationship.				✓		Q28
669	EMB	Pressure to form a sexual relationship.				✓		Q28
670	EMB	Participant observation about the culture of misogyny.						
671	EMB	Gender discrimination. Ignored and excluded*.	✓		✓			✓
672	SYS	Gender Stereotyping.		✓				
673	EMB	Threats of violence* **.					✓	✓
674	EMB	Rape**.					✓	Q28

Table 6.2 Classification of incidents of Social Exclusion, Sexual Objectification, Gender Harassment, Unwanted Sexual Attention, Sexual Coercion and Workplace Harassment

CONCLUSION

Female musicians and music industry workers experience a breadth of gendered anti-social and aversive behaviour from their peers. These behaviours constitute gender harassment in the form of sexist comments, offensive remarks and sexual joking. Women in the music industry also find themselves unwelcome or excluded from the industry, objectified and subject to unwanted sexual attention that takes the form of sexual touching, attempts to form a sexual relationship and acts of sexual assault.

Some of this aversive behaviour can also be classified as workplace harassment including:

- Criticism of the quality of work.

- Hints that the recipient should quit.
- Being ignored or excluded.
- Having opinions and views ignored
- Withholding of information.
- Having accusations and allegations made against recipient.
- Being the target of spontaneous rage or anger.
- Threats of violence.

In addition to the impact described in Chapter 4, women from this present research reported either feeling excluded or being excluded from participating in the music industry to the same degree as their male peers. Exclusion occurs through homosocial networks, exemplified in part by sexual joking on the part of male musicians, behaviour that reinforces male in-group cohesion, while simultaneously making women the outsiders (see Thomae & Pina 2015). This research supports assertions that sexual harassment is one of the most pervasive and damaging phenomena in the career trajectories of women (see Willness, Steel & Lee 2007). Motivations for workplace harassment are thought to be varied and are still subject to ongoing debate across a number of disciplines (Neuman et al. 2011; Zapf & Einarsen 2003); however in the same way as sexual harassment victims, targets of workplace harassment experience career damaging consequences (Nielsen & Einarsen 2012).

This research finds that there is a widespread tolerance of sexual harassment in the music industry, supporting findings of a similar tolerance for sexual harassment in the creative industries of The Netherlands (Hennekam & Bennett

2017b). This research also supports findings that gender role perceptions are important antecedents of sexual harassment (see Cantisano, Domínguez & Depolo 2008; Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Glomb et al. 1997). Explanations for sexual harassment range from compensation for perceived male gender norm violations (see Mellon 2013) to low job satisfaction and high job stress (see Fitzgerald et al. 1997); however this research asserts that sexual harassment is also a manifestation of male hegemony in the music industry.

This research finds that there is a pervasive misogyny evident in the music industry termed the admirer/amateur trope, a trope particularly prevalent in the community of sound engineers and technical crew. This trope renders female music industry workers more vulnerable to harm than their male counterparts, because it creates an ad hoc tolerance of sexual harassment that functions as an antecedent to sexual harassment in the same way that organizational tolerance to sexual harassment does within formal structures. Furthermore both sexual and workplace harassment serve to exert a power differential (see Pina & Gannon 2012). Accordingly, this study finds that the exclusionary effects of sexual harassment (and workplace harassment) are multiplied by the way that women are disempowered by it. Thus this study finds that workplace harassment and sexual harassment perpetrated by peers serves to reinforce male hegemony within the music industry and diminish or dismiss the influence, creative voice, industry contribution and presence of women.

There is no precise quantification of the extent of this behaviour for the Australian and New Zealand music industries, although, as previously noted in

the first three chapters, almost half of the members of the UK Musicians Union had experienced workplace harassment, a figure that includes sexual harassment (Perraudin 2019). Furthermore, the classification in Table 6.2 is further evidence that no single typological framework is sufficient to satisfactorily classify the experiences reported by participants.

This chapter supports the findings of an extensive body of research into the phenomena of gender discrimination and sexual harassment. Aside from a unique contextualization of these phenomena in the music industries of Australia and New Zealand, the findings of this chapter contribute to the knowledge of these two phenomena in four ways. Firstly, the case study of sound engineers is a unique insight into an important social subgroup in the music industry. It is largely male dominated and also exclusive in terms of who becomes accepted by existing members. The economic success of the field of live music performance depends on this subgroup and yet in popular music studies, scant attention has been given to them in research. This study contributes important new knowledge in the understanding of this group. Secondly, the findings of this chapter establish a connection between social exclusion, sexual objectification, sexual harassment and sexual assault, by showing that all four types of behaviour are linked in terms of causality. Thirdly, this chapter contributes evidence of micro-power structures that exist within the field of live music performance in particular, given that peer-to-peer workplace and sexual harassment are both products of power imbalances. Finally, this chapter uniquely adds to the understanding of gender discrimination and sexual

harassment by documenting and categorizing the kind of aversive behaviours faced by women working in the music industries.

CHAPTER 7

POWER: REPUTATION, COERCION AND NORMALISATION

This chapter is concerned with the ways that abuses of power manifest in the music industries. While many participants reported acts of sexual coercion on the part of powerful individuals, some also described coercion that was not necessarily sexual, but involved the possibility of losing work. The fear of losing work was reported by 41% of UK musicians as an important factor in why they did not report workplace and sexual harassment (Perraudin 2019), suggesting that power relations were a factor. A significant proportion (78.7%) of interview participants in this present study described power as a factor in their experiences of harassment. Additionally, 19.3% of online survey respondents commented about abuses of power either directly or indirectly. Coercion by powerful industry figures was of such significance for two interview participants that they believed their life would be in danger if their identities were to become known. Participants reported that power was used to manipulate, intimidate and humiliate, as is evident in the following two comments.

Higher up members of the music community in WA put unnecessary pressure and sometimes abuse towards [sic] people under them (ID: 101704675, personal communication 10/12/2018)²⁹¹.

Verbally abused and accused of racism by a prominent artist's manager...Hired by a manager to drive him to and from events, only to have him laughingly talk to the band about how little he paid me to do this job (ID: 80045688, personal communication 14/12/2018)²⁹².

²⁹¹ This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 700.

²⁹² This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 701.

The diverse kinds of behaviours reported as abuses of power also included the following:

- Threats to reputation and thus future work
- Damage to reputation
- Social pressure (to give sexual consent, or to be complicit to harassment, to conform to sexist stereotypes)
- Sexual harassment
- Sexual coercion
- Sexual assault

The abuses of power discussed in this chapter are diverse in nature and occurred in a wide range of work contexts. The extent of this diversity is such that to attempt to analyse this behaviour only as discrete phenomena would be to disregard the overarching systems that allow abuses of power to become a part of the economy of an industry. As previously discussed, the music industry features significant asymmetries of power and male hegemonic social structures. The convergence of these factors can account for an economic landscape where abusive behaviour is a means by which social and cultural capital is used to exercise power as theorised in the Composite Power Network Model. Further, this convergence can also account for an economy where abusive behaviour can become normalised. The unconstrained exercise of power in the economy of music making can be regarded in the light of Hesmondhalgh's observation that by the end of the last century "the entire field [of rock music] had started to move towards a greater embracing of commerce" as opposed to notions of autonomy and a "romantic and modernist disdain for commerce" (2019, p. 343).

For the purposes of discussion this chapter will group types of abusive behaviour together in sections. However, all of the following phenomena should be thought of as manifestations of an economy of abuse in the music industries. Accordingly, in order to understand the intersections of power and coercion, this chapter will first examine participant reports of feeling manipulated or pressured by the threat of reputational damage or reports of participants acting to avert actual reputational damage.

REPUTATION, THREATS TO REPUTATION AND REPUTATIONAL DAMAGE

The importance of reputation emerged as a concern for 72.7% of interview participants. Its significance in the thinking of music industry workers should therefore not be underestimated, as can be seen in the following comment.

I often worked 16-hour days due to ridiculous deadlines. Due to the nature of the internship, I felt as though I couldn't say no to these tasks as it was such a good opportunity – and I had to do well...In this industry, your reputation is EVERYTHING (original emphasis) (ID: 88534060, personal communication 22/06/2018)²⁹³.

In some cases, participants reported coercive behaviour, such as “agents withholding work if you don’t play exactly to their game” (ID: 88984258, personal communication 28/6/2018). Music industry workers are highly conscious of their reputation and its link to future work, a finding that supports research investigating strategies that are employed by creative industry workers

²⁹³ This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 702.

to manage their careers (Hennekam & Bennett 2016, 2017a). Coercion that threatened future work was also combined with sexual coercion, as is clear from the following comment.

*Multiple stories of sexual advances, or withholding opportunities unless sexual advances are satisfied (ID: 89467558, personal communication 04/07/2018)*²⁹⁴.

Given the comprehensive gender discrimination within the music industries evident in earlier chapters, it is unsurprising that reputation management is also highly gendered, as can be seen in the following observation.

*The easiest way to ruin a woman's standing right now...is to start spreading salacious rumours about her sexuality, because in the eyes of most Australian men...the minute a woman's sexuality or their promiscuity or any aspect of their sexuality is questioned, then there's a whole bunch of bullshit moral judgment that's made (Luciana, personal communication 11/12/18)*²⁹⁵.

In addition to serving as another variation of the amateur/admirer trope, this account demonstrates that matters of reputation not only have a significantly gendered bias, but also that they are subject to forces beyond the control of those affected. Both of these are evident in Luciana's following recollection that was also connected to her observations in account 704.

*There were so many stories about me that went around at the time...how I was sleeping with this one and that one and I was a star fucker...I was doing none of the above (personal communication 11/12/18)*²⁹⁶.

Participants cited managing their reputation as an important factor in their decision making, evident not only in account 702, but also in the following

²⁹⁴ This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 703.

²⁹⁵ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 704.

²⁹⁶ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 705.

observation from an experienced music manager who recalled her reasoning in the aftermath of an episode of unacceptable behaviour from a client.

I'd felt I got a bit of reputation of changing my mind and if anything got difficult, I was walking away, I felt I had to stick this out. There was that pressure in my mind that I had to stick it out...

He was not in a position of power...I was the experienced person, so why I would let that behaviour happen? It was because of...my reputation. I felt I would be judged (Fernanda, personal communication 31/10/18)²⁹⁷.

One explanation could be that the artist Fernanda was working with was on the verge of “blowing up” and achieving large-scale success (personal communication 31/10/18). Her actions to preserve and protect her reputation can be seen in the light of the imminent success of her perpetrator, and may well have sprung from her awareness that large-scale success brings significant symbolic and economic capital to an artist, and a consequent shift in power. Regardless, the pressure of maintaining and protecting a reputation is of such great importance that it can involve financial or personal cost. This can be seen in the following story of how someone with relatively little power in the industry acted to preserve her reputation in the face of criminal behaviour.

A friend of mine is a professional, freelance 'door/merch' person...was sexually assaulted by a venue manager on her way to her car at the conclusion of a show. He then stole the money she was carrying (takings from the show) and threatened her life. She didn't report it, as she was afraid she would get a 'bad reputation' and never work again. The band sorted out the financials but she didn't tell them how she 'lost' the money (ID: 98986770, personal communication 08/11/2018)²⁹⁸.

Low reporting by victims of rape and sexual assault is an established phenomenon (Peretti & Cozzens 1983). There are many reasons why women

²⁹⁷ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 706.

²⁹⁸ This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 707.

do not report sexual assault; however the most common are knowing their assailant, not wanting an assailant to be imprisoned and fear that police will be insensitive (Jones et al. 2009). Notably, the victim in this episode concealed the traumatic and violating nature of both the robbery and the sexual assault even from her benefactors because of fears for her future livelihood. It is unclear from this account how her reputation would have been affected by her reporting the venue manager; however the possibility that his word on the matter might have been believed over hers cannot be discounted. Arguably in this case, the venue manager not only possessed greater social capital but also utilised both legitimate power and coercive power in enacting the sexual assault. Accounts 702 and 704-707 unequivocally demonstrate three things. Firstly, reputation and livelihood are inextricably intertwined. Secondly, the lack of agency experienced by music industry workers in managing reputation is a product of asymmetric power, and thirdly, that gender needs to be considered in any incident of reputational damage involving a woman.

Understanding the importance of reputation in the music industries

Some participants offered more detailed explanations for why reputation is so important in the music industry in particular. The first of these can be seen in the following observation.

Because this is a whole industry that's created on air: if someone says [artist name redacted] is the greatest singer in the world, that's the thing that makes you want to go see her. That's the thing you're selling actually. What people say about you, and how you respond to that is really important (Mariella, personal communication 08/06/18)²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁹ This explanation will be referred to subsequently as account 708.

This explanation proposes a direct connection between a marketing practice and the way that intra-industry professional connections may function. The commercialisation of an emerging artist involves creating a ‘buzz’ (Caves 2000, p. 173) of the kind generated by Coldplay’s manager for their earliest performances (Harvey 2013), because for many fans, “subcultural capital rests on ‘being in the know’ in ways that verify one’s autonomy from conformity to commercial hype” (Moore 2005, p. 343). This notion is supported by Storper & Venables (2004) who propose that buzz is essential for the operation of activities in fluid environments like the cultural industries, where there is much specialised and yet tacit knowledge held by workers and practitioners. Buzz can also be considered a form of symbolic power. The critical importance of reputation is exacerbated however by the small size of the Australian and New Zealand music industries.

The industry is so tiny, this microcosm of society. If you piss off one person, their entire network will eventually hear about it or if you do something wrong, you become the object of gossip that then spreads like wildfire, and because everyone knows everyone...it's very difficult for incidents to remain isolated. It's something that becomes a party story...There's no anonymity and you never actually know what people are saying behind your back (Juanita, personal communication 19/12/18)³⁰⁰.

As soon as something bad is said about you, like if you do something wrong...especially in New Zealand because it's such a small country...they're so tight that you'll be out of a job. You can't afford to do that (Monique, personal communication 02/08/18)³⁰¹.

³⁰⁰ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 709.

³⁰¹ This account will be referred to subsequently as account 710.

The rapid flow of information within small professional and social circles is doubtless the by-product of a highly networked industry (see Hughes et al. 2016c). Furthermore, it is clear from account 710 that an awareness of the operation of reputation is a form of industry specific knowledge that functions to normalise workers to their specific working environment, a process known to occur in creative industries (Lorey 2006; Neff, Wissinger & Zukin 2005).

Music industry workers are not only finely tuned to the awareness of their reputations, they also employ strategies to navigate through difficult circumstances with an eye to their future.

We would get a whole bunch of festival offers in to play large festivals. We would confirm them, and then [the artist] would decide that he would book a holiday instead. Then, I'd be told to go back to the agent and cancel the shows and tell them that he was sick...on one hand, I would be betraying the agent; on the other hand, I'd be betraying the artist... I become the manager who is unreliable, who is not able to stick to his word or to actually effectively plan...we decided to get out of the situation as soon as possible, because it was doing active damage to our reputation (Francisco, personal communication 29/08/18)³⁰².

Artist managers, who are increasingly the central point of business communication for an artist (Hracs 2015; Morrow 2013), can thus face the dilemma of how to represent a client who is unethical or abusive. The following testimony was from an artist manager describing the behaviour of a male artist she was working with, and how his behaviour had also affected a colleague in her employ.

³⁰² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 711.

I don't know if he swore, but he was calling me a liar and we were sitting there and he was actually screaming at me. Eventually he learned to monotone it, but it was still that initial behaviour of the screaming... Everyone loves him. Everyone thinks he's amazing and so fun and the nicest artist in Australia...I had one person working with me and she refused to work with him very early on. She wouldn't stand the abuse³⁰³...I felt like I was keeping a dirty secret, like women that are being abused by their husbands...I couldn't tell the record company because I didn't want them to be put off by him. A few people knew, like his publisher, who's a good friend of mine...(Fernanda, personal communication 31/10/18)³⁰⁴

These two accounts are notable for the way that managers concealed information about their toxic experiences so as to protect their artists' reputations. The strategy in account 711 is one of absorbing a limited amount of reputational damage before exiting the relationship at the cost of revenue. Account 712 is an example of the selective withholding of important knowledge from other stakeholders in a bid to protect the artist's business. This account should be understood as directly connected to Fernanda's testimony in account 706. Taken together, Fernanda's strategy can be understood as an attempt to avoid further reputational damage. However, like Francisco, Fernanda ultimately resigned that client despite his looming success (personal communication 31/10/18). Notably, the behaviour of the artist described by Fernanda in account 712 also fits within the NAQ-R taxonomy of workplace harassment: specifically as an example of spontaneous anger.

³⁰³ The specific abuse that her colleague would not tolerate was not specified.

³⁰⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 712.

Further insight into the importance of reputation can be seen in the way a crewmember described her own reputation as a consequence of working on large touring shows.

A lot of confidential stuff with the musicians – someone might need a B shot in their bottom³⁰⁵. I had doctors on call, and I do it very quietly, no one else needs to know...that sort of thing; and because I work so confidentially directly with the musician (Lupina, personal communication 29/06/18)³⁰⁶.

While Lupina's actions may simply be to do with preserving the confidentiality of health related information, all three of these accounts are notable for the way that the reputations of the artists were protected. These actions can be explained in terms of the star power held by prestigious artists (as discussed in Chapter 2). The asymmetric power of the star is sufficiently great to cause managers to either dissemble or accept damage to their own reputations. Similarly, Lupina (account 713) regularly concealed matters that might affect an artist's ability to create future economic activity, although doubtless her own reputation would be enhanced by those actions. Thus, within the closed artist/crew social network, Lupina's actions would have accrued her social capital. Similar to the importance of reputation in the creative industries more broadly (Eikhof 2013), reputation in the music industry should be understood as an intangible asset, one that needs to be maintained and enhanced and that ultimately has value that translates tangibly (Black, Carnes & Richardson 2000).

Reputation has been described as simultaneously a social product and a social process (Casare & Sichman 2005, p. 505) and is thought to comprise

³⁰⁵ This is presumed to be a Vitamin B injection, used to treat patients with a vitamin B12 deficiency caused by smoking and excessive use of alcohol amongst other conditions (Atwood 2017).

³⁰⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 713.

“knowledge, impressions, perceptions, and beliefs” (or social cognitions) that “reside in the minds of external observers” (Rindova, Williamson & Petkova 2010, p. 614). Thus, a reputation in the music industry is a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2011), which is hard won and must be carefully guarded. In the commercialisation of music, an artist’s reputation with fans and followers is a symbolic capital that can be considered synonymous with the concept of brand and artist identity (Hughes et al. 2016d) and that translates into economic capital. Further, artist identity and brand arise from the kinds of social cognitions that include social and cultural meanings which create symbolic value for fans and followers who then use them to construct and communicate their own identities (McCracken 1990; Ravasi & Rindova 2008). In the same way that a brand reputation is a strategic asset for corporations (Rindova & Martins 2012), it is unsurprising that musicians associate their reputation with future revenue (Portman-Smith & Harwood 2015). Thus the symbolic capital that makes up a reputation is a specific form of power in the music industry. Accordingly, this power can be exercised to either disadvantage others or maintain and reinforce existing power. Accounts 711-712 raise questions about the nature of power relations between artist managers and their clients. This is a discussion beyond the scope of this thesis. Regardless, this chapter now turns to other ways in which reputation and power were linked, and where reputation was used to undermine the power and position of others.

Reputation and power

As discussed in Chapter 2, NET provides a theoretical framework to understand power relations in networks of exchange. NET posits that there are key gatekeeping positions in an exchange network that possess the capability of granting or denying access. The following account is an example of reputation being used to gate-keep and deny access.

There has to be confidentiality on the show. There are times, it happened today actually, where I was asked my opinion on a publicist...I know [through another show] that one of those people on their list is totally inappropriate for the show... and I said, "Look I don't think she's going to work for you..." I couldn't say where I learned from that [sic], but I could say why she's not good for the show (Lupina, personal communication 29/06/18)³⁰⁷.

Lupina described herself as an experienced crewmember in a large concert production company that handled major international acts (personal communication 29/06/18). She also positioned herself not only as one who held some authority and was trusted by senior management in that organisation, but also as one with an influential reputation, and therefore called upon to make recommendations to other organisations (personal communication 29/06/18). Thus reputation can accord an individual the power of gatekeeper, and specifically in this instance, the reputation of being a keeper of confidence was crucial to that power. As gatekeepers are known to benefit from their structural position (Corra & Willer 2002), it is unlikely that Lupina would willingly undermine her own power. Thus, the act of quarantining both herself and her source (in the guise of confidentiality) can be understood as a means of preserving her reputation and thereby her power. Furthermore these actions can be seen as preserving the existing social hierarchy, a common feature in

³⁰⁷ This excerpt will be referred to subsequently as account 714

the cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2013). Some of the rules for this particular social hierarchy and its power dynamics are evident in later remarks that Lupina made as she recalled an incident where someone had tried to compete for her job.

But what people like that forget is that you've paid your dues...a promoter is not going to hire me, no matter how much experience I've had, if I can't do the job. There's no such thing as a free ticket in my world...it's where you rely on your own professionalism, which just nails these people (Lupina, personal communication 29/06/18)³⁰⁸.

The nature of the vernacular theoretical model that Lupina constructed for explaining her career trajectory consisted of the concepts paying “your dues”, competence, and professionalism. Notably, these two accounts serve as examples of how social capital is accrued as well as how it is used within the closed social network of concert and events crew. However, the notion of professionalism is a constructed one (Evetts 2013; Noordegraaf & Schinkel 2011), and as previously seen in account 610, is one that that can be used by one group to marginalise another. Furthermore, paying your dues is a notion that may not be nearly as significant as being part of a network (Williamson 2008). Therefore it is notable that Lupina made no reference to the existence of the highly connected professional networks, that are not only known to exist in the music industries (Hughes et al. 2016c; Leyshon et al. 2005), but were also plainly apparent in her own testimony (account 714) and in the othering of “these people” who she positioned outside her own network.

³⁰⁸ This excerpt will be referred to subsequently as account 715.

Reputation serves a function in many industries, and is an accepted means of selecting preferred colleagues, brands and services (Engelmann & Fischbacher 2009; Goldberg, Cohen & Fiegenbaum 2003; Nguyen, Zhao & Yang 2010). However, the importance of reputation as social capital within a small highly networked industry is further evident in the way that a group of female artists in a small live music scene responded to a sexual predator.

I heard that a member of a band at one of the scenes had raped a woman in the scene... I don't know what happened. I'm just going to take that on board, but I'm not going to do anything with it. Then, another month later I heard...that this other girl had had a similar experience...and I was like, "Two in the last few months..." and then, because those two had opened up...somebody else seemed comfortable to open up. Then, all of a sudden it was like, "Hang on, there's 20 women that have had an experience like this. This is obviously not okay." Finally, because there was that strength in numbers...one of them was like: "Okay, you know what? ...That's not okay. Put it out in the public and put a stop to it." That band; within weeks – gone, done. Nobody would have anything to do with them (Monique, personal communication 02/08/18)³⁰⁹.

As noted in the previous chapter, Monique plays in an all girl band. Her band works in a tightly connected music scene that Monique described as one where all the bands know each other, and there is close communication between musicians and venue owners (personal communication 02/08/18). This testimony shows that reputation is crucial to the ability to gain access to professional networks. There is however, a contrast between the actions of a community to quarantine a toxic individual (who may well have committed a crime) and the gatekeeping exercise of power in account 714. Although it is unclear precisely who Monique was referring to in the last sentence of this

³⁰⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 716.

excerpt, the closeness of relationships in the scene makes it likely that bands might have refused to appear on the same bill as the perpetrator and that venues might have opted to not book that band. Notwithstanding the precise way in which that outcome transpired, the response of the women in account 716 is reminiscent of the way that multiple stories of sexual harassment contributed to the downfall of Harvey Weinstein (Pilkington 2020).

Given these dynamics, it is perhaps unsurprising that some participants found that overt reputational damage was a deliberate strategy deployed against them for coercive ends. One music manager described how reputational damage was used as a competitive strategy.

***Fiona:** I've had people spreading rumours about me sleeping with everyone, being a slut, doing this and doing that purely just to ruin my reputation.*

***Interviewer:** How often would you experience that?*

***Fiona:** It's happened a fair few times. There was one time where it was a major, huge thing. There was a group of people specifically out to get me and ruin my career (personal communication 12/10/18)³¹⁰.*

Although there are superficial similarities with this account and account 705, they are primarily to do with the method of damage. Fiona later described her strategy for negotiating with future work in mind; which was to “stay strong, keep going, and put on a face” because in her view “a lot of the industry is...just pretending like nothing's wrong (personal communication 12/10/18)³¹¹. Her remarks support Mariella’s contention in account 709 that hype and buzz operate as much in the internal social dynamics of the music industry as in its marketing methodologies.

³¹⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 717.

³¹¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 718.

Threats to reputation as means of coercion

For some, the threat of reputational damage was used coercively to manipulate or to force compliant behaviour. This is evident in the following testimony that describes a threat made to an artist by a booking agent.

I had to pull out of a gig to have surgery on my hand. I gave two weeks notice and sent a calm and reasonable/rational email...I was told that cancelling the gig would ruin my reputation, damage my career, and that I was being unreasonable and unprofessional...I then heard from other friends in my circle that at gigs he was telling people how my band didn't play the right music anyway and that he hated my music (ID: 111864380, personal communication 20/03/2019)³¹².

It is unclear whether this episode cost the respondent future work. It is reasonable to infer however, that the later actions of the antagonist were a form of reprisal, and also an attempt to demonstrate gatekeeping power. Further, in order for this kind of threat to be coercive, those making the threat must ultimately show that they are willing to carry it out (Raven 2008, p. 6). The form of this threat can be thought of as a trope, namely: *You'll never work in this town again*, termed thusly not only because of its common use (see Kunis 2016), but also because variations of it are used in many creative industries. A similar form of this trope is clearly evident in the following comment.

I've seen band members be threatened that they will never be able to work in certain areas and venues that are controlled by management, because they disagreed with management. I would say that's a fairly common tactic (ID: 102173198, personal communication 14/12/2018)³¹³.

³¹² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 719.

³¹³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 720.

Thus, this trope is a frequent form of coercion in the music industry. Manuel reported a remarkably similar experience, with the added threat of violence at the hands of a label executive.

I got back on the phone to [name redacted] and essentially that phone call ended in a screaming match where [he] screamed down the phone at me. If I didn't fucking get my arse and the band to [name of Australian city redacted] in two weeks time, he would see to it that we never worked in this industry again. If I dare show my face in [name of city redacted] he would see to it that I was sorted out (personal communication 15/11/18)³¹⁴.

The efficacy of a threat lies as much in the actual power relations between those in the exchange as in the perception of them (Tedeschi & Bonoma 1972). Thus, the significant imbalance of power in the exchange caused Manuel to comply (personal communication 15/11/18). In terms of power relations in the music industry, the head of a record label who has the potential to exclude an artist from a recording deal (account 721) undoubtedly wields far more gatekeeping power than a booking agent who can threaten to cut off future work by not booking a band (account 719), and also more than a management company who can threaten to cut off work in the venues that they control (account 720).

Another version of this trope can be found in the following account, in which Mariella recalled advice received from an older (male) industry insider. Mariella was taking a break from a song writing session with two influential music producers. The industry insider approached her and asserted that she was a “very strong willed woman” and that the music “industry [didn’t] work like that”

³¹⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 721.

(personal communication 08/06/18). Mariella quoted the words of his advice from memory, in particular his assertion that the other male producers in the session had been talking separately about her.

"If you're perceived as difficult to work with, whether it's true or not, those people that you just met are going to make life really difficult for you. They've been talking about you all afternoon and what they're going to do to make life difficult for you" (personal communication 08/06/18)³¹⁵.

Her male advisor also opined that Lady Gaga had at some point complied with sexist stereotypes in order to succeed (personal communication 08/06/18)³¹⁶. It is reasonable to infer that the way the two male music producers were going to "make life difficult" would be to damage her reputation by exercising their greater social capital. Notably this episode was also overtly gendered, as is evident from the next piece of advice given to her by the male advisor.

He's like... "You need to change, you need to be quiet and submissive in that room. You need to not say a word and make them think that their dreams can come true" (personal communication 8/6/18)³¹⁷.

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, music producers wield gatekeeping power. Thus a songwriter in a studio session with male producers would hold less power, exacerbated in this case, by the fact that she was female and the producers were males. Further, this episode highlights the nature of male hegemonic social structures previously discussed in Chapter 2, particularly in the way her advisor, a beneficiary of male hegemony, advised her to subordinate herself in the next part of the studio session by behaving in accordance with a sexist stereotype. This account also demonstrates that some

³¹⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 722A.

³¹⁶ Accounts 722A and 722B are excerpts from Account 411.

³¹⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 722B.

circumstances in the music industry are a product of a confluence of power forms. In this case power derived from male hegemony was coupled with the producers' symbolic capital to undermine the social capital of the female writer.

The difficulties facing women in the navigation of their relationships in the music industries (de Souza 2014, 2017; Strong & Cannizzo 2017) have already been discussed in earlier chapters. The following account is a further example of the kind of tactics that women must deploy in order to manage unequal power relations and the potential risk to reputation in the face of sexual harassment.

I can't remember if he propositioned me verbally first or if he tried to kiss me first...His face was half a foot away from mine and he's leaning in. I knew exactly where his mind was at...It was very direct and we had an explicit conversation about whether or not he would be able to respect me as a professional after we had slept together, which was the argument that I was using in place of just bluntly saying, no. ...I felt that that would insult him and he might get angry or offended and then that would sever the relationship, and...then that would cut me off from the artists that he manages and his entire company, all of the events that they put on, which was a huge part of both my networking opportunities and also my social opportunities (Juanita, personal communication 19/12/18)³¹⁸.

Notably, Juanita was able to navigate the power imbalance by invoking that the intangible value of her professional reputation was at stake. Given the small nature of the social network, the fundamental nature of her appeal was concerned with social capital. In her testimony she also reported that she avoided a sexual encounter in that episode (personal communication 19/12/18), suggesting that her antagonist may have recognised the legitimacy of this argument.

³¹⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 723.

Studies examining methods of reputation management by musicians are rare, although a recent Canadian study found that musicians engaged in reputation management through a number of intuitive strategies including: being reliable, adapting behaviour and “protecting one another’s reputation and work[ing] collaboratively” (Portman-Smith & Harwood 2015, p. 494). Because that study focussed on how musicians market themselves, it is unclear whether the more generalised descriptions of adaptable behaviour reported there can satisfactorily contribute to an understanding of how participants in this present research adapted in the face of predatory and coercive behaviour. Further, and as previously discussed in Chapter 2, women in music face the additional challenge of having to navigate a systemic reputational bias on the basis of gender. This systemic bias is not only apparent in account 722A/B but also in the kinds of strategies employed by female composers to hide their gender in order to manage gender bias (Bennett, Hennekam, et al. 2018). Regardless, reputation in a small to medium enterprise environment is thought to be very difficult to control (Low & Kalafut 2002). Further, operating a small entrepreneurial enterprise in a highly networked environment of reduced trust is known to generate additional complexities (Aberer et al. 2006; Savolainen, Lopez-Fresno & Ikonen 2014; Welter 2012).

In summary, these accounts point firstly to the need for a highly attuned sensitivity to matters of social and symbolical capital, and secondly to the need for music industry workers to successfully navigate and be mindful of the opinions of individuals as well as those of the collective, in the same way that

individuals in other tightly networked industries must (see for example Lawrence 1998; Mistri & Solari 2003). It is also clear, given the critical importance of reputation, coupled with the highly networked nature of the music industry, that those who work in it are exposed to the risk of powerful industry individuals using the threat of reputational damage as a means of coercion. Although reputational damage can also be a consequence of competitive activity, imbalances of power lay at the centre of all experiences where participants were coerced by reputational threat. Therefore, this discussion now turns to other ways in which power and coercion manifested, and thus turns to address the phenomenon evident in account 724: attempts by industry figures to use power specifically to coerce sexual engagement.

Reputation and sexual coercion

Powerful industry figures coerced women to engage in a sexual encounter by threatening their reputation. This dynamic is clearly apparent in the following description of an incident of sexual harassment that had occurred to a female colleague.

The music producer said if she [the female colleague] didn't sleep with him, he'd tell everyone she did and that she came onto him. She then found out he had a wife and the wife blamed the girl for being a "slut" and bad mouthed her name around the industry (ID: 88746021, personal communication 25/06/2018)³¹⁹.

It is evident that the wife of the producer was also able to wield similar power to inflict reputational damage to that of her husband. Thus this episode is

³¹⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 724.

noteworthy because the imbalance of power was so great that there was no choice available to the women concerned that did not result in damage to her reputation. Furthermore, it is evident that the threat of reputational damage on its own is sufficient for sexual coercion to occur, whether the damage occurs (as in this case) or not. The following account is similar but links reputation with future work.

A friend of mine was invited to the hotel of an A&R rep [sic] for sex, when she refused he became abusive and told her he would make sure it was as hard as possible for her to get work elsewhere (ID: 90117133, personal communication 13/07/2018)³²⁰.

The nature of the abuse is unclear in this account, and may have taken the form of shouting, offensive language or physical assault. Regardless, the behaviour was sufficient to cause a threat. Thus, this act of sexual coercion can be seen as a variation of the 'you'll never work in this town again' trope. Notably, the power imbalances apparent in both of these accounts have their broad origins in male hegemony, and specifically in the power held by gatekeepers. Arguably, a common manifestation of quid pro quo sexual coercion involves sex in exchange for industry access. In these two episodes however, sex was the price demanded to prevent a gatekeeper from enforcing permanent exclusion from the industry. They are also examples of symbolical capital used to exercise coercive power so as to threaten the potential of economic gain. These two examples are not only particularly opportunistic abuses of power; they are also clear examples of exclusion as a means of gatekeeper power. Accordingly, this discussion now turns to examine reports of sexual coercion that involved the use of quid pro quo.

³²⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 725.

SEXUAL COERCION BY GATEKEEPERS

As theorised by NET, and discussed in Chapter 2³²¹, power derives from holding a position in an exchange network. This can be seen in the following recollection by Magdalena, who described being sexually coerced by a band mate and business partner in order for her to be able to continue to use the business name of her band.

He was doing the, "Oh, no. I've registered the band name. You can't use the band name unless you buy it from me. That'll all be different if you keep having sex with me." He used this beautiful L Series bass³²² that [I] used to play, "No, that's mine. You can't use that anymore. It would be different if you had sex with me again" (personal communication 18/12/18)³²³.

As noted in Chapter 2, the primary quality of a gatekeeper is the ability to control something, and thereby either grant or deny access to it (Corra & Willer 2002). This account demonstrates that gatekeeping in the music industry can occur in any context in the music industry, as has been discussed in previous chapters, and is not confined only to such matters as record deals or getting gigs. The power of a gatekeeper is derived in part from the value of what is being exchanged (Corra & Willer 2002). Clearly, the band name and the bass guitar were of value to Magdalena, who nonetheless recalled feeling “so fucking awful” because she had “actually given in” (personal communication 18/12/18). Thus, Magdalena and her business partner can be regarded as part of a small exchange network in exactly the same way that a label manager and an

³²¹ For all discussion in this chapter related to the concepts embodied in NET, SIT, SCT and SVT see Chapter 2.

³²² “L series bass” is a vintage electric bass guitar, and specifically refers to any Precision Bass or Jazz Bass manufactured by Fender musical instruments before the factory was sold to CBS in 1965 (<http://www.bass-pedals.com/how-to-find-the-perfect-precision-bass/> accessed 30/03/20).

³²³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 726.

emerging artist are. Thus, the band mate coercively abused his gatekeeping power by making sexual compliance a type of currency in the exchange.

As previously discussed in Chapter 6, the tripartite IMSHO defines sexual coercion in terms of the hallmark quid pro quo of sex for favour (Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995). Most accounts of sexual coercion reported by participants were not about access to instruments or naming rights however, but more commonly concerned access to career advancement.

About six times a year from men in the industry, and only once from a woman I have had record executives say they could make my career. (HA!) I have had festival organisers offer me to sleep with them [sic] (ID: 102258467³²⁴, personal communication 16/12/2018)³²⁵.

The demand by powerful industry figures for sexual favour in return for future work is known in the film industry as ‘the casting couch’ (Zimmer 2017a), a term used by a former label executive who was reflecting on how this practice in the music industry was not as widespread as it used to be.

The casting couch has been around a long time. There's a reason why it's called the casting couch. This isn't a new thing...you might see [it] on occasions, but I think now that is deemed as unacceptable...I'm not saying it doesn't happen, but I don't think it happens as it used to at all...in the 2010's its improved (Alphonso, personal communication, 11/03/20)³²⁶.

In contrast to Alphonso’s assertion, Lieb has noted that “powerful men in the industry don’t stop at inappropriate comments or requests, [but move] into sexual coercion and sexual violence” (2018, p. 245). The extent of male hegemony in the music industry gives such positional power to male

³²⁴ Respondent ID 102258467 identified as female in the online survey.

³²⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 727.

³²⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 728.

perpetrators of sexual harassment that, as Lieb observed, the notion that “harassers [in the music industry] may face consequences is a relatively new idea” (2018, p. 245). A detailed example of sexual coercion from a powerful male figure can be seen in the following four recollections, that should be taken together as a whole, and show the trajectory and progress of interactions between a female artist and a record company executive.

I think it took me a really long time to realise that he was super taking advantage of my [nervousness, wanting to impress him] and having questions like, "How can I market myself? How can I do this?" He would be like, "Well, it's all who you know..." and "I'm that person..." and "Now that you know me..." and I'm like, "Awesome." All the conversation started to being like [sic], "Well, if I do this for you, what are you going to do for me?"...I played up to it a little bit because you think, "This is what you have to do." I think early on it's built into your system that you need to please and play up to these people that have the power. I think that, for me, that's where it started - that you have to put up with this bullshit if you want to get somewhere in the music industry (Marianne, personal communication 21/06/18)³²⁷.

The nature of the sexual coercion was nuanced and the sexual overtures were initially vague, unlike the sexual coercion in accounts 724-725. Similar to the interactions in account 723, the social circumstances of this exchange were challenging to navigate. The sexualised content of the language was carefully couched so that she wasn't immediately aware of the nature of the quid pro quo, evident in the phrase “if I do this for you, what are you going to do for me”. The “bullshit” that Marianne referred to may mean more than sexual harassment; regardless her account suggests that abuses of power are commonplace in the industry. While the subtle nature of the overture was

³²⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 729A.

similar in nature to the ‘hand on lower back’ sexual harassment at industry events (see Chapter 6, accounts 655-658), the following recollection reveals that Marianne eventually understood the nature of what was being proposed.

I think I actually felt sick because I felt extremely uncomfortable as a young girl being in an office with a man who was much older than me, making sexual comments without me realizing it (personal communication 21/06/18)³²⁸.

After a series of meetings that were ostensibly about a future label deal, Marianne was invited back to a hotel room following a gig. She refused the invitation, and his subsequent text messages to her contained sexually explicit language that included: "You don't know what you're missing" and "No one will give it to you the way I give it to you" (personal communication 21/06/18). As discussed in Chapter 2, the power of a gatekeeper such as a label executive is derived not only from when access to something of value can be granted, but also from when that access can be denied. The following recollection shows that following the events of 729B there was a negative impact on her career progression.

After that, I guess, I noticed that the attention from him definitely pulled back, and all these wonderful meetings that I'd had, and things that I was being brought along to just stopped happening. I was still writing to him and not getting responses going, "Wait, I thought I was performing at this thing. I thought that I was recording vocals this week" (personal communication 21/06/18)³²⁹.

The fundamental nature of sexual coercion is that it is “subtle or explicit efforts to make job rewards contingent on sexual cooperation” (Fitzgerald et al. 1997, p. 580). Thus, even though Marianne’s exclusion was just as subtle as the initial

³²⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 729B.

³²⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 729C.

overtures, her experience was one of sexual coercion nonetheless. Like some forms of sexual harassment, highly nuanced forms of coercion such as seen in this account should be regarded as an aspect of the social negotiations that take place in the music industry. Regardless, it is the coercion itself that distinguishes sexual harassment from sexual coercion (Fitzgerald 1990; Fitzgerald, Gelfand & Drasgow 1995); thus the ultimate purpose of the transaction is ultimately not at all nuanced. In Marianne's case, this only became clear over time, when she was later blocked in her other attempts at securing a deal by another executive at the record company.

There was another artist who was on [record label name redacted] at the time who had heard about it. He ended up passing my music and confided in another A&R person that was there. He had told me..."I heard about what happened. I've told your situation to this A&R who's also at the same label. I think that she should look after you." We had meetings, and then she ended up booking me to do some supports... After that, again, the same thing happened. She brought me into [the] scene for a whole bunch of things. Then one day she just stopped writing back. I was like, "What's going on?" In the end, she just said, "The situation's a bit too difficult, and I won't be able to do anything with you" (personal communication 21/06/18)³³⁰

Marianne speculated that, "He [the first executive] must've actually been humiliated that someone didn't show up to his hotel room" (personal communication 21/06/18), and in her view, the subsequent decision by the second A&R executive to not pursue a recording deal with her was directly connected to her refusal of the first executive's sexual overtures. As theorised by NET, the power of exclusion is essential to the power of a gatekeeper. Other

³³⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 729D.

participants reported sexual coercion that featured this essential quality of gatekeeping, but in a much more direct way.

The head of the label for this band had me against the wall and he was stroking my cheek and he said, "I heard you are a singer too," ...and I was like, "Yes I am," and he said, "I could make you someone, I could turn you into somebody"...I remember just standing there and he was really drunk and...he was about 15 centimetres away from my face leaning all the way in, and then stroking my cheek while my boyfriend was in another room...(Merlina, personal communication 03/01/19)³³¹.

This incident took place at an industry event, and a comparison can be drawn between this episode and others later including account 734. Without pre-empting that discussion, Merlina's later reflection on the events of account 729A is notable for how she framed her experiences in terms of a larger discourse.

I didn't think that there was going to be any reward for any behaviour... any actions that would have happened after that. I think that it was just power for him and I think that a lot of that #metoo movement is about these guys just asserting their power...(personal communication 03/01/19)³³².

Thus, as can be seen in accounts 723-725 and 729, sexual coercion features the existence of a stark power imbalance, one created in part by the perpetrators' gatekeeping position. As discussed in Chapter 2, and as also evident in account 729, a label manager is one of those who can possess the power to make or break a music career. Notably the outcome in this account (Merlina's non-compliance) shows the importance of an individual's belief in a gatekeeper's actual power. SIT theorises the importance of creating a set of beliefs about power relations and exchange outcomes. Merlina's lack of belief that the label manager would actually fulfil any promise was crucial to her

³³¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 730A.

³³² This reflection on the events of account 730A occurred later in the interview, but will be referred to subsequently as account 730B.

rejection of him. A similar example can be found in the following recollection. Manuela recalled a conversation held with an influential musician who was giving her advanced tuition in his hotel room while he was in her city on a tour.

[He said] *"I'm doing an album soon and I'd like you to play [instrument redacted] on it, on one of the tracks...how would you feel about that?" I'm like, "Are you serious?" He was like, "Yes, [name of other musician redacted] is going to be playing drums on it". My head's just flowed and I'm going, "That would be awesome." He said, "Yes, we'll arrange for you to come over to LA"...I just thought this guy likes my playing and he wants to get me on his album...Holy Moly! Then it got all weird after that... he put the moves on and basically said, "Well, if you don't do this, you won't be on the album." There was this whole thing of I won't be on the album if I don't do it...He just ripped it out from under me and was dangling this you get to play with [name redacted] and be on my album and it'll get reviewed...(Manuela³³³, personal communication 11/10/18)³³⁴*

Firstly, the power imbalance can be understood as similar to that in account 730 because the perpetrator, an influential musician/recording artist, has power through possessing high status, as predicted by SCT. Further, an established artist is able to provide access to something of high value to a newcomer, as predicted by SVT. The items were of high value to Manuela, and it is evident that, at least initially, she believed that the offer was genuine. She later summarised the trajectory of her own beliefs.

It breaks my heart because I was so excited just two days before and told my family about it...probably they might have been wondering what was going on as well...but I didn't really go into it much because again, I just felt a bit gullible and a bit embarrassed because really you believed that this guy wanted you to play on his album. Are you serious? You feel like a bit of an idiot (personal communication 11/10/18)³³⁵.

³³³ Manuela graduated with a Bachelor of Music from an Australian University and at the time of interview had been active in the music industry for over 25 years (personal communication, 11/10/18).

³³⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 731A.

³³⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 731B.

Thus account 731B further demonstrates the importance of belief in quantifying gatekeeper power, as also predicted by SIT. One music manager suggested that the practice of powerful industry figures coercing aspiring female artists into having sex was widespread in the recording and music production side of the music industries, as can be seen in the following recollection.

Fiona³³⁶: *it's really annoying especially when it comes to female artists. There's been a lot of situations when they've gone to record or gone to studios and to producers that are male, and then they come onto them in the studio and they start to make them feel like they have to get involved or do something because they're creating with them.*

Interviewer: *How often does that happen, do you think?*

Fiona: *Very often...every second month (personal communication 12/10/18)*³³⁷.

The significance of this account lies not only in Fiona's estimation of the frequency of sexual coercion, but also in the inference that perpetrators were exerting this kind of pressure effectively. Furthermore this account, and accounts 724-730, point to male hegemony, as men hold most key gatekeeping positions. Further, positional power, also termed legitimate power (French & Raven 1959) is not the only power at work in these accounts. Any encounter where potential career advancement was either overtly offered or implied in exchange for sexual favour, is arguably an example of the power of reward (for more see Raven 1992). Earlier accounts such as 724 and 725 where reputation was threatened for failing to accede to sexual demands doubtless demonstrate the action of coercive power (see Raven 1992). Coercive power and reward power appear as the most prevalent forms of power throughout this chapter,

³³⁶ Fiona is a music manager and a large event manager (personal communication 12/10/18).

³³⁷ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 732.

and coercive power is also apparent later in account 749. Notwithstanding, parsing the power landscape is complicated by the nature of some of the gatekeepers, many of whom can be regarded as experts, particularly music producers. Thus, expert power may also play a role in the perceptions of those who experienced sexual pressure in accounts 724, 731 and 733.

Finally, gatekeeping power bestowed in male hegemony is regularly deployed to position female artists as potential sexual conquests (the admirer/amateur trope). Fiona's observation is borne out by the testimony from one female artist who witnessed sexual pressure directed at a female colleague by a male music producer when she was a participant on a song writing camp³³⁸.

We were on a [name of camp redacted] where the guy that was curating it was making his way around everybody and basically by the end of the week, ended up taking one of the girls...to a place to do backing vocals on a really good album and they ended up doing it. He's like 60 and she was like 25 and he was married...It was a schmoozing and it was like, "Look at my massive studio. You come here and you do these backing vocals for this album and we'll get really high together and do all these stuff [sic]." I was like, "You need to be careful." She might have obviously consented to doing that, but at the same time, there's a power play (Milena, personal communication 27/06/18)³³⁹.

Notably, this testimony provides further insight into the nuances of both the social dynamics as well as the power relations at work in the male music producer/female artist relationship. This is also apparent because of the context in which this episode occurred. Song writing camps are highly curated events

³³⁸ A song writing camp, has been described as “songwriter speed dating” and is an intensive period of time, perhaps several days, where songwriters and music producers are thrown together in small groups in recording studio facilities with the expectation that they will generate a number of songs by the end of the camp (Leonard 2017a). APRA AMCOS refer to their song writing camps as “Song hubs” and frequently involve travel interstate or internationally (<http://apraamcos.com.au/songhubs>, Accessed 21/10/2019).

³³⁹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 733.

with strict minimum requirements that limit attendees to those who not only can demonstrate talent, but also must demonstrate existing industry achievement, ensuring a high calibre of participants (see Raven 1992). Within the specific context of the recording studio, the role of producer is regarded as critical to the creative outcome of the recording process (APRA/AMCOS 2020). As noted in Chapter 2, a highly respected music producer not only plays a role in the creative process, but also acts as a cultural gatekeeper, selecting, promoting or blocking songs, artists and styles (Leyshon 2009; Pras & Guastavino 2011; Scott 1999). Although many music producers begin as DIY entrepreneurs (Gibson 2003, p. 205), the most successful and experienced producers achieve a vaunted status and reputation in the music industry (Scott 2012) and therefore have traditionally acted as cultural intermediaries (Hepworth-Sawyer & Golding 2011). Thus successful producers possess significant symbolic capital. Further, as noted in Chapters 1 and 2, the demography of music producers is also heavily dominated by males (Hennion 1989; Hracs 2015; Leyshon 2009). Therefore music studios can be regarded as environments where women are at greater risk of harassment (Smith, Choueiti & Pieper 2018), a finding also supported by the testimony in accounts 722 and 725. The risk is great because of the convergence of male hegemonic power with symbolic capital and gatekeeping power.

Consequently, it is unsurprising to discover that, in an environment of unequal power with a history of male hegemony, male gatekeepers frequently abused their power in the form of sexual coercion (Raj, Johns & Jose 2020), by offering the promise of a recording deal, or greater access to the industry and the like.

Moreover, this phenomenon is further exacerbated by the customs normally associated with gatekeeping. Access granted by a gatekeeper is a social exchange (see Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Glomb et al. 1997) that traditionally creates an obligation (normally in the form of a fee) that is borne by the other party (Cropanzano & Mitchell 2005). Gatekeeping can also be thought of as the granting of a favour, because in the current economy of the music industry, no formal commercial arrangement exists to remunerate gatekeepers for their gatekeeping. Most are remunerated elsewhere, either by their labels, publishing companies, radio stations or by their work as producers. It is conceivable therefore that gatekeepers may regard themselves (albeit subconsciously) as having some entitlement to a return for the granting of valuable access, with the payment of the obligation taking the form of sexual favours. Any form of entitlement of this nature must also be regarded as a product of the worldview implicit in male hegemony. These notions are further supported by Social Dominance Theory, which proposes that males score higher for social dominance orientation than females – a theory that has been supported by a large US study (Corra & Willer 2002).

It is important to note that account 733 was reported as a consensual sexual relationship, although the social structures of the camp featured a significant imbalance of power. Nonetheless this account remains as evidence that the sexual coercion apparent in accounts 724-732 is a product of male hegemony. Accordingly, this chapter turns to examining ways in which male hegemony is normalised.

THE NORMALISATION OF MALE HEGEMONY

In account 533, Mariella reported her distress that sexual harassment from audiences had been “normalised” (personal communication 08/06/18). Furthermore accounts 655-657 and 661-662 show that there are patterns in peer to peer sexual harassment at industry events. Juanita observed that unwanted touching at industry events is not only normalised but is also expected to be tolerated.

At the same time, everyone understands that it's been normalised. This thing with groping, the fact that it almost doesn't even bother me anymore...I can't let it bother me because I will continuously be touched. If it bothered me every single time, I would be a miserable frigging punter. It has to be something where you adapt or die. That kind of normalised behaviour, it's normal. It's normalised for the perpetrators because there's no follow up. There's no way they can really get caught. It's also normalised for the victims because we have no other choice (personal communication 19/12/18)³⁴⁰.

The concerns in this account are echoed later in accounts 747-748. Significantly however, Juanita’s testimony points to one important way that male hegemony persists: similar to abusive patrons described in Chapter 5, perpetrators are not held to account for their behaviour. Female participants who have described normalisation have done so in critical terms, i.e. as an insurmountable problem. However, one female participant, who worked as crew in the live performance industry, presented an alternative view. Lupina described her reaction to social media pages where women in the music industry post their aversive experiences.

³⁴⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 734.

I look at the [name redacted] woman's musician's page or [name redacted] woman in music or whatever the hell it's called. I sit there and I look at all this complaints coming through. Venue operator yelled at me blah, blah, blah...what were you doing to cause them to yell at you? There's got to be a cause for an effect...I'm getting quite wild with this whole – "I'm a female, I deserve better." You're a human being: work harder. You can't ask for respect, you can only earn it...don't say because I'm a female I should have this. No, it doesn't work that way in my world (personal communication 29/06/18)³⁴¹.

This account confirms firstly that gender discrimination is normalised in Lupina's working environment. Secondly, her dismissive response to reports of abusive behaviour reveals a personal ethos that is an example of social pressure (Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo 1994), one that is exerted on women in the Australian and New Zealand industries to force them to adapt to a culture of entrenched misogyny (see for example the case study of sound engineers in Chapter 6). A similar adaptation was reported amongst creative industry workers in The Netherlands (see Cialdini & Trost 1998; Epley & Gilovich 1999). Lupina also positioned herself as one with seniority and influence in the sector, as can be seen from the following account (see also accounts 714-715).

I'm pretty privileged in that I get a little bit of leeway because I have been around so long. I can bring in young people to work with me, to mentor them. But...it's very hard for a young person to break in to the live world (personal communication 29/06/18)³⁴².

Her later advice to those who were not coping with the live performance industry environment was framed in the following terms, "If you take this sort of thing personally, go and get a job in a bank" (Lupina, personal communication 29/06/18). Thus, for young entry-level female crew, Lupina's leadership can be

³⁴¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 735.

³⁴² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 736.

seen as preserving and protecting her social capital at the same time as having the effect of normalizing the kind of aversive behaviour she noted that other female colleagues described (see account 734). Consequently, and as also evident in account 734, women must either adapt to abusive behaviour in the music industry, or leave the industry altogether. Lupina's ethos may also be explained by Basement Theory, which proposes a rationale for why those who are disadvantaged cause disadvantage to others with less power than themselves (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Furthermore, it is known that dominant groups seek to justify their privilege through an ideology of superiority and preserve existing systems (Carastathis 2013; Crenshaw 1989). Thus Lupina is one who not only justifies her own privilege but who also normalises male hegemony in her sector of the industry. This discussion now turns to examine other mechanisms by which aversive social cultures may be normalised in the contemporary music industries and by which individuals can reinforce culture by virtue of their position.

Normalisation of work environments and blurred social boundaries

Discussions of plausible deniability have occurred earlier in this chapter, as well as in Chapters 5 and 6. Plausible deniability is known to be a method of avoiding sexual harassment accusations (see Jost & Andrews 2011; Jost & Banaji 1994; Jost, Banaji & Nosek 2004) and participants have been previously cited noting that there are many professional contexts where the lines of acceptable social behaviour can easily be blurred. This can further be seen in the following recollection.

It was one of those incestuous scenes where there are half a dozen bands that all cross over, have that influence in a social scene that goes with it. We had a really good friendship but it was based on rock and roll lifestyle...a lot of drinking, staying out really late, which meant risky behaviours (Mirabelle, personal communication 30/01/20)³⁴³.

Mirabelle's description of a particular scene highlights the entwined social and professional relationships involved. This phenomenon is elucidated in the following recollection that parses the intersection between the social environment of the music industries and sexual harassment.

Because the music industry operates in a party space, our work environment...it's a festival...it's an after-party...depending on who is in the room...it can either be kept as a completely professional...or it can be a party in and of itself...but it's like a Christmas party at every event. Drugs and alcohol mean that people lose their inhibitions...It creates an environment in which being blurry, slurring the words, inappropriately touching, making sexual advances on one another can be seen as acceptable because that's exactly what you would be doing if the room is filled with a slightly different group of people (Juanita, personal communication 19/12/18)³⁴⁴.

The small sizes of social worlds when coupled together with the equivocal nature of music industry events provide a context for the plausible deniability of unacceptable behaviour, as also seen in Chapter 6. Juanita suggests that, in a social circumstance where power relations were more equitable, sexual advances would be less of an issue. Therefore the imbalances of power at an industry event are critical to understanding the inappropriate behaviour as sexual harassment. Further, a remarkable similarity exists in this account with earlier accounts in Chapter 5 asserting that the social space of clubs and small

³⁴³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 737.

³⁴⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 738.

live venues is different, with different social rules. Plausible deniability is further exacerbated by the marked differences in the way intoxication is legally regarded (Lawton 2006). In some contexts such as drink driving, intoxication is treated as a reason for harsher penalties, but in other contexts intoxication is regarded as a factor in cognitive impairment and can be a mitigating factor in the defence of aversive behaviour (Quilter et al. 2016). The potential application of the so-called intoxication defence for plausible deniability is apparent in the following recollection.

In an event where a guy I was supposed to have a meeting with was like, "Meet me by the stairs." I've gone to the stairs and he has grabbed my jeans and pulled me into him and started trying to kiss me. This was like this (snaps her fingers). I was like, "What are you doing?"...Then later on...they come to me and apologise to me like, "I'm really sorry. I was totally out of it" (Milenia, personal communication 27/06/16)³⁴⁵.

Although this account describes behaviour that satisfies the definition of criminal sexual touching (Quilter et al. 2016), a defence of intoxication (NSW Government 2019a Sect 61HB) allows a perpetrator to reframe aversive behaviour after the event, regardless of his expression of remorse. Consequently sexual harassment can be a regular occurrence at an industry event – an environment where normal social rules no longer apply. In the same way that women feel a social pressure to accept casual “groping” (accounts 734 and 738), a particular set of social norms can lead to the pressure to conform to behaviour they may be uncomfortable with.

We can't deny that drugs and alcohol are extremely prevalent in the music industry, and often there have been times where I've felt I had to partake in various vices to suit colleagues, peers and musicians... I have definitely

³⁴⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 739.

had multiple experiences where I've felt intimidated around colleagues taking drugs (ID: 88534060, personal communication 22/06/2018)³⁴⁶.

Social pressure to conform may arise from any number of factors; however Mirabelle identified an important reason why music industry workers feel compelled to conform to behaviour that they would normally consider unacceptable, as can be seen in the following excerpt.

I came to realise that it wasn't easy to say no. If you always make it with someone³⁴⁷ and please them, in order to get the next gig...you make choices to please people that are not necessarily appropriate...all those other examples of affairs and dodgy behaviour or disrespectful behaviour, it just stands as an example of how when you're always trying to make it with people or please people - your morality cracks because it becomes normalised...it could fuck up your career because if you're blacklisted by those people, you're screwed (personal communication 30/01/20)³⁴⁸.

The precariousness of work is thus a factor that explains why male hegemony is so effectively normalised. Similar to account 734 the pressure to conform arises from the need to be able to secure future work, given that being blacklisted implies that reputation is at stake. These accounts therefore, are further evidence that those with much symbolic capital can use coercive power as a component of their gatekeeping. As before, a convergence of types of power exists, that in this case also functions to normalise a social system. Manuel reported a more detailed experience of normative social pressure at a party that was put on by the label to celebrate his duo just being signed to a recording contract.

³⁴⁶ This comment will be referred to subsequently as account 740.

³⁴⁷ The expression “make it with someone” is taken to be synonymous with having sexual intercourse with someone (<https://www.macmillanthesaurus.com/make-it-with-someone>, accessed 27/07/20).

³⁴⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 741.

So, [label executive name redacted] threw a party for us...we ended up on the roof of one of the...high rise hotels in [name of city redacted] with [him] the enclave of [the label] and various women and some other people we didn't know and plenty of coke...[He] strips off and gets in the hot tub and then proceeds to try and coax [female artist]...into the tub with him; tried to get her undress and get in the tub. A couple of the other female staff strip off and get in the tub with him. [He]'s being all nice and everything but then I get offered coke quite aggressively by a couple of the male staff members. When I refused... its borderline being forced...like, "What's wrong with you, blah, blah, blah?" that sort of stuff. The pressure on [her] to get naked was pretty horrendous (personal communication 15/11/18)³⁴⁹.

Firstly, in addition to the blurring of work and social conventions, there was also a significant power differential between the label executive and both members of the band that was complex. For example Manuel's female colleague was being pressured by the label head as well as by the social pressure exerted by the female staff, in a manner not unlike the alleged behaviour of Ghislaine Maxwell described by Jeffrey Epstein accuser Virginia Giuffre³⁵⁰ (Keiter 1996). Conversely, Manuel was being pressured only by the staff. The question of whether taking cocaine would be more or less of an affront morally than being naked in a hot tub with strangers is moot, because such a comparison depends not only on gender but also on the ethics of those involved. Regardless, both Manuel and his colleague felt uncomfortable with the circumstances. Secondly, this account reinforces Juanita's testimony in account 738, and shows that the music industry is an environment with social norms that would be considered unacceptable in other contexts. Thirdly, the power relations were consistent with male hegemony, with both young male and female staff complying with the

³⁴⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 742.

³⁵⁰ Virginia Roberts Giuffre has made claims that she was sexually trafficked by former New York business identity Jeffrey Epstein (Davies 2019a)

norms that were established by the head of the label³⁵¹, implying the possession of the power of reward. Finally, the outcome of this episode gives an important clue as to one important aspect of that event. Manuel described how the executive's PA "realised that we were in way over our heads...and said, 'Look, I will call you a cab'", an action which allowed them to leave the party early without taking the drugs or getting into the hot tub (personal communication 15/11/8). Manuel then testified that, "essentially all sorts of doors were semi-open for us, and when we didn't toe the line on that sort of stuff, the door closed again" and the record deal came to nought (personal communication 15/11/8). Therefore account 742 and its aftermath can be properly seen as an example of gatekeeper sexual coercion (of the female) and generalised coercion (of the male). In that context, the outcomes of this incident can also be explained by NET, SCT and SVT. Given that Manuel was invited to take cocaine, it is likely that the coercion may have had as much to do with conforming to the social norms as with sexual compliance (Wieder & Hall 2020); therefore the compliance of Manuel (and his female colleague) can be regarded as an intangible part of the exchange for access to the record deal. Prior to this incident, Manuel and his female colleague held some level of cultural capital that derived from their artistry and had attracted label interest. Arguably this held a certain value for the head of the label that would have been quantifiable, and would have been reflected in the terms of the agreement, including the advance. Artists with relatively little financial resources customarily rely on an advance on royalties in order for them to produce their recordings (see Feldman 1984). Following this incident, their non-compliance with the social norms was

³⁵¹ The behaviour of staff at this event will be further discussed later in this chapter.

followed by a loss of access to the industry and to the full benefit of the recording deal. As with earlier accounts there is a convergence of powers, in this case legitimate power and symbolic capital converge with the power of gatekeeper, all three of which manifested in coercive power. This account and earlier accounts that show a convergence of power forms are theorised in the Composite Power Network Model.

In summary, musicians and music industry workers are exposed to structures of power that create mechanisms of normalisation that involve the use of social pressure to conform to aversive behaviour in order to secure future work. This occurs in a wider climate of precarity. To examine normalisation further it is necessary to discuss some other forms of normalising behaviour experienced by participants.

Normalisation as a product of bystander silence

As previously discussed in Chapter 5, the tolerance of others to aversive behaviour allows it to flourish (Alhadeff & Sosnick 2005; Day 2011). Some participants reported that people witnessed harassment but did nothing, evident in the following brief comment about workplace harassment in the music industry generally.

Others are bystanders to poor behaviour (ID: 132674942, personal communication 14/12/2019)³⁵².

³⁵² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 743.

In a similar fashion, others reported an informal code of silence concerning behaviour that occurs within the music industries, including the notion of “what goes on tour stays on tour”³⁵³ (Merlina, personal communication 03/01/19) already noted in Chapter 6. This assertion points to the existence of different codes of conduct that are dependent on context, in the same fashion as the unique social spaces created by audiences in Chapter 5 and the ‘party space’ in account 738. Lupina’s observation in account 715 that “there has to be confidentiality on the show” (personal communication 29/06/18) can be seen as a variation of this aphorism. Because bystander silence is known to mediate misconduct (May et al. 2009; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert 2018), the concept of *what happens on tour, stays on tour* can be regarded as a mechanism that normalises aversive behaviour such as sexual harassment, sexual coercion and the like in the social environment of the music industry. One artist described how her manager had sexually harassed her, and then observed that an informal code of silence existed amongst his colleagues.

The men that he co-manages with know...what happened. That gets me as well, that there are people know how these people are behaving or whatever, and don't do anything (Marta-Lucia, personal communication 5/7/18)³⁵⁴.

A similar instance is also evident in account 713, where a music manager acted to cover up objectionable behaviour on the part of an artist because of the potential impact to future artist revenue. The significance of this account (744) however is that it demonstrates how a group of individuals with similar power can normalise culture by the tacit agreement to remain silent. Behaviour where an individual fails to assist a person in distress when there are others present is

³⁵³ See account 629.

³⁵⁴ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 744.

regarded in the field of social psychology as *bystander apathy* and is “regarded as a well established empirical phenomenon” (Yin-fei 2013). Explanations for bystander apathy include notions that a person’s responses to the distress of others are mediated by social influence (Garcia et al. 2002, p. 843), that individuals may look to others in order to make a judgement about intervening (Darley, Teger & Lewis 1973) and that individuals primed to conformity are less likely to intervene (Prentice & Miller 1996). Consequently, it is arguable that bystander silence operates in the music industry as a mechanism of normalisation and not simply a phenomenon. In circumstances where social influence causes bystander apathy, this can prime other individuals to conform to non-intervention at subsequent occasions where they may witness incidents of aversive behaviour.

Normalisation by complicity

The process of normalisation is thought to involve affirmation and compliance from members in a social group (Epley & Gilovich 1999). However, beyond notions of affirmation and compliance, normalisation functions so that behaviours appear to members of a social group to be “immune to critical analysis” (May et al. 2009). Some participants specifically mentioned in their testimonies of aversive behaviour that others, while not perpetrators, were enablers of social structures. These recollections raise the question of whether enablers of aversive behaviour did so with knowing complicity, or were so normalised that the nature of the behaviour they were involved in was unquestioned.

The concept of complicity and its implications are a complex field of enquiry, and it has been theorised accordingly (Taylor 2009, p. 47), with discourses across several domains including law (McPhail 1991), feminism (see Kadish 1985), and literature (see Pyke 2010), as well as being proposed as a methodology (see Stillman & Johnson 1994). Notwithstanding the breadth of this discourse, this research adopts the simple definition that “complicity is responsibility for helping” (Probyn-Rapsey 2007). Thus complicity is taken to describe actions that enable aversive behaviour, regardless of whether the individuals involved questioned that behaviour privately or were already normalised to it.

The need for maintaining a regular stream of income in a precarious gig economy doubtless exerts sufficient pressure to ensure complicity with abusive or coercive social structures. Morella recalled the social environment at a high profile after party, which was held at a venue that featured private rooms where musicians could retreat with fans (personal communication 02/11/18). Her testimony described the way in which a musician who was part of a high profile tour sexually propositioned her. In addition to describing the power relations at the event, she also described the physical and social context.

[Famous artist name redacted] was there at the back and I know the drummer...there were so many girls all over them and there was rooms out the back and I was shocked. The saxophone player, who's kind of chilling with him came up to me and I was like, "This is incredible." I went straight talking about music to make it clear that I absolutely love them, I like what they do and I respect them so much about how hard they work and everything. He literally just came up to me and the first statement interrupting everything I said. He was like, "There's rooms at the back let's

go." I was like, "What." He just got really angry when I kept on saying, "No..."

I think a lot of girls get paid to dress up and actually go to these events. I don't think as like prostitution, but literally just get dressed up to be there. Everyone else was like general public, but you have to be over 18, but it's still general public (personal communication 02/11/18)³⁵⁵.

In this excerpt, some additional details of the encounter with the saxophone player have been omitted to show that the next part of Morella's recollection concerned her hypothesis about the social context in which she was propositioned. Her account suggested that young women were used in a normative way to create an environment that might be conducive to casual sexual contact. Morella left the after party soon after but also noted that she "lost so much respect...[for the high profile musicians she admired because] behind the scenes they're not who they say they are" (personal communication, 02/11/18). This account is not the same as the rooftop party described in account 742, where female staff removed their clothing and joined the label head in the hot tub; however both accounts involve the presence of other women to create social pressure (Stewart 2014, p. 3), or alternatively to act in a form of ritual behaviour that signals a social norm (see Tesser, Campbell & Mickler 1983).

The normalisation of deviance

Diane Vaughan, in her landmark study of the Challenger disaster, identified social influence as a mechanism by which normally unacceptable behaviour can become normalised (Rossano 2012). Vaughan termed this the

³⁵⁵ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 745.

normalisation of deviance which is when behaviour that is normally unacceptable becomes acceptable (1999). Arguably one normalisation of deviance in the music industry occurs as a consequence of gendered social structures that not only permit but also applaud aversive behaviour on the part of male artists (1996). Another example can be found in the gendered stereotypes that marginalise women and female fans as casual sexual partners (see Strong & Rush 2018). The existence of this stereotype is supported by testimony from Merlina who was forced out of co-writing for her band, because male members of the band were intent on “cutting loose when they were on tour” (personal communication 03/01/19). Further, Luciana knew many women whose “thing was sleeping with bands” (personal communication 11/12/18), a practice which some women do not regard as exploitative (Larsen 2017). However, although many may initially participate willingly in this stereotype, their views of what is acceptable may change later in life. This can be seen in the way Mirabelle questioned her own ideas of acceptability based on her understanding of normalised music industry behaviour from many years of music work.

You've got to make it with these people and that is normal from when you're a teenager...those things were being normalised for me from when I entered into anything outside of my normal school and I started getting out there doing stuff. It was from the very beginning - that was normal. What concerns me is more what I do to myself...my idea of what's acceptable or normal is probably warped by always existing in this world (personal communication 30/01/20)³⁵⁶.

The context of this account was that Mirabelle was reflecting on her music education (personal communication 30/01/20). The mechanisms of

³⁵⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 746.

normalisation described in this chapter can be regarded as achieving similar outcomes to those in other organisational cultures where unacceptable behaviour becomes acceptable. Put simply, social processes in the contemporary music industries normalise deviance. In the case of the contemporary music industries, it is not only normalised for women to be subordinated to men professionally, socially and economically, but also in some circumstances for women to uphold and assist in maintaining that same subordination.

Explanations for why some women act to enable male hegemonic social structures vary. For example, Lerner proposed that women were historically normalised to patriarchal structures simultaneously as those very structures developed (Hill 2016). Regardless, it is thought that the normalisation of women to sexism can present as internalised sexism (1986) or self objectification³⁵⁷ (Dehlin 2018). As noted earlier, Basement Theory (McKay 2013) also provides a useful explanation for the behaviour of women in accounts 742 and 745. The core concept in Basement Theory is also supported by investigations into sexual trafficking. The majority of women who enable the sexual trafficking of other women do so not on equal terms with the men who own the trafficking businesses, but function in supporting roles. They support their male bosses for a variety of reasons that include: loyalty, financial dependency and fear of recrimination (Carastathis 2013; Crenshaw 1989). The high value of potential revenues that are at stake in the contemporary music industries creates an environment that others would conceivably act to preserve, despite its

³⁵⁷ Note: self objectification was defined and discussed in Chapter 6.

normalisation of inequity and the subordination of women. This alone can easily explain why others, both male and female, were complicit in sexual coercion or the use of power to gain sexual advantage.

Finally, Manuel offered an economic explanation for his own silence and complicity in aversive music industry social structures. He first described how his close industry friends sometimes speak with each other confidentially about their experiences.

It's like war wounds, or like showing each other scars. It's that late night sort of chat and...you're sitting there and eventually, everyone will tell their [label name redacted] story or their [label executive name redacted] story or their management story...(personal communication 15/11/18)³⁵⁸.

The way that these conversations are kept confidential can also be seen in the following testimony.

This is why everyone stays quiet, because I did the same. I owned a business that was doing business with these people. There's no way you're getting that conversation with anybody apart from people that you've known for twenty years. That's the core right there, that's the problem (Manuel, personal communication 15/11/18)³⁵⁹.

In the context for this testimony, the term “these people” refers to powerful industry figures such as that in account 747. Manuel also observed later that not many in music speak publicly about their experiences with powerful industry figures, and noted that this “tells you a lot about the level of fear still there” (personal communication 15/11/18)³⁶⁰. His testimony supports the argument that complicity and silence are largely a consequence of economic necessity for

³⁵⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 747.

³⁵⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 748.

³⁶⁰ Note, in Chapter 4 this remark was previously cited as part of larger piece of testimony in Account 413.

smaller businesses that operate in an industry marked by large asymmetries of power, that are largely marked by the threat of coercive power. Given that the contemporary music industries of Australia and New Zealand are dominated by a very few powerful individuals, it is unsurprising that small music business owners are reluctant to speak of their aversive experiences with powerful people on whose favour they depend. This explanation not only accords with understandings of the economic landscape in the music industries as previously discussed in Chapter 1, but also with known mechanisms of social normalisation (Siegel & De Blank 2010, pp. 440-1). It is further supported by assertions of the tightly networked nature of the industry described in accounts 709-710 and the threat to livelihood as a consequence of reputational damage by people of power, as seen in accounts 719-723.

Normalisation by reprisal

This chapter began with testimonials of the importance of reputation, and the coercive power of a threat to one's reputation. In examining mechanisms of normalisation, this section turns to the testimony of one participant who defied male hegemony of the music industry to her cost. Luciana described an episode that occurred somewhere between "25, 30 years ago" (personal communication 11/12/18) where she rejected the sexual overtures of a powerful industry figure, who she described as being "still around today" (personal communication, 11/12/18). She recalled that "he got quite angry about the whole thing" and subsequently "rang [her] repeatedly for about a month afterwards" wanting to

know why she “wouldn’t have anything to do with him” (personal communication 11/12/18).

He then rang an employer of mine, and told him to fire me immediately because I had been disrespectful to him. That's exactly what happened; I got fired. I didn't know why; the bloke who did the firing never told me why (personal communication 11/12/18)³⁶¹.

As is evident in the following excerpt, her testimony for this research was recorded only a matter of days after she had found out what had actually transpired to cause her dismissal.

He [the former employer] rang me last week because he's going through some sort of counselling situation at the moment and he decided he needed to be nice. He rang me and said, "I would've lost the contract for [the company owned by the powerful industry figure] if I hadn't done it." It was all about the fact that I hadn't had anything to do with this fucker. I didn't only lose that job. I know there were two other jobs because I then rang some people and...there were three jobs, and they were full-time jobs. Like big jobs: career jobs that I was either fired from or was never considered for because of what this guy did (personal communication 11/12/18)³⁶².

Notably, the powerful industry figure used his position to intimidate more than one music business owner to either fire or not hire Luciana. This account is important because it demonstrates one way in which industry wide male hegemonic structures function to facilitate coercive power. Although her former employer was told to fire her because of her disrespect, in Luciana’s view, the chronology of events means that there was a direct connection between her refusal of the sexual overtures and her subsequent firing. Not only do these events constitute a variation of the use of sexual coercion, they also show that male hegemony is normalised by complicity from other industry practitioners.

³⁶¹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 749A.

³⁶² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 749B.

This account also supports the contention made by Manuel in account 748, the fear of losing business or work is a factor in complicity.

In the same conversation with her former employer, Luciana recalled him saying, "I can't believe you didn't hear about it because everybody knew about it" (personal communication 11/12/18). Thus, unbeknownst to her at the time, her reputation was damaged widely throughout the music industry, demonstrating the extent of the power wielded by powerful industry personalities. Luciana described her career in that specific sector of the music industry as "smashed" (personal communication 11/12/18). In Bourdieusian terms, the symbolic capital of a high-powered individual was used to damage the social capital of an individual with less capital. There are many approaches to examining the ways that power and social influence are exerted (see Cialdini & Trost 1998), it is arguable that in making her persona non grata status widely known, power in this case was not just being deployed to punish but also to reinforce the existing social order. Thus the power of reprisal functions as a mechanism of normalisation. Not only did Luciana's perpetrator punish her for her non-compliance to his social dominance, but also both the damage to her reputation and the impact on her career were widely known to her colleagues. Arguably, reprisal cannot be a mechanism of normalisation unless the message gets out. In Luciana's case the message got out.

This section has set forth mechanisms of normalisation that are at work in the music industry workplace. Some participants reported however, that processes of normalisation began in their formative years as music students. Accordingly,

this discussion turns to examine how male hegemony is normalised in the educational context.

GENDERED POWER NORMALISATION IN MUSIC EDUCATION

Even in the current climate of industry change, the way gatekeepers are described in industry media reports is still in terms of their previous success (see Tedeschi & Bonoma 1972) or rather, in terms of their symbolic capital. Entertainment journalist Kim Masters described the nexus between gatekeeper power and success succinctly when she observed that “When you fail you know that you lose power” (Karra 2019; Perkel 2017; Staff Writer 2016). This very emphasis on past achievement is doubtless an argument for those who currently hold gatekeeping power to retain their positions. Fiona, a music manager, not only articulated what gatekeeping power is, but she also observed that existing gatekeepers are unwilling to relinquish their hold on power.

I think it's the exact same thing that we have these gatekeepers in the industry who were trying to hold on to that position of power...they want to influence or pick and choose who is successful and who is not (personal communication 12/10/18)³⁶³.

As theorised by NET, SCT, SVT and SIT, gatekeepers in the contemporary music industry enjoy enormous power described in the Composite Power Network Model that is acquired from a convergence of factors including: network structural position, high status, the high value of what is to be exchanged and the power of exclusion. Therefore, and as previously discussed, those with little power must learn how to successfully navigate the network of

³⁶³ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 750.

social connections, not just with each other but also with the powerful. In the following recollection of her career, one participant described what she regarded as an association, however problematic, between career trajectory and negotiating with male hegemony.

As a female, you could see the benefits that a lot of people seem to have had if they had a high-powered relationship. It definitely either helped or in some cases hindered people's careers. There was always a sexual game that came into that weird crossover of social and professional life (Mirabelle, personal communication 30/01/20)³⁶⁴.

Although sexual coercion appears to be absent, the nature of male/female power relations she described points to social role stereotyping (MacFarlane 2019 01:14:00), and thus a manifestation of male hegemony. This is further exemplified by her subsequent observation that because of the hierarchy in the music industry that “attaching yourself to someone with power you get a higher status” (personal communication 30/01/20). The nature of the hierarchical male/female power relationship was made even clearer when Mirabelle reflected on imbalances of power she observed as a young musician at the beginning of her career.

I definitely saw right from that age, lots of, I guess now the language would be predatory, older guys and younger women often with bigger age gaps: 10, 15, 20-year age gaps. Staff and student activity, which anecdotally all the girls talk about. There's loads of stories; no one could get to the heart of all of that because it's too dangerous for people to name anyone or to speak out...I wouldn't say that you'd succeed if you put out, but almost like it was strategic, like: catch that guy...this game almost (personal communication 30/01/20)³⁶⁵.

³⁶⁴ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 751.

³⁶⁵ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 752.

Thus women attending music colleges must not only deal with power imbalances in general, but also with the gendered social order that places older men in positions of power and influence over aspiring female musicians. Thus women can gain social capital from aligning themselves with men who possess existing social or symbolic capital. This account is important because it also supports recent findings that training environments can model patterns of behaviour that make sexual harassment more acceptable in the workplace (Dill & Thill 2007). Although overt sexual coercion appears to be absent, the existence of something akin to sexual predation in music colleges and institutions is cause for serious concern. The “older predatory males” who were associated with the “staff and student activity” doubtless enjoyed the significant power advantage that is accorded to teachers in staff/student relations.

The effect of this imbalance is multiplied because tertiary music teachers often have a role in recommending students for future work (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Notably, the threat of reprisal that awaits potential whistle blowers is not unlike that in account 749; thus it is unsurprising that some women choose to play ‘the game’ and conform to a patriarchal demand as a necessary method of advancing their career (Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Women may elect to deal with social role stereotyping by opting to manage benevolent sexism as opposed to having to negotiate with hostile sexism (see also Hennekam & Bennett 2017b). Moreover, it should be noted that women who appear to be compliant to this misogyny may instead regard themselves as exercising the power of personal choice from a feminist standpoint (Glick & Fiske 2011, 2018), although such a view is contested by other writers (Snyder-Hall 2010).

Regardless, the following testimonies suggest that account 752 is not an isolated example.

I had an ensemble director who was an incredible musician...he basically put it on every female, I think at University, but he actually came out and said, "Do you want to fuck?"...My jaw dropped on the floor... I know for a fact that he was doing it to everybody, like my housemates...it was an absolute known fact...I think that was the perk of the job for him, that he was around young women, in their 20s, that were, I guess, looking up to him...because he was quite well known in the industry...had some commercial success and he was a monster musician...and people were going, "Wow. I can't believe we're getting to hang with this guy." He takes [sic] advantage of that (Manuela, personal communication 11/1018)³⁶⁶.

Thus, a male hegemonic sociocultural dynamic is widespread in some music colleges. Further Manuela's testimony reinforces understandings of how star power is signified and communicated. The emphasis on reputation, commercial achievement and talent is reminiscent of the qualities by which gatekeepers are judged. Further, reputation, commercial achievement and talent are also crucial signifiers of star power, as discussed in Chapter 2. Consequently, asymmetric male/female power relations in tertiary music education are not only institutional but also closely linked to the kind of social capital deployed by music industry practitioners to gain future work. Another participant in the course of her tertiary training reported an instance of sexual harassment with similar features to this account.

One of my [teachers]...was very well-known...He asked me after class to meet me...I'm like...this is incredible. He's worked with so many big names. He's really, really talented. He asked to meet afterwards and I was like, "Yeah, okay." It was about the music industry he said...everyone had gone and he went and closed the door...He started talking about the industry for like two sentences or something...and then, he went on to talk about

³⁶⁶ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 753.

that...he and his wife were going through a rough patch ...and then it progressed...he started making sexual remarks...and kept on bringing up how I was very attractive to him. At one point he was standing very close in front of me and he looked at the window and looked back at me and I was so frozen (Morella, personal communication 02/11/18)³⁶⁷.

Although this encounter began in a way that was more nuanced than in account 753, the pattern of a large age difference (also evident in account 751) accompanied by professional reputation is evident. Notably, Manuela faced yet another form of sexual harassment from an instrument tutor who “would...cross the line...as far as inappropriate talking” during lessons (personal communication 11/10/18). He subsequently acted to exclude her.

It got to the point with him where he actually just refused to teach me one on one...so I didn't get private lessons after the first year, and I don't know if that's because he used to say stuff like, "You need to give yourself to me in the music" (personal communication 11/10/18)³⁶⁸.

This behaviour is not only an act of gatekeeping but it can also be framed as workplace harassment.

Accounts 752-755 are evidence that male hegemony is being promulgated and reproduced within tertiary music education institutions by male musicians who have achieved some level of star power. It is clear that a gendered social order that subjects women to sexual objectification is apparent to all who observe it, whether they accede to it or not. Thus tertiary music education is an environment that can serve to normalise an industry wide culture of female subordination. Furthermore, even though sexual coercion such as that seen in

³⁶⁷ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 754.

³⁶⁸ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 755.

accounts 724-732 is absent, the male/female power relations are fundamentally the same. The extent to which women are pressured into sexual encounters with male musicians in tertiary education is not known, and therefore this study calls for that question to be investigated further.

As touched on earlier, Mirabelle was pessimistic about the possibility that male dominant sociocultural systems can be deconstructed (see account 752). Others also shared her concerns about the potential career damage that awaits whistle blowers. This concern was evident in the following recollection from a female musician who was being mentored by a musician she described as one of the “big top sessionists [sic]” who regularly introduced her to “artists...or really good musicians from overseas” (Morella, personal communication 2/11/18). The mentoring relationship evolved to the point where she would receive messages from him late at night “asking [her] if [she] had a boyfriend, if [she] was seeing anyone” and later proposing that they “should hang out more” (personal communication 2/11/18).

I...just never replied to the messages because I thought if I confronted him, he would say something, or he would change where I would be going with my music or he would say a rumour about me that wasn't true because...he had a lot more power than I did in the music industry (Morella, personal communication 2/11/18)³⁶⁹.

This account is an important capstone to accounts 749-754, because, taken together they highlight two important features of the contemporary music industries. Firstly, women hold an awareness of the asymmetrical power wielded by influential male figures, and secondly, they come into contact with

³⁶⁹ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 756.

those power relations while in their pre-career or early career development. If Mirabelle's testimony reveals that some women choose to 'play the game', then Morella reveals that others live in fear of reprisal by powerful men, including gatekeeping type exclusion from the industry. Further, and as account 749 suggests, many men who hold power are well aware of their status and of the power at their disposal. The awareness of male power is also evident in the following account.

I think too, when you're an underling and you're standing in the presence of that kind of industry power, you're not going to say the wrong thing anyway, are you? I mean you're just going to do the right thing. I don't think whether you're a male or female really has got anything to do with it. You're not going to piss off that guy because you're aware that that might be the last thing you ever did...(Luciana personal communication 11/12/18)³⁷⁰.

Although Luciana appears to dismiss some aspects of the sexism that is readily apparent throughout this research, her account is particularly poignant, in that she was testifying from a hindsight that included her own experience of severe reprisal and exclusion (see account 749). Finally, these last accounts all demonstrate not only the awareness of power relations, but also awareness of the specific identities of those individuals who hold power. As the Composite Power Network Model explains, this is doubtless a consequence of the convergence of the power of gatekeepers in addition to the social processes of reputation management, and the interconnected network of social relationships in an industry where everyone knows nearly everyone else. Finally, these accounts can also be seen in the light of SIT, and its theoretical predictions about the nature of beliefs (in this case of power) and how they contribute to exchange outcomes.

³⁷⁰ This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 757.

SUMMARY

Participants in this research have reported a normalised sociocultural environment of coercion, sexual coercion, threat, and vastly unequal power in the contemporary music industries of Australia and New Zealand. In particular, female industry practitioners are forced to adapt and conform to a toxic industry culture in order to gain material benefit from the social network (Nguyen 2013). It is further apparent that perpetrators are not held to account for their actions. Unchecked power in a social structure means low accountability, and this perpetuates a climate that permits even riskier behaviour (Cialdini & Trost 1998). More specifically, in the matter of widespread sexual harassment and sexual coercion, recent research has shown that sexual harassment from organisational leaders creates an environment where sexual harassment becomes endemic (Pinto 2014). Therefore injustice, inequality, toxicity and the subordination of powerless people, most notably of women, are a product of vastly asymmetric power structures that are fed by an economy that rewards a disproportionate few. Some participants described the nature of these power structures as they had experienced them.

It's like this old school of these old guys who have forever just expected they're entitled, that they'd get the gig and they get everything. And they've been totally battled [sic] by these younger women like me and younger - who are really pulling up things like gender and class and race (Mariquita, personal communication 31/05/18)³⁷¹.

³⁷¹ This observation will be referred to subsequently as account 758.

One participant described the entrenched nature of power in the music industry, and its implications for emerging artists.

There's a generation that are even now, they still have a stranglehold on our industry like not many industries are controlled, and they still hold the gates to that top level...there are more independents popping up, there are more bands doing it by themselves, but once you hit a certain level, if you want access to that pop world where all the big money is still happening, they're still holding the keys to the kingdom (Manuel, personal communication 15/11/18)³⁷².

Thus, both Manuel and Mariquita concisely described aspects of male hegemony. The current structure of the contemporary music industry is a product that has been many years in the making. Influential organisational leaders from the early years of Oz Rock are still active, and in the light of the discussion about normalisation, many of those who are younger and who currently occupy leadership positions in the industry should be regarded as being at risk of being acculturated into, and also therefore reproducing, a normalisation of deviance (Sorensen 2018).

A table categorising the different types of aversive behaviour cited in this chapter can be found in Appendix D.

This chapter contributes unique understanding about the ways that powerful men deploy their power, not only in the contemporary music industries of Australia and New Zealand, but by extension, more broadly in any small social network that features large power imbalances. Further, the so-called 'casting couch', known to be prevalent in the film and fashion industries, has been the

³⁷² This recollection will be referred to subsequently as account 759.

subject of some academic investigation. The findings in this chapter however, contribute to knowledge of this phenomenon by examining its occurrence in the music industries and in particular, by laying bare specific tactics of sexual coercion and the manner in which promises of career advancement are involved in these tactics. Findings from this chapter also contribute new knowledge about the significance placed on reputation management by those working in the music industry, as well as the strategies employed to not only guard their reputation, but also to negotiate with power. Further, in the context of existing understandings of male power structures, the findings of this chapter contribute a granular examination of the means by which male power is enforced and reinforced in the music industries. Finally, this chapter contributes to the knowledge of power relations in the music industry by demonstrating that types of power converge; in particular male hegemonic power frequently converges with symbolic and social capital in the exercise of gatekeeping power to use that power coercively.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Workplace harassment and sexual harassment are both prohibited by government policy in Australia and New Zealand, so why do they occur so prominently in the music industry? People coerce and intimidate others because they discover not only that it works but also that they can get away with it. William Golding's 1954 novel *Lord of the Flies* is a story about a group of young boys stranded on a remote island. Their behaviour quickly turns toxic, and in an ultimate act of othering, a group of boys form a tribe that hunts and kills a boy who they dehumanise and objectify as a pig. At the climax of *Lord of The Flies* the tribe is in the process of hunting down another fellow castaway when adults arrive to rescue them and suddenly order is returned. Doubtless the decision to coerce, intimidate, harass or threaten someone is arrived at through a complex array of personal choices and preferences; however objectifying a victim is a way for perpetrators to rationalise ugly behaviour. In a very similar way, men sexually harass women in part because it is a potent means of exerting influence and also because they are rarely held to account. Further, sexual harassment is a product of a worldview that not only permits the objectification of women but also circumscribes the range of their social roles. Aversive behaviour may be the quickest way for a bully or sexual aggressor to get what they want; however the negative consequences of it are not only far reaching for victims but also severely undermine professional relationships. Moreover, harassers who do get exposed often face public opprobrium.

This research shows that like the fictional boys in *Lord of the Flies*, objectification in the music industry is a recipe for a toxic culture, particularly when it occurs in a climate of unequal power combined with a lack of accountability. Thus all harassment behaviour is the product of four factors:

- A worldview that allows another human being to be seen in objectified or discriminatory terms;
- An individual choice made by a person to bully, intimidate, harass or assault another;
- A power imbalance that favours the perpetrator;
- A system that allows this behaviour to go unpunished, if not to be rewarded.

The second of these can be thought of as an individual factor, and the remaining three can be thought of as systemic, although worldview is at once an individual and systemic matter. To solve the dual problems of workplace and sexual harassment, all four of these factors must be addressed and mitigated.

The contemporary music industry is marked by systemic sexism and systemic economic disparity. Both of these phenomena in turn create imbalances of power and lack of accountability as well as a climate of objectification and discrimination where men are the beneficiaries. Sexism and economic disparity are not isolated solely to the music industry, but are endemic to free market capitalist economies. The problem of wider systemic sexism and gender discrimination is well beyond the scope of this research to address; however, with respect to the music industry, attention is drawn to the recent book *Towards Gender Equality in the Music Industry*, edited by Sarah Raine and

Catherine Strong (2019). Sections of this book have been cited throughout this thesis. I also note with interest the recent launch of the *Music Industry Collaborative Commitment*, an initiative supported by a coalition of music businesses including industry media outlets, and representation from independent music managers, publishers and PR companies. The Collaborative Commitment promulgates a non-binding statement of conduct that seeks to address the problems of sexual harassment, gender discrimination, gender identity discrimination, discrimination against minorities and cultural and ethnic insensitivities and is an important first step to industry change.

The issue of the ever increasing economic disparity of the labour markets of free market economies is also beyond the scope of this research; however the evaporation of the promise of a more democratised music industry following technological disruption can be seen in light of the larger economic and cultural context. Although systemic change in the music industry may in part be contingent on wider systemic changes, this thesis proposes that the most effective change is that wrought by the industry itself. Unless the music industry is capable of self-initiated reform, it may ultimately face the court of public opinion and risk government intervention. In dealing with unequal distributions of power, income inequality and gender inequity, there are very few levers that governments have to create change, and they are largely in the form of exposing the industry to public inquiry, the formation of independent tribunals, and the imposition of increased regulation and financial disincentives for non-compliance. It is preferable for the industry to be willing to embrace change and

exert its considerable resources and resourcefulness in order to create a more humane and equitable working environment.

The findings of this research have been described in detail in Chapter 3 and in the final sections of Chapters 4 – 6, and there is no need to restate them here. However, the economic realities for musicians can, to some small degree, be understood from an anecdote about US drummer Omar Hakim who wore to a recording session a T-Shirt with the words *I'm just trying to make a little music in the money business* printed on the front³⁷³. In comparison to other industries, deeply entrenched economic disparity as a consequence of the gig economy has existed for many years in the music industry. Consequently, it is possible that if music industry leaders can distil lessons from the findings of this research, they can not only bring effective and lasting change to their own industry, but could also become leaders in the vanguard of finding and implementing solutions that mitigate the economic pain of gig economy workers more widely. This is particularly so as the 'uberfication' of the Australian and New Zealand workforces increasingly becomes the business model of choice.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Specific implications that arise from the findings in each chapter are as follows. In the light of the findings of PTSD-like symptoms in Chapter 4, I note that PTSD is a treatable condition with evidence based therapeutic intervention. Therefore music industry peak bodies should establish a network of suitably

³⁷³ This incident was retold to the author in a personal communication from a recording engineer who was present at the session.

qualified psychologists who are registered to deliver services under the Medicare Mental Health Plan to music industry workers suffering from PTSD-like symptoms. Peak bodies should also establish a fund to cover the gap payments. This fund can be administered through Musicians Australia (the MEAA). Such therapeutic services go beyond the ambit of crisis care offered by Support Act. In the light of the findings from Chapter 5, research in the field of popular music studies devoted to understanding the economy of the music industry should not do so without also discussing and analysing the human risks associated with working in that economy. In the light of findings from Chapter 6, the specific case of sound engineers warrants a program of education to bring about culture change in that sector of the music industry, however the link established between social exclusion, sexual objectification, sexual harassment, sexual assault and misogyny means that this problem (entrenched misogyny in the music industry) needs to be addressed using a multi-layered approach. Implications arising from the findings in Chapter 7 are addressed later in this chapter; however the convergence of different forms of power in small social and professional networks where valuable resources are at stake, is a problem that is not only confined to the music industry. To clarify, the findings of Chapter 7 have implications for all of the creative and cultural industries in Australia and New Zealand.

Broader implications of the research presented here address the individual and systemic factors that cause harassment. The following section will set forth these implications separately for individuals, organisations and institutions. In the matter of power in the music industry, this research notes that the

gatekeeping power wielded by key individuals and the power of influential institutions is theoretically separate. However, powerful individuals at the top of these institutions create organisational cultures that impact those in adjacent organisations in an industry that is highly networked. In practice therefore, it is at the intersection of personal and institutional power where the systems of sexism and economic disparity proliferate.

Implications for individuals

The 'what goes on tour stays on tour' trope is a tacit admission that people know aspects of their on-tour behaviour are unacceptable in normal social contexts. If it were not unacceptable, then there would be no need for the cloak of confidentiality. The same can be said for other nuanced sexual harassment behaviour uncovered in this research. The use of coded language by older male musicians while attempting to solicit sex, and the use of the hand on the lower back at industry events are *modi operandi* that make for plausible deniability. Such behaviour is tantamount to the admission that the boundaries of acceptability are being crossed.

This research argues that individuals who work in the music industry should take responsibility for their own actions. This has implications for those who hold misogynist beliefs, in particular beliefs that relegate women to subordinate and subservient roles. Despite insightful scholarship about the treatment of women in the music industry and the activism of #menomore, little progress has been made to achieve equity for female music industry workers let alone a safe

working environment. Consequently this research calls on all music industry workers to source and attend professional development training that equips them to manage their engagements with colleagues in more appropriate ways. Professional development of this nature should include courses in social awareness, informed consent, ethics, conflict resolution and empathy training. The aim of these courses is to educate individuals so that they will refrain from bullying and harassment, including the sexual harassment of women. Further, both men and women should call out bullying and harassing behaviour when they witness it, and refuse to be complicit with or contribute to its normalisation.

A significant proportion of harassment comes from people in leadership and it is conceivable that for some, bullying is learned leadership behaviour. Leadership is not only a matter of authority but also a matter of responsibility; therefore it is important that leaders at every level in the music industry engage in the same professional development and also actively seek to listen to the voices of women with a view to gaining insight into the female experience of working in the music industry. Together with bringing women into the policy development space, equipping male music industry leaders with female perspectives should positively impact the future development of the policies and protocols that will be required for substantive change to be made.

Implications for systems, structures and industry organisations

People in power do not give up their power and influence willingly because they benefit from the status quo. Thus, systemic change is generally resisted by the

powerful. A necessary first step is the formation of an effective professional association for top and middle tier artists, similar to the *Featured Artist Coalition* in the UK. The purpose of such an association should be to act as a trade body that represents the rights of artists and advocates for them with powerful figures in the industry. Furthermore, the MEAA should invest in the expansion of its membership amongst all other musicians who work in the contemporary music industries, in a bid to offset the significant imbalances of power in an economy that places musicians in the small live music scene at great risk. Furthermore, MEAA needs to invest in the expansion of its membership to technical and production crew who work primarily in the music industry, so as to more effectively exert its advocacy within the live performance sector, including contributing to cultural change in this sector.

Given that a gendered power order is being promulgated within the teaching/learning environment of some music education institutions, it is important for music education institutions to enforce existing policies on staff conduct. It is inconceivable that centres of higher education and registered training providers in the vocational education sector do not already have adequate staff conduct policies in respect to professional staff/student relationships along the lines of the sexual consent training in place at most universities. The evidence in this thesis shows that the behaviour of some male teaching staff is tantamount to sexual predation. This is a matter for urgent attention for leaders in the contemporary music education sector. There can be little effective cultural change if cohort after cohort of music graduates has been normalised into a culture that objectifies and subordinates women during the

course of their pre-career development. Music education institutions should not only incorporate mandatory consent training but also anti-sexual harassment and anti-bullying training, not just for teaching staff but also in their curricula.

Participants in this research often commented that there was no one that they could report to in the wake of harassment. In the absence of an effective professional association or industrial body, it is imperative that the crisis service Support Act develop a harassment hotline in Australia, wherein music industry practitioners can confidentially report harassment, and to develop a system to triage such reports for appropriate response (i.e. legal action, therapeutic intervention and the like). A similar service could be developed in New Zealand by Music Helps.

There are also significant implications from this research for existing peak bodies in the music industry. Peak bodies are already engaged in delivering training to the industry as well as in advocacy to government. Consequently, peak bodies are the logical choice for the implementation of professional development programs outlined earlier. Peak bodies should also collaborate on the development and publication of a Mandatory Code of Conduct for the contemporary music industry. I would note that APRA-AMCOS has in place a service provider code of conduct and that Screen Australia has developed a code of conduct to prevent sexual harassment, both of which may serve as templates for a music industry code. However, a binding code of conduct is required that strengthens a zero tolerance policy beyond sexual harassment to include workplace harassment of all kinds. Finally, peak bodies need to support

positive change to the music industry culture by advocating the recommendations for government made below.

Music industry organisations categorised as medium to large businesses (more than 20 employees) should appoint and train a female member of staff to be the sexual and workplace harassment referral officer. This position should be senior in the organisation, and empowered to confidentially hear and investigate harassment complaints and to implement zero tolerance for harassment policies. Further, medium to large industry organisations should change their hiring practices to ensure that there are women employed in senior positions, who have the power to call out workplace and sexual harassment without fear of reprisal from senior male figures. Moreover, the binding code of conduct should be adopted at board level by these organisations and become enforceable on the part of CEO's and managers by virtue of appropriate board directives.

The research underpinning this thesis creates several recommendations for Local, State and Federal Governments. Firstly, the government instrumentalities that are responsible for enforcing workplace health and safety measures need to conduct a program of education targeted at music venues concerning the legal responsibilities and duties of care they hold for the safety of contract musicians and music industry workers as a PCBU. Secondly, these same instrumentalities need to enforce the current provisions of work health and safety legislation to ensure the safety of musicians and music industry workers in small live venues.

Governments at all levels award grants and funding to the contemporary music industry. The future award of a grant or funding needs to be contingent on an individual or organisation incorporating the Mandatory Code of Conduct as part of their policies and procedures, and as a component of the contractual obligations on third parties to any business undertaking. Further, grants or funding should only be awarded to recipients that can demonstrate that they maintain effective anti-sexual harassment and anti-bullying policies and protocols. Such policies need to show the processes that the organisation has in place to allow harassment to be confidentially reported and investigated. To clarify, funding should not only be contingent on the code of conduct and the existence of such policies, but also that organisations and institutions will lose funding if they are found to have failed to implement them. This recommendation applies to funding made available through the Australia Council, including to such organisations as Sounds Australia and also to the provision of funds to music industry businesses through the Export Market Development Grant.

Finally, there needs to be a review of defamation legislation in Australia. It is evident that there are different standards for evidence in a defamation action as opposed to a sexual misconduct prosecution. The combined difficulty of achieving a conviction in the latter, with the relative ease of a successful claim in the former means that victims of sexual harassment are less likely to come forward and media outlets are less likely to report. To clarify, the burden of proof for sexual harassment (let alone rape) means that convictions are difficult to

obtain. On the other hand, a defamation action can be used as a punitive measure to discourage the reporting of aversive behaviour.

The Composite Power Network Model

The Composite Power Network Model explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis is a theoretical and conceptual framework that can be used for any future analysis of workplace and sexual harassment. As noted in Chapter 2, power (social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital) differentials are represented by the relative sizes of circles. Once the extent of capital possessed by those in a network can be assessed, a mapping of relationships that can predict the likelihood of harassment is possible. What follows is further clarification as to how this model can explain the potential for workplace and sexual harassment.

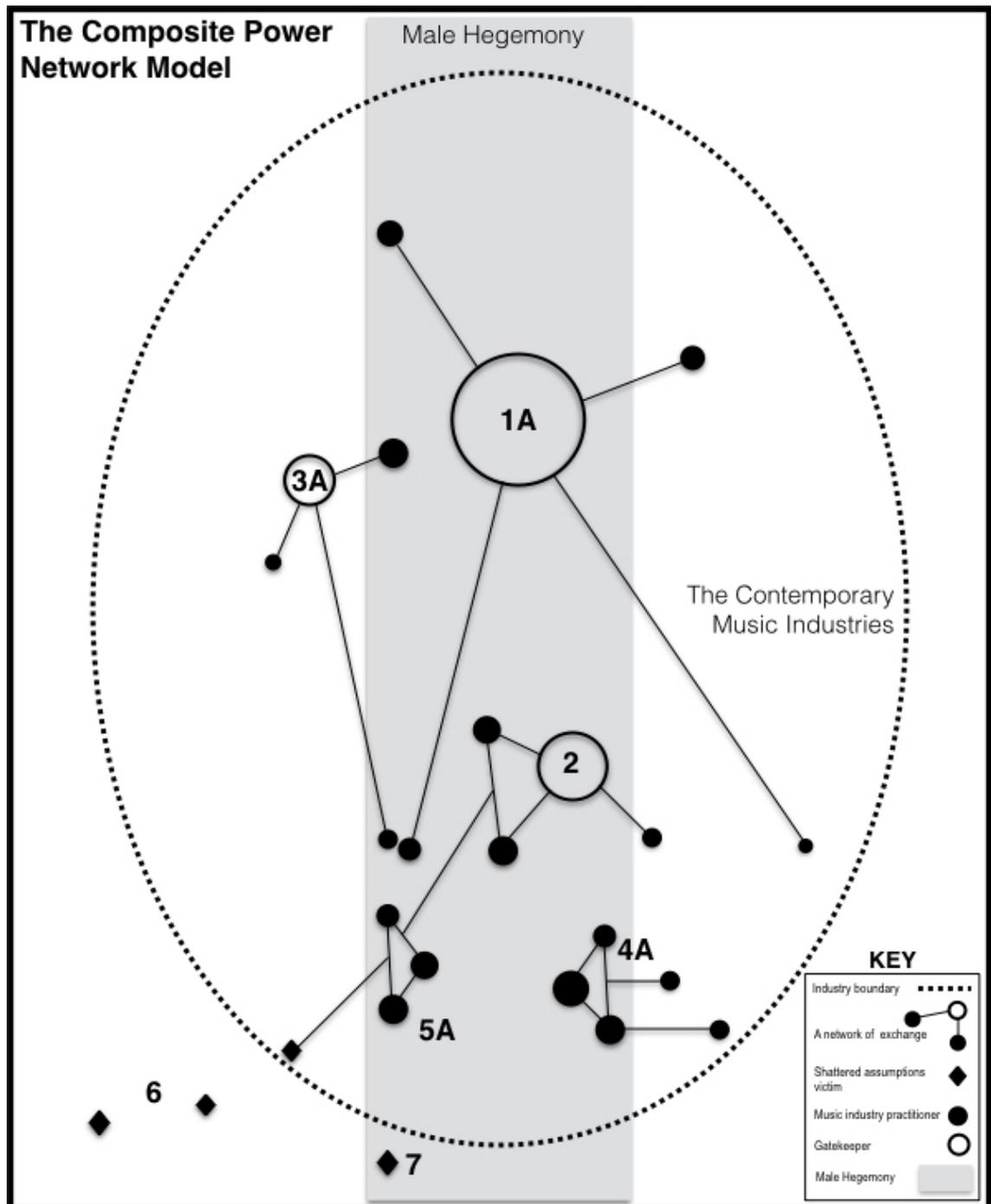


Figure 8.1 The Composite Power Network Model Example 1.

As also noted in Chapter 2, all those within the grey male hegemony zone are taken to be male and those outside the grey zone are taken to be female or gender non-binary. Network 1A features a gatekeeper who possesses very high levels of symbolic capital to others that have connected to him. His position

indicates that he is highly influential in both music publishing and music recording. Accordingly, for the others in the network he is a gatekeeper for a very high value resource. The relative power differential means that there is a high likelihood for coercive power to be applied in the form of sexual harassment of the female as well as bullying of the males. In contrast, network 2 features a set of relationships where the asymmetry of power is less pronounced for the men involved, however the woman would still be at high risk. Network 3A illustrates a male artist who is connected with a female gatekeeper such as an artist manager or A&R manager. While the male artist possesses less symbolic capital, the potential for harassment will be limited by the relatively higher power of the female gatekeeper, although the misogyny of male hegemony may have an impact on the risk. For example, a male artist with less power than his female manager may still exhibit aversive behaviour towards her because of expectations and beliefs he holds about the place and role of women. Networks 4A and 5A are examples of band networks. Male members of those networks are seen as having more power than females because of their place in the male hegemon. Network 5 is represented as having established relations with the more powerful network 2. This illustrates the kind of inter-network connection where those in a less powerful network may seek to gain the power of association, or may seek to gain access to a gatekeeper, such as a label A&R manager, that they may not have had previously. In either network 4 or 5, one of the male members could be a sound engineer, with less power than the male musicians, but more power than the female musicians. Numbers 6 and 7 illustrate three individuals who are suffering from post harassment shattered assumptions. All of them have left the music

industry but the male will still benefit from the power of male hegemony outside the industry. Figure 8.2 below shows the same set of networks but also illustrate changes that have occurred in them.

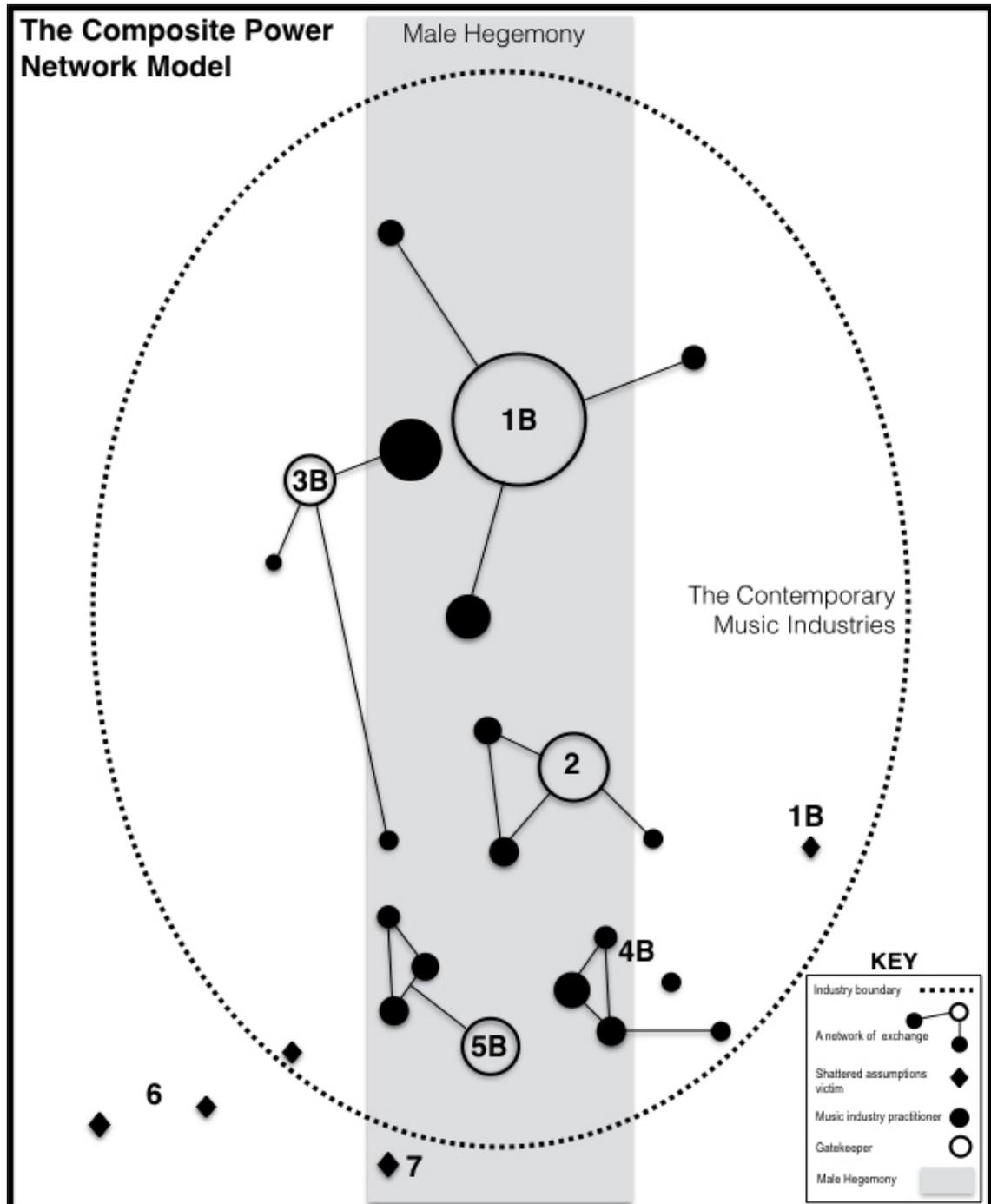


Figure 8.2 The Composite Power Network Model Example 2.

Network 1B in Figure 8.2 illustrates the type of case that was described in Chapter 7 where the gatekeeper at the heart of a network used coercive power to sexually harass or threaten a female (in the lower right of the diagram). Regardless of whether she acceded to his demands, she has been disconnected from the network and her symbol has changed to show that her assumptions have been shattered. Likewise in network 3B, the male artist in a network with a female gatekeeper has acquired greater power as a result of her gatekeeping efforts. The model shows an artist who has accrued high levels of social, symbolic and economic capital, and as a consequence, there is a dramatic shift in power relations in the network, which places the female gatekeeper at high risk of harassment, of one form or another. Network 4B illustrates two female musicians of roughly equal capital who were associated with a band (see network 4A in Figure 8.1). As a consequence of a single relational connection between one male band-member, one female has been cut off from the network and the other has been retained. Finally network 5B is an illustration of a female member of a band who has been bullied and intimidated into leaving the band (see network 5A in Figure 8.1). Moreover, network 5B is not connected to the more powerful network 2, because of a closer connection with a more powerful gatekeeper.

These types of network and power relations are not only present in the music industries, but also exist in the wider cultural industries. Similar hegemonic and systemic factors are at work across the wider cultural industries, as all are highly networked and fragmented in ways similar to the music industries. Further, many cultural industries feature overlapping fields in a similar fashion to

the music industries. For example there is much overlap in Australia and New Zealand between the fields of film, television and theatre. Moreover, the importance of gatekeepers in industries other than music means that the conceptualization of the Composite Power Network Model is appropriate to those industries. If music industry specific terminology were to be replaced with appropriate industry specific distinctions, then the Composite Power Network Model can be applied in other industries.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

Perhaps the most notable limitation to this research is the risk that it posed to those who participated. Notwithstanding the significant proportion of respondents who started the survey, but did not complete it (29%), some potential interview participants either withdrew from participating prior to interview, or decided against coming forward at all. In at least two cases, the reason for non-participation was a fear of negative career consequences.

The sample selection for this study also presents a limitation, in that participants were likely to possess an existing bias because their experiences of workplace or sexual harassment were what prompted their participation. One quantitative respondent reported not having experienced any harassment. One qualitative participant noted at the beginning of the interview that her experience in the music industry was positive, and her motivation in contributing to the research was “to shed light” on her positive experience and so that the research would

not “end up with a skewed vision” (Antonella, personal communication 12/12/18).

Several other limitations were discussed in Chapter 3, notably the quantitative sample size as well as the adaptation of the NAQ-R as a workplace harassment measure in the context of the contemporary music industries. Discussion in Chapter 3 also pointed to a limitation shared by all research into workplace harassment, namely a lack of precise definition of the phenomenon itself. A similar problem exists when attempting to measure sexual harassment. Although definitions of sexual harassment do not vary to the same extent as those of workplace harassment, variations in methodologies that are applied in the measuring of sexual harassment render comparisons somewhat problematic. Further, some respondents identified as Transgender or Indeterminate, but in insufficient numbers for their responses to constitute enough data for analysis (3.9% of quantitative sample).

Participant testimony points to complicated power relations between artists and managers. Additionally, there were extensive reports from participants describing their coping strategies in the face of harassment. Sufficient data was collected to warrant analysis in both cases. Furthermore, many female participants described a pattern of behaviour on the part of older male perpetrators that resembles grooming behaviour. Although the term ‘grooming’ is primarily used in the context of adult sexual overtures to children, the testimony of participants shows sufficient commonality to warrant further analysis of the tactics used by older male musicians in their sexual overtures

towards young female musicians. Finally many participants recommended strategies for industry change, some of which are echoed in this conclusion.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis owes much to the work of a group of dedicated female music researchers who have written extensively and with great insight on the marginalisation of women in Australian music. Their contribution to the discourse has been invaluable, and that work must continue. I note with interest studies investigating the harassment of female patrons at festivals, a matter that has been long overlooked. It is possible that there are similar factors at work in the sexual harassment of female artists and female patrons by male audience members.

In a previous chapter this research recommended a direction for future research, based on participant testimony. This was for an investigation into the nature and prevalence of intimate partner violence amongst music industry workers in Australia and New Zealand.

Further to this, there is a need for a quantitative study of workplace harassment in the contemporary music industry using the full NAQ-R that aims at a sample size of 500 or more. Such a study would form a comprehensive basis for comparison not only with other industries but also with other medium to large studies that have used the NAQ-R worldwide. Likewise, there is a need for a larger study of sexual harassment in the contemporary music industry using the

same methodology and framework as the Australian Human Rights Commission sexual harassment survey. This study should also aim for a sample size of 500 or more. Such a study would form a comprehensive basis for comparison of sexual harassment in the contemporary music industry with that found in the Australian population.

In Chapter 5, the kind of sexual harassment experienced by female artists and musicians in small venues was found to be similar to that experienced by female patrons in bars and clubs. Accordingly an investigation into the normalisation of aversive patron behaviour in licensed venues needs to be undertaken, with a view to unearthing causal factors and proposing ways of remediating negative audience behaviours.

A gap exists between studies of workplace harassment and studies of sexual harassment. Both phenomena have their basis in power. Accordingly, researchers working in both fields should conduct investigations into the connections or antecedents that may or may not exist between these two phenomena. Researchers working in the field of workplace harassment also need to examine the prevalence of workplace bullying that may have its basis in gender discrimination.

I note with interest the work conducted by a number of senior female researchers who have investigated the problem of reputation management experienced by women in music. Consistent with the discussion in Chapter 7, there should be an expansion of this field of enquiry to research the question of

how all musicians, artists, managers and music industry practitioners manage their reputation, including differences that may arise as a consequence of industry sector, as well as gender and gender identity.

Consistent with my earlier remarks concerning sexual predation, there is also a need for a qualitative study into the patterns of grooming behaviour employed by older male musicians in their sexual overtures to young female musicians. In addition to the data gathered for this research, such a study would serve as a basis for developing education programs not only in tertiary institutions but also sponsored by peak bodies. The purpose of this study would be to alert emerging female musicians and artists to the kinds of tactics that are employed to harass them, so they can recognise the early signs of predation.

Further, there is a need for a qualitative study of the power relations between artists and managers, with a view to developing policy recommendations to strengthen the nature of the artist/manager business relationships.

An investigation into the nature and extent of PTSD-like symptoms amongst contemporary music industry practitioners in Australia and New Zealand should be undertaken. Participant reports in this present research suggest that there is a wide range of psychological and physiological aftereffects to those who have experienced workplace or sexual harassment. As noted in Chapter 4, some of the aftereffects are of a very serious nature, suggesting that both workplace and sexual harassment represent significant occupational hazards. The extent of

these hazards deserves quantification and a deeper understanding than was possible within the limits of this study.

Finally, there is a need for an investigation into the harassment experiences of the gender non-binary community working in the contemporary music industries. As noted earlier, this study produced insufficient data for analysis of their experiences; however the data collected suggests that gender non-binary individuals are experiencing harassment in ways that their gender binary colleagues are not.

FINAL REMARKS

This study began as an investigation into toxicity, using a workplace harassment framework as a rubric. However the overwhelming pattern of testimony was one of extensive sexual harassment, gendered discrimination and the coercion of women. By its very nature this research listened to the voices of those whose lives have been impacted by discrimination and inequity. As time went on it became further apparent that this research could give voice to those whose voices had been silenced. Therefore, the approach taken in the writing of this thesis was to allow the voices of the bullied, harassed, intimidated and assaulted to be heard. It is the hope of this research that, moving forward, those who wield power in the contemporary music industries will listen compassionately to those voices, and chart a different course for the future.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A: online survey questions

Q1. Please select from the dropdown list your gender

- Male
- Female
- Transgender
- Indeterminate

Q2. I am an Australian or New Zealand citizen

- Yes
- No

Q3. I am a resident of Australian or New Zealand

- Yes
- No

Q4. Please select your country of residence from the dropdown list.

Q5. Please select what you regard as your PRIMARY AREA of music activity.

(You may choose more than one)

- LIVE MUSIC PERFORMANCE (includes performing before a live audience regardless of size, musical theatre, televised performances & TV talent shows)
- MUSIC COMPOSITION & PRODUCTION (includes song writing, composing, arranging, producing, studio recording & engineering)
- BOTH COMPOSING AND PERFORMING
- ARTIST MANAGEMENT
- MUSIC MEDIA (includes music journalism & radio, digital or TV broadcast)
- TECHNICAL & CREW (includes live sound engineering, roadies, crew, riggers, lighting engineers & tour managers)
- MUSIC DISTRIBUTION & PUBLISHING (includes label services, A&R, streaming & collecting societies)
- MUSIC INFRASTRUCTURE (includes booking agents, agents, stylists, publicists, designers & digital strategists)
- MUSIC EDUCATION (includes teachers, tutors, mentors & coaches for talent shows)
- Other (please specify):

Q6. Please select your age from the age ranges in the dropdown list

- under 18
- 18-21
- 22-25
- 26-29
- 30-33
- 34-36
- 37-40
- 41-45
- 46-50
- 51-55
- 56-60
- 61+

Q7. Please select your age from the age ranges in the dropdown list³⁷⁴

- under 18
- 18-21
- 22-25
- 26-29
- 30-33
- 34-36
- 37-40
- 41-45
- 46-50
- 51-55
- 56-60
- 61+

Q8. Please select from the dropdown list the number of years you have actively pursued work in the music industry.

- 1-3 years
- 4-6 years
- 6-9 years
- 9-12 years
- 12-18 years
- 18-24 years
- 25 years plus.

Q9. Please select from the dropdown list the statement that **best describes** your level of training that you have undertaken for your music career. If you are currently a student select the level of qualification you are currently enrolled in. If you have received individual tuition or have been self-taught, but you have also achieved a qualification, select only the formal qualification.

- Self taught

³⁷⁴ Question 7 in the online survey was initially included to provide an opportunity to filter out participants in live performance who were above 36 years of age; however this feature was disabled early in the life of the survey.

- Individual tuition from a teacher
- High School music elective
- AMEB or equivalent
- Certificate, Diploma or Advanced Diploma
- Bachelors Degree
- Post Graduate Qualification

Q10. Please select from the list below the statement that **best describes** the annual income that you derive from music work (on average)

- I am primarily a volunteer in a community organisation
- I am primarily a contestant in a televised talent quest
- I am primarily a student preparing for work in the music industry
- I am primarily working for no remuneration in a start up music business
- I derive between \$1 - \$5,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$5,001 - \$10,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$10,001 - \$15,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$15,001 - \$20,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$20,001 - \$30,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$30,001 - \$40,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$40,001 - \$50,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$50,001 - \$70,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$70,001 - \$100,000 annually from music work
- I derive between \$100,001 - \$150,000 annually from music work
- I derive \$150,001 plus annually from music work

Q11. Please select from the list below the genre of music that you mostly work in. You may select more than one option.

- My work is not defined by genre
- Mostly covers
- Mostly original
- Blues
- Jazz
- Folk
- Rock
- Pop
- EDM
- Club
- Hip Hop
- Dance
- Trance
- Musical theatre
- Still working this out

Q12. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

Someone withholds information, which affects my work performance

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q13. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am humiliated or ridiculed in connection with my work

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q14. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

Gossip and rumors are being spread about me

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q15. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am being ignored or excluded

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q16. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

Insulting or offensive remarks are made about my person, my attitudes, or my private life

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q17. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am being shouted at or I am the target of spontaneous anger (or rage)

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q18. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing intimidating behavior such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking/barring the way

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q19. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing hints from others that I should quit

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q20. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing repeated reminders of my errors or mistakes

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q21. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing persistent criticism of my work

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q22. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing having my opinions and views ignored

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q23. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing practical jokes carried out by people I do not get along with

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q24. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing being given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q25. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing having allegations or accusations made against me

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q26. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing being the subject of excessive teasing and sarcasm

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q27. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing unmanageable workload

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q28. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing the threat of violence or physical abuse or actual abuse

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q29. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing teasing, joking and innuendo that is sexual in nature

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q30. Consider the following statement about behaviour that may occur within any part of your network of collaborators, colleagues or business partnerships.

I am experiencing unwanted sexual overtures or pressure to engage in physical behavior that is sexual in nature

Select from the dropdown menu the answer which best describes how often you experience this behaviour

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q31. Describe in the text box below, any other experience of workplace abuse or harassment that you have personally encountered not already mentioned in this survey.

Q32. Describe in the text box below, any other experience of workplace abuse or harassment that you have personally encountered not already mentioned in this survey.³⁷⁵

- Never
- Once
- Now and then
- Monthly
- Weekly or Daily

Q33. Describe below any incident or occurrence of workplace abuse that you have heard about that has happened to a friend or colleague.

Q34. If you would you be willing to participate in a 60-90 minute one on one interview that allows you to confidentially describe and discuss your experiences in further depth select YES below. You will be then asked to supply a contact email address or phone number. If not, click NO.

- Yes
- No

³⁷⁵ Question 32 in the online survey was a duplicate of question 31, and was initially included to provide an opportunity to for participants who were filtered out by question 7 to contribute something to the survey; however, along with question 7, question 32 was disabled early in the life of the survey, so that subsequent participants only answered question 31. Responses to question 32 made while this question was active were included in the data.

Appendix B: guidelines for semi-structured interviews

1. ESTABLISH DEMOGRAPHICS

- Q1. Current age.
- Q2. Gender
- Q3. Citizenship.
- Q4. Country of residence.
- Q5. Area of music industry activity.
- Q6. The number of years you have actively pursued work in the music industry.
- Q7. The level of training that you have undertaken for your music career.
- Q8. The approximate annual income that you derive from music work (on average)
- Q9. The genre of music in which you mostly work.

2. ASK FOR EXPERIENCES OF WORKPLACE ABUSE OR HARASSMENT

2.1 Opening Question:

When you originally decided to be a part of this research, were there some things on your mind, or events that you had experienced that you wanted to talk about? Can you start with those?

2.2 If participant is unsure where to start then suggest either the earliest experience or alternatively the most significant.

2.3 If Participant is still unsure where to start or is unsure what may constitute harassment or needs a further prompt use these items below as starting points:

- 1. Someone withholds information, which affects my work performance
- 2. I am humiliated or ridiculed in connection with my work
- 3. Gossip and rumors are being spread about me.
- 4. I am being ignored or excluded
- 5. Insulting or offensive remarks are made about my person, my attitudes, or my private life
- 6. I am being shouted at or I am the target of spontaneous anger (or rage)
- 7. I am experiencing intimidating behavior such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking/barring the way
- 8. I am experiencing hints from others that I should quit
- 9. I am experiencing repeated reminders of my errors or mistakes
- 10. I am experiencing persistent criticism of my work
- 11. I am experiencing having my opinions and views ignored
- 12. I am experiencing practical jokes carried out by people I do not get along with
- 13. I am experiencing being given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines
- 14. I am experiencing having allegations or accusations made against me
- 15. I am experiencing being the subject of excessive teasing and sarcasm
- 16. I am experiencing unmanageable workload

- 17. I am experiencing the threat of violence or physical abuse or actual abuse
- 18. I am experiencing teasing, joking and innuendo that is sexual in nature
- 19. I am experiencing unwanted sexual overtures or pressure to engage in physical behaviour that is sexual in nature
- 20. Other

Appendix C

Five tables showing percentage distribution of all online participants and reported prevalence of all types of harassment - after (see Vaughan 1996; Vaughan 1999)

TYPE OF HARASSMENT	PREVALENCE: NEVER			
	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	GENDER NB
Withholding information	17.9	19.5	17.4	16.7
Humiliated or ridiculed	23.5	26.8	22.5	16.7
Gossip and rumours	25.5	29.3	23.5	33.3
Ignored or excluded	15.9	17.1	14.3	33.3
Insulting or offensive remarks	26.2	26.8	26.5	16.7
Spontaneous anger	26.2	29.7	25.5	16.7
Intimidation	43.5	48.8	40.8	50.0
Hints to quit	44.8	46.3	43.9	50.0
Errors and mistakes	37.9	41.5	35.7	50.0
Persistent criticism	31.0	34.2	29.6	33.3
Opinions and views ignored	16.6	24.4	12.2	33.3
Practical jokes	66.2	70.7	65.3	50.0
Unreasonable demands	36.1	36.6	36.1	33.3
Allegations or accusations	56.3	53.7	56.7	66.7
Teasing and sarcasm	47.2	48.8	47.4	33.3
Unmanageable workload	25.9	36.6	18.8	66.7
Violence or threat of violence	58.0	65.9	55.2	50.0
Sexual innuendo	28.9	62.5	14.6	33.3
Sexual pressure	43.7	67.5	35.4	16.7

Table C.1 Percentage distribution of prevalence of never

TYPE OF HARASSMENT	PREVALENCE: ONCE			
	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	GENDER NB
Withholding information	3.5	2.4	3.1	16.7
Humiliated or ridiculed	15.9	9.8	18.4	16.7
Gossip and rumours	13.8	2.4	18.4	16.7
Ignored or excluded	6.2	7.3	6.1	0.0
Insulting or offensive remarks	13.1	9.8	14.3	16.7
Spontaneous anger	18.6	22.0	17.4	16.7
Intimidation	15.9	22.0	14.3	0.0
Hints to quit	13.1	14.6	13.3	0.0
Errors and mistakes	10.3	14.6	9.2	0.0
Persistent criticism	9.0	7.3	9.2	16.7
Opinions and views ignored	7.6	7.3	8.2	0.0
Practical jokes	11.7	12.2	10.2	33.3
Unreasonable demands	6.3	7.3	5.2	16.7
Allegations or accusations	16.7	22.0	14.4	16.7
Teasing and sarcasm	9.7	7.3	11.3	0.0
Unmanageable workload	3.5	2.4	4.2	0.0
Violence or threat of violence	20.3	14.6	22.9	16.7
Sexual innuendo	7.8	7.5	8.3	0.0
Sexual pressure	14.1	12.5	15.6	0.0

Table C.2 Percentage distribution of prevalence of once

TYPE OF HARASSMENT	PREVALENCE: NOW & THEN			
	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	GENDER NB
Withholding information	55.2	51.2	58.2	33.3
Humiliated or ridiculed	42.1	51.2	38.8	33.3
Gossip and rumours	40.7	48.8	37.8	33.3
Ignored or excluded	42.8	43.9	43.9	17.0
Insulting or offensive remarks	38.6	46.3	36.7	16.7
Spontaneous anger	43.5	43.9	41.8	66.7
Intimidation	30.3	22.0	33.7	33.3
Hints to quit	33.1	29.3	35.7	16.7
Errors and mistakes	35.9	34.2	35.7	50.0
Persistent criticism	40.0	31.7	42.9	50.0
Opinions and views ignored	44.8	41.5	46.9	33.0
Practical jokes	19.3	14.6	22.5	0.0
Unreasonable demands	38.3	41.5	37.1	33.3
Allegations or accusations	20.1	24.4	18.6	16.7
Teasing and sarcasm	30.6	34.2	28.9	33.0
Unmanageable workload	42.7	43.9	43.8	16.7
Violence or threat of violence	19.6	19.5	19.8	16.7
Sexual innuendo	36.6	25.0	42.7	16.7
Sexual pressure	30.3	17.5	36.5	16.7

Table C.3 Percentage distribution of prevalence of now & then

TYPE OF HARASSMENT	PREVALENCE: MONTHLY			
	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	GENDER NB
Withholding information	9.7	9.8	8.2	33.3
Humiliated or ridiculed	11.0	7.3	12.2	16.7
Gossip and rumours	10.3	9.8	10.2	16.7
Ignored or excluded	16.6	14.6	17.4	17.0
Insulting or offensive remarks	11.7	9.8	13.3	0.0
Spontaneous anger	4.8	2.4	6.1	0.0
Intimidation	6.9	4.9	7.1	16.7
Hints to quit	6.2	9.8	3.4	33.3
Errors and mistakes	7.6	2.4	10.2	0.0
Persistent criticism	8.3	12.2	7.1	0.0
Opinions and views ignored	11.7	7.3	12.2	33.0
Practical jokes	2.1	0.0	2.0	16.7
Unreasonable demands	5.6	4.9	6.2	0.0
Allegations or accusations	5.6	0.0	8.3	0.0
Teasing and sarcasm	2.8	0.0	4.1	0.0
Unmanageable workload	11.9	7.3	13.5	16.7
Violence or threat of violence	1.4	0.0	2.1	0.0
Sexual innuendo	14.8	2.5	20.8	0.0
Sexual pressure	6.3	2.5	5.2	50.0

Table C.4 Percentage distribution of prevalence of monthly

TYPE OF HARASSMENT	PREVALENCE: WEEKLY OR DAILY			
	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	GENDER NB
Withholding information	13.8	17.1	13.3	0.0
Humiliated or ridiculed	7.6	4.9	8.2	16.7
Gossip and rumours	9.7	9.8	10.2	0.0
Ignored or excluded	18.6	17.1	18.4	33.3
Insulting or offensive remarks	10.3	7.3	9.2	50.0
Spontaneous anger	6.9	2.4	9.2	0.0
Intimidation	3.5	2.4	4.1	0.0
Hints to quit	2.8	0.0	4.1	0.0
Errors and mistakes	8.3	7.3	9.2	0.0
Persistent criticism	11.7	14.6	11.2	0.0
Opinions and views ignored	19.3	19.5	20.4	0.0
Practical jokes	0.7	2.4	0.0	0.0
Unreasonable demands	13.9	9.8	15.5	16.7
Allegations or accusations	1.4	0.0	2.1	0.0
Teasing and sarcasm	9.7	9.8	8.3	33.0
Unmanageable workload	16.1	9.8	19.8	0.0
Violence or threat of violence	0.7	0.0	0.0	16.7
Sexual innuendo	12.0	2.5	13.5	50.0
Sexual pressure	5.6	0.0	7.3	16.7

Table C.5 Percentage distribution of prevalence of weekly or daily

Appendix D

ACCOUNT	Description	Male Hegemony	Normalisation	Reputational Damage	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment (NAQ-R)
700	Generalised abuse by powerful people.	✓				✓
701	Humiliated or ridiculed*.	✓		✓		✓
702	Pressure to overwork because of reputation. Unreasonable demands*.	✓				✓
703	Sexual coercion.	✓			✓	
704	Gendered nature of reputations in the industry.	✓		✓		✓
705	Reputational damage. Gossip and rumours*.	✓		✓		✓
706	Threat of reputational damage.			✓		
707	Reputational damage. Sexual assault. Violence or threat of violence*.	✓		✓		✓
708	Explanation for the importance of reputation.					
709	Reputation in close networks. Gossip and rumours*.			✓		✓
710	Reputation in close networks. Gossip and rumours*.			✓		✓
711	Reputational damage.			✓		
712	Reputational damage. Gossip and rumours*. Protecting star power.	✓		✓		✓
713	Protecting star power.	✓	✓			
714	Use of reputation as power. Gossip and rumours.			✓		✓
715	Constructs of reputation and power.		✓	✓		
716	Reputational damage as a form of reprisal for sexual assault.	✓		✓		
717	Reputational damage. Gossip and rumours*.	✓		✓		✓
718	Countering reputational damage.					
719	Threat to reputation & future work. Intimidation*.	✓		✓		✓
720	Threat to reputation & future work. Intimidation*.	✓		✓		✓
721	Threat to reputation & future work. Intimidation*. Violence or threat of violence.	✓		✓		✓
722	Threat to reputation & future work. Intimidation*. Gender discrimination	✓		✓		✓
723	Threat to reputation & future work. Unwanted sexual attention	✓		✓		

ACCOUNT	Description	Male Hegemony	Normalisation	Reputational Damage	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment (NAQ-R)
724	Threat to reputation. Intimidation*. Sexual coercion. Gossip and rumours*	✓		✓	✓	✓
725	Threat to reputation & future work. Intimidation*. Sexual coercion. Gossip and rumours*.	✓		✓	✓	✓
726	Sexual coercion	✓			✓	
727	Promise of future career. Possible sexual coercion.	✓			✓	
728	Sexual coercion.	✓			✓	
729	Sexual coercion (future work). Gossip and rumours.	✓		✓	✓	✓
730	Sexual coercion (future work). Sexual harassment	✓			✓	
731	Sexual coercion (future work). Sexual harassment	✓			✓	
732	Sexual coercion prevalence.	✓	✓		✓	
733	Gendered power order. Sexual pressure (future work).	✓				
734	Normalisation of sexual harassment at industry events.	✓	✓			
735	Normalisation of gender discrimination amongst crew.	✓	✓			
736	Normalisation of Gendered power order.	✓	✓			
737	Blurred lines in social space. Normalisation of deviance.		✓			
738	Blurred lines in social space. Sexual harassment. Plausible deniability. Normalisation of deviance.		✓			
739	Blurred lines in social space. Sexual harassment. Plausible deniability. Normalisation of deviance.	✓	✓			
740	Blurred lines in social space. Sexual harassment. Plausible deniability. Normalisation of deviance.	✓	✓			
741	Social pressure. Normalisation of deviance.		✓			
742	Social pressure. Normalisation of deviance.	✓	✓			
743	Sexual coercion (future work). Social pressure. Normalisation of deviance. Intimidating behaviour*.	✓	✓		✓	✓
744	Code of silence. Normalisation of deviance.		✓			
745	Normalisation of deviance. Complicity.		✓			
746	Normalisation of deviance. Complicity.	✓	✓			
747	Normalisation of deviance.		✓			
748	Normalisation of deviance. Complicity.	✓	✓	✓		

ACC	Description	Male Hegemony	Normalisation	Reputational Damage	Sexual Coercion	Workplace Harassment (NAQ-R)
749	Normalisation of deviance. Reprisal.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
750	Male hegemony and gatekeepers holding on to power.	✓	✓			
751	Male hegemony propagated in music education. Sexual harassment.	✓	✓			
752	Male hegemony propagated in music education. Sexual harassment.	✓	✓			
753	Male hegemony propagated in music education. Sexual harassment.	✓				
754	Male hegemony propagated in music education. Sexual harassment.	✓				
755	Male hegemony propagated in music education. Sexual harassment. Ignored and excluded*.	✓				✓
756	Male hegemony. Sexual harassment. Fear of reputational damage.	✓		✓		
757	Male hegemony. Fear of reprisal. Normalisation.	✓	✓			
758	Male hegemony structures described.	✓				
759	Male hegemony structures described.	✓				

Table D.1 Instances and categories of power and coercion

Appendix E

Figure E.1 Screenshot of codebook.

Experiencing hints that I should quit	Bandmates	nuanced	hints to quit					
Pressure to end a romantic relationship with band member - the Yoko effect	Bandmates	culture	hints to quit					
Sabotaged by bandmates (cast mates)	Bandmates	sabotage	hints to quit				19	
Manager hints that band (artist) should quit	Manager to Artist	nuanced	hints to quit			15		
Employer threatens unfair dismissal	Toxicity other	industrial	hints to quit					
Staged sacking from a gig because venue manager has a personal issue with band member	Toxicity other	industrial	hints to quit					
Humiliation	Any	humiliation	humiliation or ridicule	1to4	28,29	21,22	27	1,11
Humiliated on social media	Artist to Manager	humiliation	humiliation or ridicule					
Humiliation - constantly being put down	Artist to Manager	humiliation	humiliation or ridicule	1to4				
being made the outsider or the butt of the joke	Bandmates	humiliation	humiliation or ridicule	6			24	
Boyfriend's boss humiliation while backstage (at work)	Other	gendered	humiliation or ridicule					
Humiliation and reputational damage within uneven power relationship	Powerful People	reputational	humiliation or ridicule			21,22		
Power play for increased status (humiliating others makes me look better)	Sound Engineers	power	humiliation or ridicule		17			
Left out of conversations/cut out of communication	Any	exclusion	ignored or excluded	18	11			19,21,22
Ignored or excluded	Artist to Manager	ignored or excluded	ignored or excluded					
Ignored/loss of respect following ending of a romantic relationship	Bandmates	exclusion	ignored or excluded					
Kept out of the loop	Bandmates	exclusion	ignored or excluded				19	
Opinions of female band members were sidelined	Bandmates	gendered	ignored or excluded	21ff				
Ostracised by bandmates (cast mates)	Bandmates	exclusion	ignored or excluded				19	
Arrogant tone when dealing with a female (venue manager)	Gendered	humiliation	ignored or excluded					
Being under used or not taken seriously	Gendered	gendered	ignored or excluded	18				
Ignored as a professional because I was another industry person's love interest	Gendered	gendered	ignored or excluded					
Not being invited to things	Industry Events	exclusion	ignored or excluded					
Manager's assistant ignored reasonable request for help	Manager to Artist	ignored	ignored or excluded			9		
Ignored (professionally) by colleague after the ending of sexual encounter	Partner	violence	ignored or excluded					
not putting in much effort because you are a bunch of chicks	Sound Engineers	gendered	ignored or excluded					

Figure E.2 Screenshot of original testimony transcript.

Interviewer: There was a tour manager though...|

004R1: Yes, there's a tour manager but I think the tour manager was from another country and not as invested in-- I don't know if that's relevant at all.

Interviewer: No, it's totally relevant. It's completely relevant because it is the music industry. Out of the course of a month for example on average how often would you experience that you describe a number of behaviours apart from the deliberate attempt to sabotage.

004R1: That was a significant moment but I would just say there was lots of I would walk into a room and they'd stop talking. Or there'd be lunches that I just wasn't invited to or when you'd ask a question or contribute to something to a conversation it was just ignored. That would happen on a regular basis most days.

Interviewer: Most days

File name: 004R1.mp3

19

Note: the text in this screenshot can be seen coded in Figure E.1 above with the page number (19) eight lines from the bottom and one column in from the right.

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