Examining Precarity:

A Study of Early Career Composers' Professional Conditions in Aotearoa New Zealand

Ihlara McIndoe
McGill University

August 2024

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Musicology M.A.

Supervisor: Professor Roe-Min Kok

Abstract

Many young contemporary music composers in Aotearoa New Zealand (hereafter "ANZ") are experiencing financial instability and a lack of opportunities to develop their artistic skills and portfolio. The nation's arts funding system and arts sector infrastructure have not kept up with the industry's needs. Additionally, the broader neoliberal economic ideology which has permeated national politics since the 1980s exacerbates experiences of income, work, and lifestyle precarity amongst early career composers. I have interviewed five early career composers (hereafter "ECC") from ANZ to document and investigate how they experience and navigate these precarious professional conditions. I contextualize these findings within international and ANZ commentary on the impact of neoliberal economics on artistic careers, Government-led studies of the sustainability of ANZ's arts sector, and historical sources which illuminate movements within ANZ's compositional infrastructure and community. This thesis provides a detailed account of the important infrastructure that has supported the development of contemporary music composition in ANZ, and where such infrastructure is no longer meeting the needs of the community. Additionally, drawing upon my findings, I make recommendations of areas of investigation which warrant further attention, such as the impact of "Tall Poppy Syndrome" on ECC as they navigate and participate within a highly competitive industry. This thesis challenges the common occurrence within musicological research, as explained by Smith and Thwaites (2019), whereby composers emerge "without interrogation of how they were chosen above others who aspired to this, highly competitive, field" and without consideration of how emerging artists navigate the early stages of their careers.

Résumé

De nombreux jeunes compositeurs de musique contemporaine d'Aotearoa Nouvelle-Zélande (ci-après « ANZ ») sont confrontés à l'instabilité financière et au manque d'opportunités pour développer leurs compétences artistiques et leur portfolio. Le système national de financement des arts et les infrastructures du secteur artistique n'ont pas répondu aux besoins de l'industrie. De plus, l'idéologie économique néolibérale plus large qui imprègne la politique nationale depuis les années 1980 exacerbe les expériences de précarité des revenus, du travail et du mode de vie parmi les compositeurs en début de carrière. J'ai interviewé cinq compositeurs en début de carrière (ci-après « ECC ») d'ANZ pour documenter et enquêter sur la manière dont ils vivent et gèrent ces conditions professionnelles précaires. Je contextualise ces résultats dans les commentaires internationaux et ANZ sur l'impact de l'économie néolibérale sur les carrières artistiques, les études menées par le gouvernement sur la durabilité du secteur artistique d'ANZ et les sources historiques qui éclairent les mouvements au sein de l'infrastructure de composition et de la communauté d'ANZ. Cette thèse fournit un compte rendu détaillé de l'importante infrastructure qui a soutenu le développement de la composition musicale contemporaine en ANZ, et des domaines dans lesquels une telle infrastructure ne répond plus aux besoins de la communauté. De plus, en m'appuyant sur mes conclusions, je fais des recommandations sur les domaines d'investigation qui méritent une attention plus approfondie, tels que l'impact du « syndrome du grand coquelicot » sur l'ECC alors qu'ils naviguent et participent au sein d'une industrie hautement compétitive. Cette thèse remet en question le phénomène courant dans la recherche musicologique, comme l'expliquent Smith et Thwaites (2019), selon lequel les compositeurs émergent « sans s'interroger sur la façon dont ils ont été choisis avant d'autres qui aspiraient à ce domaine hautement compétitif » et sans considération de la manière dont les artistes émergents traversent les premières étapes de leur carrière.

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Acknowledgements

The majority of this thesis was written in Tiohtiá:ke/Montreal on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehà:ka, a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst many First Nations including the Kanien'kehá:ka of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Huron/Wendat, Abenaki, and Anishinaabeg.

This research would not have been possible without the support of my phenomenal supervisor, Professor Roe-Min Kok. I am incredibly grateful for her time, energy, and care in helping me undertake this project. I have learnt so much due to her generous academic support, and even more from witnessing her commitment to investigating challenging questions and themes within musical traditions and discourses.

I extend my thanks to the wider McGill music research faculty, especially those who have supported me in developing my musicological skills over the course of my Masters program: Professor Julie E. Cumming, Professor Dorian Bandy, Professor Brian Cherney, Professor Stephen Huebner, and Dr. Luis Velasco-Pufleau.

Thank you to Dr. Neil Thomas Smith, the external examiner of this thesis who generously provided thoughtful insights that have been immensely valuable in my final revisions. I hope to engage further with Dr. Smith in my future research projects.

This research would not have been possible without the knowledge and experiences shared by members of the Aotearoa New Zealand composition community. Thank you to those who assisted in the historical research chapters through sharing their recollections and treasure hunting for Aotearoa composition historical sources and memorabilia: Eve de Castro-Robinson, Michael Norris, Simon Eastwood, Sarah Ballard, Jessie Leov, Phil Brownlee, Tessa Peterson, Elizabeth Kerr, Manukau Symphony Orchestra, Chamber Music New Zealand, Orchestra Wellington, and the Auckland Philharmonia.

To the five Early Career Composers who took the time to share their insights and experiences, ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa. I appreciate your commitment to this project, your vulnerability in speaking about the challenges you have experienced, and your enthusiasm for supporting fellow Aotearoa composers.

This research was made possible thanks to financial assistance from a number of Canadian and New Zealand organizations. I extend my thanks to Professor Roe-Min Kok for contributions she made from her research fund toward the costs of my study. Thank you also to McGill University for supporting me through the Graduate Excellence Fellowship; Universities New Zealand for the award of a 2022 William Georgetti Scholarship; the University of Otago for the award of the Ida White Travelling Scholarship; Creative New Zealand for the award of the Jack McGill Scholarship; and the Dame Malvina Major Foundation for the provision of the Arts Excellence Award, which has allowed me to continue my compositional pursuits alongside this musicological research.

A heartfelt thank you to my amazing cohort members, Lali Albrecht, Daniela Graca, and Eleanor Archer, whose friendship and support I cherish always.

To my wonderful parents, Brenda and Gary, for their unwavering support, their celebration of curiosity and creativity, and everything else, I extend my endless thanks.

My final word of thanks goes to Nathaniel, for his steadfast support throughout this process, his insightful feedback on so many elements of this research, and for sharing this exciting journey of learning and music making together.

"Economics aside, it is necessary for the creative artist that he should have a great deal of faith, and faith implies things to believe in. If he cannot find those beliefs current and alive in the community about him, there is danger that his creativeness will dry up from want of spiritual sustenance, unless he be strong enough to carry his own beliefs intact in any sort of community."[1]

Douglas Lilburn, at the Cambridge Summer School of Music,
Aotearoa New Zealand, 1946

Introduction

Neil Thomas Smith and Rachel Thwaites note that traditionally, composers in musicological research emerge "without interrogation of how they were chosen above others who aspired to this, highly competitive, field," and that literature on creative workers largely focuses on how established figures maintain their careers rather than how emerging artists navigate the developing stages of their careers.[2] In my own experience as an Early Career Composer (henceforth "ECC")[3] from Aotearoa New Zealand (henceforth "ANZ"), I have observed that dialogue regarding the professional conditions of composition careers is often framed around maintaining a career or developing upon an already solid career foundation, rather than on the realities of laying that foundation in the first place. On the occasions when discussions do focus on the foundational stages of developing a career in composition, they are often led by composers who – although highly knowledgeable, insightful, and generous in

[1] Douglas Lilburn, "A Search for Tradition" (Cambridge Summer School of Music, Cambridge, New Zealand, January 1946), 27.
[2] Neil Thomas Smith and Rachel Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity: 'Emerging' Composers' Experiences of Opportunity Culture in Contemporary Classical Music," *British Journal of Sociology* 70, no. 2 (2019): 591, doi:10.1111/1468-4446.12359.
[3] I loosely define ECC as composers aged approximately between 25 and 35, and not currently enrolled in an undergraduate music degree.

their support and understanding for ECC – typically began their careers several decades earlier, under very different economic and political circumstances.

As further articulated by Smith and Thwaites, "the very fact that precarity and risk have always existed in [compositional careers] make it crucial to investigate further in order to genuinely map out the precise contours of contemporary insecurity and to shed light on the impact of neoliberal capitalism on artistic work."[4] Examples of historical precarity experienced by composers have been highlighted by Tia DeNora,[5] and other scholars, such as Walter Salmen, who have explored the social status of professional musicians up to the 19th century,[6] who identify that changing social patterns and the resulting impact on infrastructure have long challenged composers seeking a livelihood. I have undertaken this thesis project with the intent to better understand the precarity experienced specifically by ECC in ANZ today as we navigate the early stages of our careers. I contextualize these experiences within historical and contemporary ANZ compositional practice and infrastructure, and the broader history of ANZ's adoption of neoliberal economic policy which has shaped the country's arts scene in indelible ways.

Investigating ECC's experiences of precarity also necessitates understanding the elements of ANZ's compositional ecosystem which offer or challenge ECC's confidence in their career choice. As Douglas Lilburn, the "Father of New Zealand composition,"[7] quoted at the opening of this introduction, explained, the creative artist must have "a great deal of faith," which "implies things to believe in."[8] This thesis explores the historical and contemporary professional conditions composition careers in ANZ which instil, challenge,

[4] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 590.
[5] Tia DeNora, "Musical Patronage and Social Change," in *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023), 37–59, https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520920156-007.
[6] For example, Walter Salmen, ed., *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, trans. Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (Pendragon Press, 1983), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb07750.0001.001.
[7] William Dart, "Composers," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed January 25, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/composers.
[8] Lilburn, "A Search for Tradition," 27.

and offer potential pathways with which to renew the faith of ECC as we navigate the beginnings of a career in music composition.

Research Questions

I began this project with two overarching questions: (1) What are the conditions of the wider ANZ arts sector, of which ECC are a part? and (2) How do ECC experience and navigate these conditions? I went into this project on the assumption that precarious work would be a significant theme within both questions. I approached the definition of "precarity" drawing on the work of Christina Scharff, Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt, Neil T. Smith and Rachel Thwaites, and others who connect precarity to neoliberal labour markets, and which encompasses both material and existential uncertainty and the potential for political mobilisation.[9] I adopt Gill and Pratt's definition of precarity, which Scharff also draws upon: "precarity signifies both the multiplication of precarious, unstable forms of living and, simultaneously, new forms of political struggle and solidarity that reach beyond traditional models of the political party or trade union."[10] Smith and Thwaites explain the significance of such precarity in artistic careers, which are "rarely well remunerated," involve "a large supply of potential labour vying for opportunities, funding, and jobs," and often result in "feelings of expendability, competition, and insecurity": artists "work for a *chance* at success, payment, and fleeting security."[11] I therefore use the word "precarity" throughout this thesis

[9] Christina Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 141–43; Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt, "In the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work," *Theory, Culture & Society* 25, no. 7–8 (2008): 1–30; Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity"; Brett Neilson, "Logistics of Cultural Work," in *Theorizing Cultural Work*, ed. Mark Banks, Rosalind Gill, and Stephanie Taylor (London: Routledge, 2013), 99–112; Brett Neilson and Ned Rossiter, "From Precarity to Precariousness and Back Again: Labour, Life and Unstable Networks," *Fibreculture* 5 (2005), http://five.fibreculturejournal.org/fcj-2022-from-precarity-to-precarious ness-and-back-again-labour-life-and-unstable-networks/; Brett Neilson and Ned Rossiter, "Precarity as a Political Concept, or, Fordism as Exception," *Theory, Culture & Society* 25, no. 7–8 (2008): 51–72; Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff, eds., *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[10] Gill and Pratt, "In the Social Factory?," 3.

[11] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 590–91.

as a term which encompasses precarious work, income, and lifestyle. My assumption of the relevance of precarity to ECC in ANZ was informed by my own experience as an ECC in ANZ (having completed an undergraduate composition degree in 2019, followed by five years of undertaking freelance composition work), documented and highly publicized feedback from the arts community in ANZ,[12] and my prior engagement with scholarly literature which documents experiences of precarity within creative careers.[13] I began my research with an investigation into the history of arts funding in ANZ and how this has been framed by broader economic policy. Questions regarding how the conditions of ANZ's broader arts sector impact composers necessitated further investigation into the history of compositional practice and supporting infrastructure. In seeking to understand the experiences of ECC in and from ANZ today, I undertook interviews with five ECC where I posed a variety of questions related to work, income, and lifestyle precarity and the resulting impact on their creative career decisions. Among other things, I asked them about the availability of opportunities to work with performers; their experiences of general social attitudes toward contemporary compositions; and their opinions about the existing infrastructure and opportunities (see Appendix 3).[14] All these activities carried implications

[12] Andre Chumko, "Call for Public Inquiry into Creative New Zealand," Stuff, October 6, 2022, https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/130082208/call-for-public-inquiry-into-arts-funding-agency-creative-new-zealand; Andre Chumko, "Creative New Zealand Closes Arts Grants Round in Record 24-Hour Period," Stuff, February 13, 2023, https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/131220073/creative-new-zealand-closes-arts-grants-round-in-record-24hour-period; Andre Chumko, "Creative New Zealand to Undertake Widespread Review into Services, Funding into Services, Funding," Stuff, December 21, 2022, https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/130821901/creative-new-zealand-to-undertake-widespread-review-into-services-funding; James Wenley, "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about Creative New Zealand and Arts Funding in Aotearoa," *Theatre Scenes: Aotearoa New Zealand Theatre* (blog), October 18, 2022, http://www.theatrescenes.co.nz/everything-you-ever-wanted-to-know-about-creative-new-zealand-and-arts-funding-in-aotearoa/; Natasha Vermeulen, "State of the Art," Metro Mag, 2023, https://www.metromag.co.nz/arts/arts-music/state-of-the-art; Natasha Vermeulen, "Uneasy Money," Metro Mag, April 8, 2023, https://www.metromag.co.nz/society/uneasy-money; Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals" (Wellington: Kantar Public, November 2022); Creative New Zealand, "Sustainable Careers for Artists and Arts Practitioners: Discussion Document" (Wellington: Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, 2019).

[13] Namely, Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*.

[14] As approved by McGill University REB on 24 April 2024. File number 24-02-010.

in the context of the ECC's careers, encompassing their work, income, and broader livelihoods.

Chapter Descriptions and Overview of Key Theoretical Sources

This thesis is structured within two parts, reflecting the aforementioned overarching research questions. Part One investigates the neoliberal economic policy which has shaped the ANZ creative sector over the past four decades. This Part is comprised of two chapters. Chapter 1 examines the history of ANZ's main funder of arts practitioners and organizations, Creative New Zealand (henceforth "CNZ") within the context of the neoliberal ideology which has dominated ANZ economics since the 1980s. Chapter 1 also outlines the details of CNZ's recent reform to its funding distribution methods which shifts from funding "projects" to funding "people" (announced in November 2023),[15] and explores the significance of this reform in challenging neoliberal notions regarding the role and viability of the arts within a nation's economy. Chapter 2 considers CNZ's recent reform against two other similarly motivated initiatives: the Republic of Ireland's current Basic Income for Artists pilot study,[16] and the Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment scheme which existed in ANZ in the early 2000s.

Key theoretical sources in Part One include Mark Banks, David Hesmondhalgh, and Stuart Hall and Alan O'Shea's work on the impact of neoliberal economics on the cultural and creative industries;[17] Angela McRobbie, Bronwyn Davies, and Rosalind Gill and Andy

[15] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts: New Programmes Deliver Tailored Support for the Arts Community," Creative NZ, November 15, 2023, https://creativenz.govt.nz/news-and-blog/2023/11/14/20/21/20/for-the-arts.

[16] Citizens Information, "Basic Income for the Arts (BIA)," Citizens Information (Citizensinformation.ie), Ireland, accessed September 26, 2023, https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/employment/unemployment-and-redundancy/employment-support-schemes/basic-income-arts/.

[17] Mark Banks and David Hesmondhalgh, "Looking for Work in Creative Industries Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 4 (2009): 415–30; David Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, ed. Tony Bennett and John Frow (London: Sage, 2008), 552–69; David Hesmondhalgh, "User-Generated Content, Free Labour and the Cultural Industries," *Ephemera* 10, no. 3/4 (2010): 267–84; David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker, "'A Very Complicated Version of Freedom': Conditions and Experiences of Creative Labour in Three Cultural Industries," *Poetics* 38, no. 1

Pratt's work which investigates the impact of neoliberalism on artistic careers;[18] and investigations on the effects of neoliberalism on classical music workers specifically, by Gill and Christina Scharff.[19] Roger Horrocks' account of the rise of neoliberalism in ANZ and its impact on the arts sector has also been a vital resource, particularly in connecting the scholarly literature to the ANZ context.[20] Reporting on the state of the arts in ANZ including studies initiated and published by government bodies, and various journalism articles, have also been key sources in developing the contextual discussion in Part One of this thesis.

In Part Two, I shift focus to composition careers specifically. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the state of composition practice in ANZ, outlining key individuals, organizations, and initiatives which have shaped the composition field in ANZ since the early 20th century. This overview is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive compiled to date, and was gathered via websites, newsletters, and reports of various music and heritage organizations, as well as through conversations with members of the ANZ composition and wider classical music community. Chapter 3 also provides a (comprehensive) list of composer residencies which exist and have existed within ANZ: a compendium which, to my knowledge, does not currently exist elsewhere. In Chapter 4, I lay out my methodology for approaching interviews with ANZ ECC, provide an overview of perspectives offered by interview participants, and connect these perspectives to my theoretical research and overall research questions.

(2010): 4–20, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2009.10.001; Stuart Hall and Alan O'Shea, "Common-Sense Neoliberalism," *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 55, no. 1 (2013): 8–24, https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/248/article/531183.

[18] Angela McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies: Notes on the Decline of Political Culture in Speeded up Creative Worlds," *Cultural Studies* 16, no. 4 (2002): 516–31; Bronwyn Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work in Neoliberal Regimes," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 26, no. 1 (March 2005): 1–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300500039310; Gill and Pratt, "In the Social Factory?"

[19] Gill and Scharff, *New Femininities*; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*; Christina Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet: Exploring the Gendered Dynamics of Self-Promotion in the Classical Music Profession," *The Sociological Review* 63, no. 1 (2015): 97–112, https://journals-sagepub-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/doi/epub/10.1111/1467-954X.12243.

[20] Roger Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country: The Arts in New Zealand* (Pokeno: Atuanui Press, 2022).

In Appendices are my Process for Recruitment of ECC interviewees (Appendix 1), the Survey Questions that interviewees completed prior to interviews (Appendix 2), the Interview Questions (Appendix 3), and a Glossary of key terms and acronyms used throughout this thesis (Appendix 4).

Literature Review

While little research has been undertaken exploring the professional conditions for ECC in ANZ, two studies investigating conditions for ECC have been undertaken which present valuable insights to inform ANZ-focused research. Neil Thomas Smith and Rachel Thwaites' and Heidi Westerlund and Guadalupe López-Íñiguez's investigations into the conditions of ECC in the United Kingdom and Finland (respectively) have informed my own approach to interviewing research participants, and highlighted common experiences of ANZ ECC and their international peers.[21] The work of Anna Bull, Scharff, McRobbie, Sarah Proctor-Thomson, Brandon Farnsworth and Rosanna Lovell, and Siobhan McAndrew and Martin Everett have also been important sources in highlighting how neoliberal pressures manifest inequitably on artists, depending on various factors including gender, race, class, and region.[22]

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[21] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity"; Heidi Westerlund and Guadalupe López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music? Bigenerational Finnish Composers' Pathways and Livelihoods in Changing Ecosystems," *Research Studies in Music Education*, October 20, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1177/1321103X221131444.

[22] Anna Bull, *Class, Control, and Classical Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190844356.001.0001; Anna Bull, "El Sistema as a Bourgeois Social Project: Class, Gender, and Victorian Values," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 15, no. 1 (2016): 120–53; Anna Bull and Christina Scharff, "Classical Music as Genre: Hierarchies of Value within Freelance Classical Musicians' Discourses," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 24, no. 3 (2021): 673–89, https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494211006094; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*; Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; Christina Scharff, Everyone's a sellout now, interview by Rebecca Jennings, Vox, February 1, 2024, https://www.vox.com/culture/2024/2/1/24056883/tiktok-self-promotion-artist-career-how-to-build-following; McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies"; Sarah B. Proctor-Thomson, "Feminist Futures of Cultural Work?: Creativity, Gender and Difference in the Digital Media Sector," in *Theorizing Cultural Work*, ed. Mark Banks, Rosalind Gill, and Stephanie Taylor (London: Routledge, 2013), 137–48; Siobhan McAndrew and Martin Everett, "Symbolic versus Commercial Success among British Female Composers," in *Social Networks and Music Worlds* (London: Routledge, 2014), 61–88; Brandon Farnsworth and Rosanna Lovell, "Reflecting on the Work of Gender Relations in New Music: Institutional Critique and Activist

ECC in the United Kingdom

Smith and Thwaites have investigated the career conditions of what they termed "emerging new music composers" in the UK[23] The research was carried out in late 2016 and early 2017, with a sample of 47 survey participants. The authors define the "emerging new music composer" as individuals who are "on the cusp of a professional career," "usually aged between their early twenties and early thirties (although sometimes older)," holding multiple degrees, and with "considerable experience" working with professional musicians.[24] The research was conducted using an online survey platform, to ensure the widest reach, and to protect the participants' anonymity in order to attain "honest and open" answers about success, failure, and process.[25] The survey asked questions about participants' experiences in applying for composition opportunities, positive and negative experiences of composition opportunities, usefulness of different types of opportunities, sense of professional identity. Additionally, the survey collected information to support researchers in analyzing demographics associated with this community.

Smith and Thwaites' findings centre on the concept of composition "opportunity culture" which is the "common currency in the specialized world of aspiring composers," whereby "competitions, workshops, masterclasses and performances are regularly advertised to prospective candidates with the promise of expanding their practice and widening their professional networks."[26] The authors explain that in the UK, opportunities (i.e. courses,

Strategies," in *Voices for Change in the Classical Music Profession: New Ideas for Tackling Inequalities and Exclusions*, ed. Anna Bull, Christina Scharff, and Laudan Nooshin (Oxford University Press, 2023), 0, https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197601211.003.0025.

[23] Smith and Thwaites' "emerging composer" definition is very similar to my own "early career composer" definition. In the interest of using consistent language throughout this thesis, I will apply the term ECC when referring to Smith and Thwaites' study group. Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity."

[24] Smith and Thwaites, 592.

[25] Smith and Thwaites, 595.

[26] Smith and Thwaites, 592.

commissions, and competitions) for ECC are largely provided by individual ensembles or local organizations, with little nation-wide coordination by governmental bodies or national organizations.[27] Reflecting upon participant responses, the authors identified clear feelings of pressure for ECC to participate within opportunity culture, and the impact this participation has on ECCs' sense of confidence and mental health. Statements from participants regarding opportunity culture included "When I receive rejection my confidence takes a dip," and "I wish I didn't need the validation [of acceptance for opportunities]."[28]

Participants also spoke to the challenges regarding remuneration of opportunities for ECC. Fifty percent of survey participants said that they felt that they could not broach matters of remuneration in interviews and applications for composition opportunities.[29] Common among responses were concerns that opportunities offered to emerging composers disregard the professional status of these artists and their work, "essentially reducing highly skilled workers to the status of an apprentice or student."[30] Many composition opportunities available to ECC "pay nothing at all" or pay at "cut-price rates."[31] The connection between remuneration and overall confidence in creative output was made particularly clear in one participant's response: "Writing a large piece takes a long time and not being paid for that makes life very hard. But it's not polite to talk about that. I always write bad music when the opportunities are unpaid because I simply can't allocate enough time to the project."[32]

Expanding these reflections to the broader music industry, Smith and Thwaites identify that opportunity culture allows music organizations to claim to aid ECC, while actually showing little support for music by living composers, and contributing little to fostering a viable climate for new music: "cynically seen, it is a cost-effective way of

[27] Smith and Thwaites, 597.
[28] Smith and Thwaites, 598.
[29] Smith and Thwaites, 600.
[30] Smith and Thwaites, 600.
[31] Smith and Thwaites, 600.
[32] Smith and Thwaites, 601.

supporting their own compositional and educational needs."[33] Furthermore, participants identified that many opportunities available are treated by ensembles and organizations as "one-offs," and do not effectively support the oft-stated aims of opportunities to increase professional networks.[34]

Smith and Twaites clearly connect the inherent precarity of composition careers to neoliberal economic ideology and policy, which intensifies the precarious status of UK ECC. They ultimately concluded that "emerging new music composers benefit rarely, and only temporarily, from state intervention in the arts and instead their precarity becomes intensified through lack of opportunity, lack of interest in or respect for artistic labor, and a wider musical culture attuned to the need to compete over funding and, potentially, exploit those looking to establish themselves."[35]

ECC in Finland

Westerlund and López-Íñiguez have investigated the professional landscapes for composers in Finland.[36] Their narrative-based inquiry explores the changing conditions for Finnish composers through interviews of ten composers from two different generations. Five composers within the study began their careers in the 1970s and 1980s, while five "entered the business more recently," although the authors do not provide further details about this timeframe. All composers were either living in or "professionally strongly linked" to the Finnish music scene. The research involved semi-structured individual interviews of between sixty and ninety minutes, which were conducted remotely (over Zoom) in English. While Smith and Thwaites' UK based research posed particularly direct questions about success, failure, and process, Westerlund and López-Íñiguez's questions were framed in more open

[33] Smith and Thwaites, 602.
[34] Smith and Thwaites, 599.
[35] Smith and Thwaites, 594.
[36] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?"

language, for instance: “Tell us about yourself, your educational background and career?” or “Can you see any changes/emerging new practices in the music industry?.”[37] The research findings were presented in a creative form, through three “composite narrative accounts” in a first-person voice, which the authors describe as “factional stories.”[38] The authors write, “Three factional stories combine and condense individual narrative threads; one representing the older generation of composers (William) and two for the younger generation (Peter and Samantha), to illustrate the diversity of this generational group.”[39] Each factional story is comprised of multiple research participant’s accounts. The authors intend their presentation mode to “illustrate the richness of details and the nuances of agreement between the interviewees without sacrificing the anonymity of individual participants.”[40]

There was a clear identification by both established and emerging composers that current opportunities available in composition are less structured than in previous generations, which “forc[es] the younger composers to search for multiple opportunities, create and use their networks, and find their specific niches.”[41] Perspectives around remuneration and opportunity culture from the Finnish composers echo the perspectives of the UK composers in Smith and Thwaites’ project. Smith and Thwaites explain there are “two vital aspects that are intimately bound to each other when considering the career trajectory of composers: first, that composition opportunities by no means guarantee ongoing relationships with the funders, ensembles, and musicians involved, and second, that the true means by which such professional contacts and opportunities are gained remain opaque.”[42] While the roles and responsibilities of funders, ensembles and other organizations offering opportunities to composers were clearly noted as an issue, the Finnish participants also

[37] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 3.
[38] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 4.
[39] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 4.
[40] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 4.
[41] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 10.
[42] Smith and Thwaites, “The Composition of Precarity,” 604.

pointed to the significance of the tertiary music education system in preparing composers for their creative careers. It was noted that today, a composer studying in the Finnish higher education system is under intense pressure to complete their studies within a given timeframe, which results in an increased workload and allows less time to develop artistic ideas.[43] Despite perceptions around an unmanageable workload in tertiary education, the younger composers in the study nevertheless identified the need for the educational curriculum to include skills such as "writing and articulating one's own goals in better ways, developing networking skills, or writing successful funding applications."[44]

Westerlund and López-Íñiguez highlight that the younger generation of composers in Finland embodies the notion of the "protean careerist" who is "understood to have strong internal career motivations based on (a) self-directedness aligned with personal values, (b) occupational self-efficacy beliefs, and (c) a strategic mindset for success despite an insecure future."[45] This was exemplified through a number of responses from participants who framed compositional career success as a process of navigation through a myriad of creative ecosystems which had no guarantee of safety or continuity, but which nevertheless provide opportunities for learning. Rather than critiquing the nature of these profession-related ecosystems, participants pointed to the need to rethink the models that tertiary music education institutions provide for students' learning, to allow for more flexible curricula that better prepares students for the realities of a composition career.

Composition Careers within the broader context of Classical Music and Neoliberalism

[43] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 10.
[44] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 10.
[45] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, 10.

As demonstrated in both the UK and Finnish studies, ECC in different countries face challenges in establishing their careers in the context of neoliberalism.[46] Smith and Thwaites hypothesize that the lack of existing research on ECC may be due to the dominance of the neoliberal commitment to meritocratic competition which assumes that "talent" will "rise to the top."[47] Both sets of authors note that this neoliberal ideology evades consideration of systemic inequalities which affect individuals' participation and experiences; however, neither Smith and Thwaites nor Westerlund and López-Íñiguez analyse how ECCs' experiences are shaped by demographic factors such as gender, race, or socioeconomics. It may be that the authors wished to focus on holistic, generalised experiences of ECC (a group which is under researched), rather than on specific factors of gender, race and class – as Scharff has done on the broader classical music sector.

With regard to my own investigation of conditions for ECC in ANZ, like Smith and Thwaites, I am primarily researching the professional conditions for ECC as a group, rather than focusing on factors of gender, race, and class. However, ahead of my interviews, I considered it important to engage with literature examining how artists from different demographics experience making art and building a career within a neoliberal environment. These publications informed my responses to, and understanding of, the perspectives that my interview participants offered.

McRobbie asserts that despite the seemingly utopian qualities of artistic work as a field of creative expression, conditions within the creative sector may actually "reproduce older patterns of marginalization […] while also disallowing any space or time for such issues to reach articulation."[48] Importantly, the expectations on ECC to work without the

[46] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity"; Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?"; Gill and Scharff, *New Femininities*; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*.
[47] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 159.
[48] McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies," 523.

promise of financial reward (as identified in both the UK and Finnish studies), can lead to barriers for certain people hoping to develop a career in composition. While unpaid work in the early stages of a creative career allows artists to acquire the social capital which *may* assist in finding further employment,[49] the strains this expectation places on ECC in the short term, and the lack of promise of reward for this risk in the medium- to long-term, may prevent many from pursuing a career in composition. This precarity leads to disadvantage to some, including women, people of colour, and those of lower socioeconomic classes.[50] While contemporary rhetoric in the creative industries (such as equal opportunity policies) purports to support the inclusion of previously underrepresented people, this rhetoric can be constraining in its assumptions and implications. For example, Proctor-Thomson has identified that despite the dominance of inclusivity rhetoric and policy within the UK digital industries, "there is little evidence that identification of women's diversity and assumed creative potential actually positions them favourably in cultural work domains."[51] In addition, Bull has highlighted the strong link between middle class culture and classical music education, most notably, the requirement of long-term investment in musical learning and participation which is required for musical success.[52] Bull and Scharff have also argued that classical music institutions "(re-)produce distinctions and hierarchies between genres,"[53] which ultimately affects how individuals' identities are materialized, and reinforces existing inequalities within classical music.[54]

Classical music as a genre, and the various disciplines and institutions which operate within the classical music sphere, has a long history of institutional assumptions and

[49] Sabina Siebert and Fiona Wilson, "All Work and No Pay: Consequences of Unpaid Work in the Creative Industries," *Work, Employment and Society* 27, no. 4 (2013): 713, https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012474708.
[50] Siebert and Wilson, 712.
[51] Proctor-Thomson, "Feminist Futures of Cultural Work?," 138.
[52] Bull, "El Sistema as a Bourgeois Social Project: Class, Gender, and Victorian Values."
[53] Bull and Scharff, "Classical Music as Genre," 683.
[54] Bull and Scharff, 686.

limitations based on the parameters of gender, race and class. McAndrew and Everett's investigation into the success of composers in Britain highlights the contours and expectations at play within UK institutions such as the Proms and professional recording opportunities.[55] The authors examined and modelled the compositional outcomes of 505 composers born from 1870 to 1969 inclusive, who were either primarily educated or primarily active in Britain. The results of the dataset indicated that being an immigrant composer, and/or having more professional roles besides an identity as a composer (i.e. also being a teacher, conductor, or performer) ultimately led to lower success in being programmed in the Proms.[56] Furthermore, the authors found that Scottish, Welsh, and Irish composers tended to have fewer recordings of professional quality than English composers.[57]

In addition to the challenges specific to classical music as an industry, the tools for promotion of the entrepreneurial subject are often themselves fraught with challenges. Scharff notes that difference was often framed by her research participants (female classical music workers in the UK and Germany) as something that can be commodified and incorporated within a performer's "brand." Within a neoliberal framework, "diversity is primarily regarded as an economic value."[58] Various aspects of the self were commodified by Scharff's research participants, including racial differences, for example, by using racial markers such as hair style to "stand out" against their competition and create a "unique selling point."[59] However, as Scharff crucially identifies, "the resources to become an entrepreneurial subject are unevenly distributed."[60] Even the most contemporary online promotional spaces such as TikTok or Instagram, which are free and supposedly accessible for anyone with a device to promote themselves and their work on, can be exclusionary.

[55] McAndrew and Everett, "Symbolic versus Commercial Success among British Female Composers."
[56] McAndrew and Everett, 81.
[57] McAndrew and Everett, 81–82.
[58] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 118.
[59] Scharff, 117–18.
[60] Scharff, 115.

Scharff explains that "the barriers [of platforms such as TikTok] are much more hidden [than within other sites of entrepreneurial promotion]: You have to know how to present yourself and how to create visuals that are appealing […] It's harder for racial minorities, women, trans people, or other minoritized groups, because if you're already vulnerable in one way or another, that can backfire."[61] Drawing on Ahmed's work in feminist theory,[62] Smith and Thwaites in their examination of conditions for ECC in the UK also acknowledge that "certain bodies 'fit' more within the contours and expectations of certain institutions and places."[63] Brandon Farnsworth and Rosanna Lovell consider how individualism (which they connect to the concept of "musical genius"), alongside race-, gender-, and class-based legacies in classical music, problematically manifest within contemporary classical music today:

> Focusing too much on music as the creation of one singular individual comes at the cost of thinking about it as the product of a specific set of social, historical, institutional, even technological circumstances. Because these conditions have been ignored while universalizing its appeal and accessibility, the [contemporary classical music] scene has ignored the fact that it strongly favours the music of White, 'Western,' bourgeois male subjects.[64]

Despite this known history, the institutional embeddedness of recognition and reward for entrepreneurial success continues to reinforce the notion that individuals who find themselves marginalized are in that position due to their own inabilities.[65]

Concluding remarks

Precarity is a common theme in both Smith and Thwaites' study of ECC in the UK, and Westerlund and López-Íñiguez's study in Finland. It is notable that ECC reflections on precarious composition work in Smith and Thwaites' study tend to direct criticism toward the

[61] Scharff, Everyone's a sellout now.
[62] Sarah Ahmed, "A Phenomenology of Whiteness," *Feminist Theory* 8, no. 2 (2007): 153.
[63] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 596.
[64] Farnsworth and Lovell, "Reflecting on the Work of Gender Relations in New Music," 267.
[65] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 115.

overall neoliberal model within which the arts operates, while in Westerlund and López-Íñiguez's study, ECC largely critiqued the failures of universities to adequately prepare them for the realities of a composition career. There are various factors which may affect these different focuses, including the quantity of opportunities available in the respective countries, the availability of other work or government assistance to supplement ECCs' livelihoods, expectations around the role of education providers, broader social perceptions of artistic work, and the wider social, political, and economic conditions of these two countries. These are important factors which have informed my research of the ANZ historical and contemporary arts sector – including music composition – in the context of the rise of neoliberalism in ANZ, and informed how I framed my interview questions (see Appendix 3). Importantly, these studies highlight two key considerations for my ANZ-based research. Firstly, they confirm that artistic infrastructure (i.e. university music education, and arts ensembles and organizations) and broader economic policy are factors which affect the professional conditions of ECC internationally and thus warrant investigation within ANZ. Secondly, they affirm the importance of site-specific research in better understanding the unique and nuanced conditions which affect the professional conditions of ECC. My research contributes to the conversation on conditions for composers in the 21st century, and makes a start in addressing the absence of investigation and presentation of the professional conditions of ANZ composers, particularly for those at the beginning of their career.

PART 1 | NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICY AND CREATIVE CAREERS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

CHAPTER 1 Creative New Zealand (CNZ): history, reform, and role in developing artistic practice within ANZ's neoliberal creative industries

CNZ is the main body that arts practitioners, including composers, and most arts organizations in ANZ interact with: "CNZ matters to a great many people."[66] This chapter outlines CNZ's history and contemporary functions and mission, contextualizing these within broader ANZ cultural and economic policy, including the rise of neoliberalism via "Rogernomics" in the 1980s. This chapter also examines recent reforms to CNZ's funding distribution model, informed by ANZ and scholarship on the impact of neoliberalism on experiences of precarity – in relation to finances, work, and livelihood - within creative careers.

The impact of neoliberalism on the way art is funded, and as a result, on the professional conditions of artists, is explored at length by Scharff in her examination of classical music careers in the UK and Germany,[67] as well as by Smith and Thwaites in their examination of the precarious working lives of ECC in the United Kingdom,[68] and Westerlund and López-Íñiguez in their investigation into the changing careers of Finnish composers,[69] all of which are explored further in Part Two. I undertake the following examination of the economic conditions impacting ANZ arts through an analysis of CNZ's role in the ongoing implementation of and challenge to neoliberal ideology.

CNZ History

The earliest form of a national arts agency in ANZ was established in the 1940s in celebration of the centennial of Te Tiriti o Waitangi / the Treaty of Waitangi (ANZ's

[66] Vermeulen, "State of the Art."
[67] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*.
[68] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity."
[69] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?"

founding document between Māori and the British Crown). The Government at the time established a Cultural Office within the Department of Internal affairs, which included a film unit, a national orchestra, and a literary fund.[70] The Government established the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council in 1963, which replaced the Cultural Office and from then on operated autonomously from the Department of Internal Affairs. Over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, according to ANZ Ministry for Culture and Heritage accounts, the perceived value of the arts shifted from its putative aesthetic and spiritual qualities, toward broader social participation, a model which supported both "popular" and "high" arts.[71] Restructuring occurred in the early 1990s because of increased concern for Te Tiriti o Waitangi commitments, which resulted in the creation of separate general and Māori arts boards in 1993.[72] In 1994, the Council was restructured as a Crown Entity (which maintained the co-existence of the general and Māori arts boards), and given the new official title Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa.[73] It is more colloquially known by its trading name "Creative New Zealand" or "CNZ." Details of CNZ's contemporary statutory functions and mission are outlined in the following section.

CNZ Functions and Mission

The mission statement of CNZ declares that the organization "encourages, promotes and supports the arts in New Zealand for the benefit of all New Zealanders."[74] Distribution of arts funding is just one of CNZ's four main functions. The other three functions are capability building, international presentation and cultural exchange, and advocacy. CNZ's capability

[70] Martin Durrant, "Arts Funding and Support," Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga, October 22, 2014), https://teara.govt.nz/en/arts-funding-and-support.
[71] Durrant.
[72] Durrant.
[73] Parliamentary Counsel Office, "Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994," No 19 (as at 03 September 2007) § (1994), https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1994/0019/1.0/DLM330162.html.
[74] Creative New Zealand, "What We Do," Creative NZ, accessed March 14, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/about-creative-nz/what-we-do.

building outputs include provision of in-person and online resources to "help artists and practitioners develop professionally, grow audiences and markets and manage their organizations."[75] CNZ's international presentation and cultural exchange activities involve connecting ANZ art and artists with international markets and audiences through presentations, touring, and other relationship building activities. Additionally, CNZ also advocates on behalf of the arts to central and local government and other interest groups. This involves undertaking arts sector research, making submissions to the Government on issues affecting the sector, advocating for diverse artistic traditions, and building an evidence base for public value of the arts.[76] Further in this chapter, for instance, I examine some of CNZ's evidence-based research, including investigation of artists' income, satisfaction levels, and perceived availability of opportunities within the arts in ANZ, and the public value of the arts.

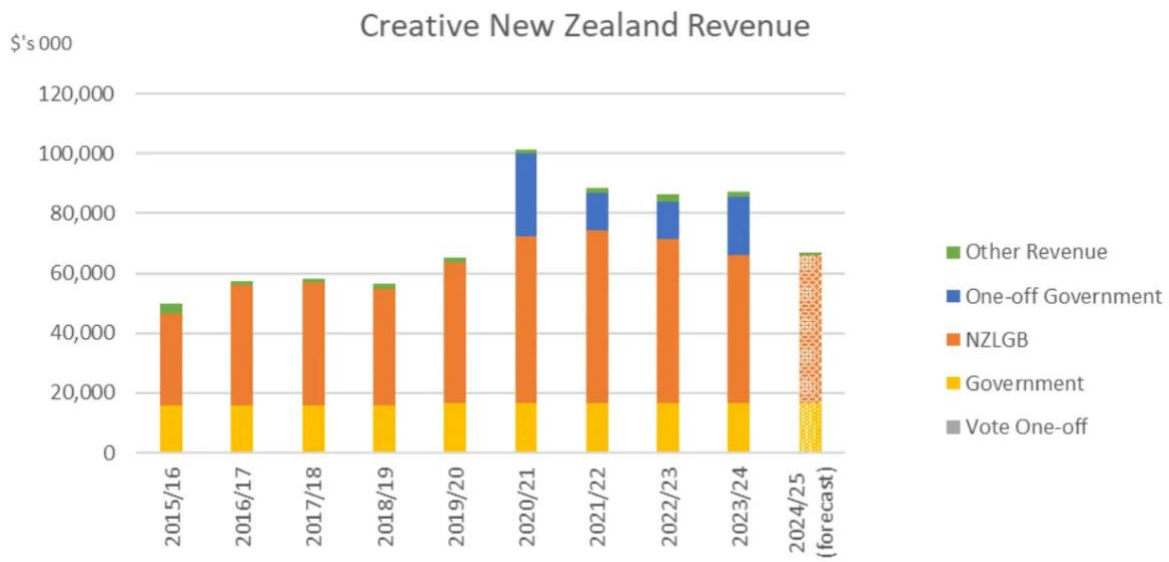
How CNZ receives and distributes funds

Financial support for the arts in ANZ comes from a variety of sources, including direct allocation of the Government's arts culture and heritage budget, contributions from the New Zealand Lotteries Commission, and philanthropy from corporate and private individual patrons. At the governmental level, the national ANZ Government assigns funding to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage each year through the "Arts, Culture and Heritage" Budget Vote. Most of these funds go toward large-scale services such as the Royal New Zealand Ballet, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, museums including Te Papa, public broadcasting, and the national film archive, as well as investment in Crown cultural agencies and heritage assets, and capital projects such as venues.[77]

[75] Creative New Zealand.
[76] Creative New Zealand.
[77] See for example: Government of New Zealand, "Vote Arts, Culture and Heritage - Social Services and Community Sector - Estimates of Appropriations 2022/23" (Wellington, New Zealand: Government of New

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage also diverts some of its funding to CNZ. Funding from the Ministry makes up approximately 30% of CNZ's total budget, with the remaining 70% coming from the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board ("NZLGB").[78] Figure 1.1 below provides a breakdown of CNZ's revenue since 2015/16 (values given are in New Zealand dollars: $1 NZD is approximately $0.80 CAD).[79] In addition to its regular revenue, from 2020/21 to 2023/24, CNZ also received various one-off Government grants over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic "to buffer and support the arts community" (including an Emergency Response Package for artists) and from the Ministry for Culture and Heritage Cultural Sector Regeneration Fund.[80]

Figure 1.1: Creative New Zealand Revenue 2015-2025



Zealand, May 19, 2022), https://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/estimates/vote-arts-culture-and-heritage-social-services-and-community-sector-estimates-appropriations-2022-23.

[78] Stephen Wainwright, "Giving You a View of Our Financial Picture," Creative NZ, October 26, 2023, https://creativenz.govt.nz/news-and-blog/2023/10/25/22/06/41/giving-you-a-view-of-our-financial-picture.

[79] Wainwright.

[80] Wainwright.

CNZ then distributes funding to arts individuals and organizations. In 2022/23, 18% of CNZ funding went toward music projects,[81] although there is no reporting available on what proportion of this funding was in support of ANZ composition. Additionally, CNZ delegates some of this funding to city and district councils to distribute in their respective areas via the Creative Communities Scheme.[82]

Many arts organizations also seek corporate sponsorship from local businesses or private individuals.[83] Philanthropy contributes approximately $40 million NZD ($33.17 million CAD) to the arts in ANZ annually, with much of this directed toward the fine arts.[84]

CNZ also manages several discipline-specific funds, including funds dedicated to music. The Edwin Carr Foundation Scholarship was established in 2004 to commemorate the late ANZ composer Edwin Carr (1926-2003). CNZ is the trustee of the Foundation and administers the annual awarding of the scholarship to support one to two ECC from ANZ pursuing composition studies abroad. Twenty-six ECC have received the scholarship to date, undertaking composition studies across the United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada, Germany, France, and The Netherlands.[85] The value of the award varies; it is based on the demonstrated need of successful applicants, and ranges between $2500 NZD (approximately $2060 CAD) and $30,000 NZD (approximately $24,800 CAD).[86] CNZ also administers the Butland Music Foundation Scholarship and the New Zealand/Aotearoa Music

[81] Creative New Zealand, "Annual Report 2022/23 for the Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa (Creative New Zealand), for the Year Ending 30 June 2023" (Wellington, New Zealand: Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, October 2023), 35, https://creativenz.govt.nz/about-creative-nz/corporate-documents/annual-report-2022---23.
[82] Creative New Zealand, "Creative Communities Scheme," Creative NZ, accessed March 14, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/creative-communities-scheme.
[83] Durrant, "Arts Funding and Support."
[84] Vermeulen, "Uneasy Money."
[85] Creative New Zealand, "Edwin Carr Foundation Scholarship," Creative NZ, accessed March 14, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/results/bursaries-fellowships-scholarships-and-residencies/edwin-carr-foundation-scholarship.
[86] Creative New Zealand.

Scholarship, to which ANZ musicians, including composers, can apply for music studies domestically or abroad.

CNZ Funding Distribution Model Reform

Following calls for change from the ANZ creative community in late 2022, CNZ undertook a review of its funding allocation systems and, in November 2023, announced a total overhaul of the way that arts funding in ANZ is distributed [87]. This section outlines the key attributes of the CNZ funding distribution prior to reform ("previous funding model"), the challenges against this previous funding model and calls for change, and the known details of the newly reformed funding distribution model ("reformed funding model"), which is being implemented in 2024, with various funding rounds being opened for the first time throughout the course of the year I then discuss how the previous and reformed funding models connect with literature on precarity and wellbeing in creative careers (and the connection of these experiences to neoliberal economic regimes), including academic scholarship and findings from international Government-led initiatives.

Previous Funding Model, (prior to 2024) and Calls for Reform (2022-2023)

The previous funding model of contestable project funding has existed in more or less the same format for at least 15 years.[88] Under the previous funding model, the main pathways to apply for CNZ arts funding were:

- The Annual Arts Grants, which comprised approximately 55% of CNZ's investment. These grants prioritized supporting key arts organizations with funding that recurred

[87] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts."
[88] The earliest available public documents from CNZ date back to 2008, which lay out a framework reflective of that which was in operation until the end of 2023. Such a framework was likely in place prior to 2008, based on discussions I have had with long-established arts practitioners, although I have not been able to access CNZ sources to confirm this.

over three-year cycles. Application was by invitation from CNZ, although invitation did not guarantee funding. There were two types of Annual Arts Grants: Toi Tōtara Haemata (arts leadership) and Toi Uru Kahikatea (arts development).

- The General Arts Grants rounds, which usually occurred four times per year. Arts organizations not invited to apply (or unsuccessful in their applications) for the Annual Arts Grants could apply to General rounds, as could individual practitioners of all disciplines and experience levels.

CNZ met significant public criticism in 2022 after several controversial funding decisions were made, including the defunding of the Shelia Winn Shakespeare Festival, Arts on Tour, and Wellington's Cuba Dupa Festival, which had previously been regularly funded through the Annual Arts Grants.[89] The success rate in the Annual Arts Grants in 2022 was 46%, in comparison to 80% in 2021.[90] Many unsuccessful Annual Arts Grants applicants then applied to the General Arts Grants, adding to an already high number of applicants, and increasing overall competition facing smaller organizations and individuals.[91] Application numbers in the General Arts Grants rounds of 2022 were capped at 250, in order to manage administrative processes and speed up decision making. However, the high number of applicants led to the cap being reached in less than 24 hours, with many applications disrupted by the overloaded online portal.[92] Theatre Lecturer at the Victoria University of Wellington, Dr. James Wenley, explained that various flaws within CNZ's application system were "creating inequity and not supporting the country's arts ecology."[93]

[89] Chumko, "Call for Public Inquiry into Creative New Zealand."
[90] Wenley, "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about Creative New Zealand and Arts Funding in Aotearoa."
[91] Tatiana Hotere, "It Shouldn't Be Like This," The Big Idea, May 1, 2023, https://thebigidea.nz/stories/it-shouldnt-be-like-this; The Big Idea Editor, "Creative NZ Announce New Funding Model," The Big Idea, November 15, 2023, https://thebigidea.nz/stories/creative-nz-announce-new-funding-model; Chumko, "CNZ Closes Arts Grants Round in Record 24-Hour Period"; Chumko, "Call for Public Inquiry into Creative New Zealand."
[92] Chumko, "CNZ Closes Arts Grants Round in Record 24-Hour Period."
[93] Chumko.

Reacting to the widespread backlash, in March and April 2023 CNZ facilitated 18 in-person workshops and 6 online workshops; it also invited various other forms of feedback from artists, arts organizations, and ANZ citizens "about their aspirations for the future [of arts in ANZ] and how to get there."[94] Five key themes emerged from the feedback:

- *Connection:* Key in this theme was the need for CNZ to build relationships with arts organizations and practitioners which is based on trust, respect, and longevity. A key piece of feedback was that the "one size fits all" approach to arts funding in ANZ fails to acknowledge the different needs of different arts practitioners and groups.
- *Accessibility:* Many arts organizations and practitioners expressed a desperate request to make communications and applications with CNZ more straightforward.
- *Autonomy:* Communities emphasized their desire to have a stronger decision-making role about the arts development activities in, by, for, and with their community.
- *Leadership:* A request for CNZ to use its legal, political, and economic status to facilitate relationships between artists, arts organizations, territorial authorities, local Governments, and businesses.
- *Advocacy:* Calling CNZ to more effectively advocate on behalf of artists to the Government, to foster better understanding and respect for the arts in ANZ.

Responding to these concerns, in November 2023 CNZ announced a total overhaul of the way that arts funding would be distributed.[95]

[94] Creative New Zealand, "The Future of Arts Development in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Wellington, New Zealand: Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, April 2023), 1, https://creativenz.govt.nz/-/media/project/creative-nz/creativenz/pagedocuments/future-of-arts-development/20230508_future_for_arts_development_report.pdf.
[95] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts."

Reformed Funding Model, (in effect from March 2024)

The reformed funding model replaces the Annual Arts Grants and the General Arts Grants. It includes seven new funding opportunities (plus one opportunity without funding attached), tailored to three distinct groups: early career artists, artists and practitioners, and arts groups and organizations. The eight available opportunities are:

- *Early Career Fund:*[96] up to $10,000 NZD (approximately $8,300 CAD) each for "early career artists" (term left undefined) to support the creation, presentation or distribution of work; sharing of knowledge and skills with others; or mentor fees. This is the only fund specifically directed at early career artists, although they will be able to apply to some of the other funds which are open to all practitioners. Applications opened on March 11 2024, and there is no closing date. Applicants can apply at any time and will be notified within 10-12 weeks of applying. In the first reporting of results since the fund opened, 37 applicants received funding, out of a total of 87 applications.[97] The annual number of awards under the Early Career Fund remains unclear.
- *Development Fund for Artists and Practitioners:*[98] up to $8000 NZD (approximately $6513 CAD) each for artists and practitioners to cover fees and costs associated with professional and creative development activities such as research, training, coaching, mentoring, or attending workshops and conferences nationally or internationally. This fund was open for applications from March 7 2024 until April 4 2024, with results announced on May 22 2024. 123 applicants received funding, out of a total of 292

[96] Creative New Zealand, "Early Career Fund - Toi Tipu Toi Rea | Creative New Zealand," Creative NZ, accessed November 27, 2023, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/early-career-fund---toi-tipu-toi-rea.
[97] Creative New Zealand, "Funding Rounds," Creative NZ, accessed July 20, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/results/funding-rounds.
[98] Creative New Zealand, "Development Fund for Artists and Practitioners," Creative NZ, accessed April 8, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/development-fund-for-artists-and-practitioners.

applications.[99] The next round has not yet been scheduled and it is unclear how many rounds will be held or awards will be offered each year.

- *Creative Fellowship Fund:*[100] a grant of either $25,000 NZD (approximately $20,350 CAD) or $50,000 NZD (approximately $40,700 CAD), depending on the period of time and cost of resources applied for, which "supports artists, practitioners and collaboratives for a period of time in which to think, explore, create, and develop fresh ideas and approaches in their work." The fund offers a contribution toward living costs, materials, and resources. There are two application rounds scheduled for 2024: from March 18 to April 28 with results announced in June, and from August 5 to September 17, with results due in December. In the first application round, 55 applicants received funding, out of a total of 612 applications.[101]
- *Creative Impact Fund:*[102] A grant to "support artists, practitioners, and collaboratives to make, share and present work that enriches audiences and communities encouraging understanding and participation." Applicants can apply for up to $50,000 NZD (approximately $40,700 CAD) or between $50,000 and $125,000 NZD (up to approximately $101,770 CAD). Applications for more than $50,000 NZD are required to show revenue from other sources. In a twelve month-period, awardees can receive either the Creative Impact Grant twice up to a maximum of $100,000 NZD, or receive one Creative Impact grant over $50,000 NZD, or receive a maximum of $125,000 NZD across the Creative Fellowship Fund and the Creative Impact Fund combined. There are two application rounds scheduled for 2024: from March 18 to April 16 with results announced in June, and from August 5 to September 17 with

[99] Creative New Zealand, "Funding Rounds."
[100] Creative New Zealand, "Creative Fellowship Fund," Creative NZ, accessed April 8, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/creative-fellowship-fund.
[101] Creative New Zealand, "Funding Rounds."
[102] Creative New Zealand, "Creative Impact Fund," Creative NZ, accessed April 8, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/creative-impact-fund.

results due in December. In the first round, 39 applicants received funding, out of a total of 322 applications.[103]

- *Development Fund for Arts Organizations and Groups:*[104] An award of up to $20,000 NZD (approximately $16,280 CAD) for "organizations and groups to build their capability in key areas to create long term success." Applicant groups must have a particular purpose or vision, and be engaged in ongoing activity, although there is no expectation for all applicants to have a formal strategic plan, professional staff, or be a legal entity. There is one application round scheduled for 2024, which opened on April 22, and closed on May 23. Results were announced in July 2024: 33 applicants received funding, out of a total of 93 applications. [105]
- *Arts Organizations and Groups Fund:*[106] An award of either up to $50,000 NZD or between $50,000 NZD (approximately $40,700 CAD) and $125,000 NZD (approximately $101,770 CAD) "for organizations and groups to deliver a programme of work for up to two years." This fund is intended for the same group of applicants as the Development Fund for Arts Organizations and Groups. While the Development Fund is intended for capability building initiatives, the Arts Organizations and Groups Fund is intended for operational or artistic costs. There is one application round scheduled for 2024, which opens on April 29, and closes on May 29. Results are due in August. It is unclear how many awards will be offered.

[103] Creative New Zealand, "Funding Rounds."
[104] Creative New Zealand, "Development Fund for Arts Organisations and Groups," Creative NZ, accessed April 9, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/development-fund-for-arts-organisations-and-groups.
[105] Creative New Zealand, "Funding Rounds."
[106] Creative New Zealand, "Arts Organisations and Groups Fund - up to $50,000," Creative NZ, accessed April 10, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/arts-organisations-and-groups-fund--up-to-$50000; Creative New Zealand, "Arts Organisations and Groups Fund - $50,000 to $125,000," Creative NZ, accessed April 10, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/arts-organisations-and-groups-fund---$50000-to-$125000.

- *Residencies, Internships and Fellowships Fund:*[107] funding which enables ANZ based organizations, trusts, groups, or individuals to offer a residency, fellowship, or internship for ANZ artists and practitioners for up to three years. The costs applied for may include an artist's stipend/wage, travel and accommodation, and materials. The amount of total funding available to be distributed is yet to be confirmed. There is one funding round scheduled for 2024, which opens on July 29 and closes on September 5, with results due in November.
- *New Leaders Programme:*[108] A program supporting "new and emerging leaders to grow their skills and build peer support networks leading to strong, sustainable arts communities and organizations." This award does not offer monetary compensation. Instead, the programme offers a peer support network and capability building opportunities, focusing on skills in health and safety, human resources, governance, strategic planning, regulatory compliance, financial literacy, and public relations. There is one application round scheduled for 2024. Applications open July 8 2024, and close on August 21 2024, with results due in October.

Contextualising the CNZ reform within scholarship on Neoliberalism and the Arts

Scholars have pointed to the increasing influence of neoliberalism, entrepreneurial values, individualization, and reliance on commercial sponsorship within the UK cultural industries,[109] arguing that these occurred as a result of "the convergence of the forcefulness of

[107] Creative New Zealand, "Residencies, Internships and Fellowships Fund," Creative NZ, accessed April 10, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/residencies-internships-and-fellowships-fund.
[108] Creative New Zealand, "New Leaders Programme," Creative NZ, accessed April 9, 2024, https://creativenz.govt.nz/funding-and-support/all-opportunities/new-leaders-programme.
[109] Banks and Hesmondhalgh, "Looking for Work in Creative Industries Policy"; Nicholas Garnham, "From Cultural to Creative Industries: An Analysis of the Implications of the 'Creative Industries' Approach to Arts and Media Policy Making in the United Kingdom," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 15–29; Gill and Pratt, "In the Social Factory?"; Gill and Scharff, *New Femininities*; Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries"; Hesmondhalgh, "User-Generated Content, Free Labour and the Cultural Industries"; McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies"; Angela McRobbie, *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and*

neo-liberal economics put in place by the Thatcher Government from 1979 onwards"[110]. Economics and politics in ANZ responded to UK trends, with Roger Douglas, the Minister of Finance between 1984 and 1988 in the Fourth Labour Government introducing a series of neoliberal economic reforms, which would come to be known as "Rogernomics." Rogernomics has been described as a series of reforms that made "Thatcher look timid,"[111] in which "any state activity with a potentially commercial function was corporatized."[112]

Leading ANZ arts researcher Roger Horrocks explains that the impact of Rogernomics has fundamentally shaped, and is still influential within, the arts in ANZ today.[113] Horrocks notes how neoliberalism resulted in a gradual shifting of language over the course of the next three decades, including reframing "the arts" to "the creative industries," and a move away from earlier political focuses of "public service" and "welfare state" values toward commercial concepts including "user pays" and "monetarization."[114] By the 2000s, arts organizations were increasingly pressured to establish "mission statements," urged along by political appointees to funding bodies, who often came from the business world and saw art as something which occurred on "production lines."[115] Importantly artists became seen as "brands," and works of art became regarded as "products."[116] With the rise of digital technologies in the early 2000s, neoliberal pressures also led to an undermining of existing infrastructure which was built upon analogue technology and long-lasting objects, resulting in a shift toward more "rapid, transient, mashed-up forms" of art and culture.[117] To

Social Change (London: Sage, 2009); Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*.

[110] McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies," 518.

[111] Georg Menz, "Making Thatcher Look Timid: The Rise and Fall of the New Zealand Model.," in *Internalizing Globalization: The Rise of Neoliberalism and the Decline of National Varieties of Capitalism*, ed. Susanne Soederberg, Georg Menz, and Philip Cerny (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 49.

[112] Jane Kelsey, *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment?* (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1997), 23.

[113] Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*.

[114] Horrocks, 163.

[115] Horrocks, xxii.

[116] Horrocks, 331.

[117] Horrocks, 330–31.

justify state support for the arts in post-Rogernomics ANZ, politicians still largely speak to the potential benefits to business, employment, or tourism.[118] Neoliberalism has thus reduced political agency in ANZ down to two identities: the individual entrepreneur and the individual consumer.[119] Horrocks explains the impact of neoliberalism on early career artists in ANZ: "Many young people now approach an arts career in neoliberal terms. They see themselves not as joining an artistic tradition much larger than themselves, but rather as undertaking an individual, competitive enterprise."[120]

Horrocks' concerns of the influence of neoliberalism on the arts echo those raised outside of ANZ. For example, Hesmondhalgh has also highlighted concern around the framing of the arts as "creative industries", arguing that the term represents a refusal of critical analysis of complex cultural, social and political conditions and "signals a considerable degree of accommodation with neoliberalism."[121] In the ANZ context, we see this refusal at play in the limiting of analysis to the potential benefits of the arts to business, employment, and tourism, as identified by Horrocks.[122] The impact of the neoliberal framing of the arts also affects the ways that individual actors see themselves within the wider sector. Scharff employs a Foucauldian approach to critiquing neoliberalism, explaining that neoliberalism "constructs individuals as entrepreneurial actors in every sphere of life,"[123] a notion that Horrocks has also identified within the arts in ANZ. [124] Through her interviews with female classical music workers in the UK and Germany, Scharff identified a commonly

[118] Horrocks, 416.
[119] Horrocks, 342.
[120] Horrocks, 342.
[121] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 552.
[122] See for example Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, "Arts and Creative Sector Economic Profiles 2023," Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2023, https://www.mch.govt.nz/publications/arts-and-creative-sector-economic-profiles-2023; Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, "New Zealanders' Cultural Participation in 2023" (Wellington, New Zealand: Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, December 2023), https://www.mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2024-03/new-zealanders-cultural-participation-in-2023%E2%80%8B_0.pdf.
[123] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 5; Scharff, 113–39.
[124] Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*, 342.

felt pressure of creative professionals to cultivate a "brand" and to market themselves as a "product".[125] Additionally, Scharff identified that while many participants expressed anxiety about the pressures and precarity of their work (which Scharff links to neoliberalism), participants did not connect a need for social change to political action: "Instead, desires for change are directed away from the socio-political sphere and turned inwards, thereby calling on the self to transform itself."[126] Within a neoliberal creative sector, individuals are more likely to critique their own practice and abilities, rather than critique the structural, systemic cultural, social, and political conditions which impact their artistic practice, therefore continuing to accommodate and perpetuate neoliberalism.

McRobbie considers the concept of "individualization" within the neoliberal model, and explains that while "individualization is not about individuals per se, as about new, more fluid, less permanent social relations seemingly marked by choice or options."[127] She argues that the neoliberal cultural sphere can therefore provide "an ideal space for young people to explore such individualized possibilities."[128] However, while individualization found through neoliberalism can offer a sense of openness and fluidity, she asserts that "this convergence has to be understood as one of contestation and antagonism."[129] Davies goes a step further, arguing that the perceived ability for exploration of possibilities which is often associated with neoliberal individualization is in fact an illusion which has negative structural implications: "buying into neoliberal agendas means an illusion of increased autonomy and it means less money for public institutions […] money is moved from public institutions to the private sector as an integral part of shifting responsibility to the private realm and to individuals."[130] As a result, artistic work becomes casualized and based around project-linked

[125] Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 65–67.
[126] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 113.
[127] McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies," 518.
[128] McRobbie, 518.
[129] McRobbie, 518.
[130] Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work," 11.

employment (i.e. hiring or funding freelance artists and administrators for single projects), which leads to a "speeding up" of artistic work, and further capitalization and privatization of the creative industries. Individuals working in the arts increasingly need to have other forms of flexible income, which is often low paid or precarious, in order to cover the short-fall when a project ends. While such an approach may reflect neoliberal governmental policy, and promote an apparent openness to creative opportunity, McRobbie identifies that the impact of individualization through neoliberalism within the arts inevitably "marks the decline of 'the indies' (the independents), the rise of the creative subcontractor" and, importantly, "the downgrading of creativity."[131] Additionally, as noted by Hall and O'Shea, there is correlation between the rise of Thatcher's neoliberalism – "the individualisation of everyone, the privatisation of public troubles and the requirement to make competitive choices at every turn" – with an increase in experiences of insecurity, anxiety, stress and depression across general populations, [132] and which Scharff argues warrants closer investigation within artistic careers.[133]

Artists in ANZ have expressed concerns relating to the pressures of the neoliberal framework which has informed CNZ funding and broader economic policy since the rise of Rogernomics, many of which reflect scholarship and findings from outside of ANZ also. In 2018, CNZ and NZ on Air (the Government body responsible for funding support for broadcasting) commissioned an investigation and report from leading independent specialist research and advisory business Kantar Public, to investigate the sustainability of careers in the creative sector, and opportunities to better support creative professionals in their careers. Data was collected via an online survey between 15 September and 10 October 2022. There were 603 creative professionals participating. The definition of "creative professional" was

[131] McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies," 519.
[132] Hall and O'Shea, "Common-Sense Neoliberalism," 12.
[133] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 116–17.

ANZ permanent residents or citizens "aged 16 plus, who earned at least some income from their creative work in the financial year ending 31 March 2022."[134] The sample of creative professionals surveyed was constructed from a list sourced from CNZ, and the survey was also distributed to mailing lists of various leading arts organizations. Key topics on which Kantar sought feedback were: personal income, hours worked, and household income; wellbeing and career satisfaction; career prospects, development and training opportunities, and international experience; experiences within the gig economy; and contractual arrangements and understanding of intellectual property. Artforms were categorised into ten broad groups: video game development, media production, ngā toi Māori, Pacific arts, visual arts, performing arts, community arts, writing/literary arts, music and sound, and craft/object arts. Kantar's findings, published in November 2022, are useful in getting a sense of professional conditions within the arts in ANZ overall and within these broad creative categories.[135]

Kantar found that on a scale of zero to ten (with zero being extremely dissatisfied and ten being extremely satisfied), 47% of participants rated their satisfaction level as six or under.[136] Low and inconsistent income was the most commonly cited reason for career dissatisfaction (making up 33% of the reasonings cited), followed by the lack of opportunities available in ANZ (21%), lack of recognition (18%) and difficulty in attaining funding (18%).[137] Over half (55%) of the creative professionals surveyed said that they believe there are not enough opportunities available for them to sustain their creative career in ANZ (although, as the statistics suggest, for some, the lack of opportunities doesn't necessarily

[134] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 5.
[135] However, they do not provide specific insight into professional conditions of practitioners in classical music or composition in particular. While data on age was collected, not all findings published draw on age demographics as a criteria for understanding the experiences of creative professionals. These key gaps in data are why I sought to specifically interview ECC to gain insights into this particular demographic (see interview findings in Chapter 4).
[136] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 32.
[137] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 35.

lead them to feel dissatisfied with their career).[138] Of those 55% of respondents who did not believe that there are sufficient opportunities to support a sustainable creative career, 64% self-identified as being in the early stages of establishing their career. Perspectives published in the report include (quotes are anonymous, and are not attributed to professionals from particular sectors):[139]

> I find it very hard to find income and work […] jobs are few and far between.
>
> Limited work, difficult to find it. Short turn around and low budget and pay rates for short term jobs.
>
> We stay in the arts because it's a labour of love, it's our calling. But there is work ahead for how we can better improve our sector.

Such sentiments – in relation to accessing paid work, sufficient time to undertake work, and a continuing commitment to creative careers despite the struggles involved – are reiterated by ANZ ECC interviewed within the course of this project: see Chapter 5 for further discussion.

The ongoing impact of neoliberalism, forty years from the implementation of Rogernomics, may be seen in the ANZ Government's inaction as well. Changes to the country's population and rising inflation rate should have spurred the Government to reassess its commitments to the arts. The population of ANZ has increased by approximately 781,000 people between 2013 and 2023:[140] an increase of approximately 17.58%. The total Government contribution to CNZ in the 2013/14 financial year was $15.689 million,[141] and the baseline Government contribution to CNZ in the 2023/24 financial year is forecast at

[138] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 41.
[139] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 35.
[140] Infometrics, "Regional Economic Profile | New Zealand," Infometrics, accessed April 2, 2024, https://ecoprofile.infometrics.co.nz/new%20zealand/Population/Growth.
[141] Creative New Zealand, "Annual Report 2013/14" (Wellington, New Zealand: Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, 2014), 68, https://creativenz.govt.nz/-/media/project/creative-nz/creativenz/legacy-page-documents/publication_documents_3/documents-new-3/cnz100_annual_report_web.pdf.

$16.689 million.[142] This represents an increase of just 6.37%, significantly lower than the population increase in that same time period. The Government contribution to funding CNZ has also not kept up with the rate of inflation,[143] approximately 31% over the period from the beginning of 2013 to end of 2023.[144] While the Government did provide additional funds to CNZ to support the arts through the COVID-19 pandemic, this assistance will not be continued.[145] Through their reticence to respond to the rising population and rate of inflation with an increase in support for the arts, successive Governments have not only perpetuated neoliberal ideologies, but also fuelled the severity and intensity of hyper-competitivity and individualisation within the arts. This is despite a Labour Government being in power for six of the past ten years, which operated on a "Wellbeing Economics" model that purported to take a more holistic, inclusive, and welfare-informed approach to economic policy which "broadened the definition of success for our country to one that incorporates not just the health of our finances, but also of our natural resources, people and communities."[146] Successive ANZ Governments have, to use the words of Davies, "bought into neoliberal agendas," and as a result, moved money away from public institutions like CNZ.[147] Despite ANZ-produced art being a "public good"[148] with which 97% of New Zealanders interact,[149] the responsibility to find sustainable pathways to create art is the burden of individual artist or arts organisation.[150] McRobbie's identification of the "downgrading of creativity" [151] as a

[142] Wainwright, "Giving You a View of Our Financial Picture."
[143] Wenley, "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about Creative New Zealand and Arts Funding in Aotearoa."
[144] Reserve Bank of New Zealand, "Inflation Calculator," Reserve Bank of New Zealand, August 25, 2022, https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/about-monetary-policy/inflation-calculator.
[145] Wainwright, "Giving You a View of Our Financial Picture."
[146] New Zealand Treasury, "The Wellbeing Budget 2019" (Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Treasury, May 30, 2019), 2, https://www.treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-06/b19-wellbeing-budget.pdf.
[147] Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work," 11.
[148] Creative New Zealand and The Workshop, "Changing the Story on Arts, Culture, and Creativity in Aotearoa: A Guide for Arts Advocates" (Wellington, New Zealand: Creative NZ and The Workshop, 2022), 16, 31, https://creativenz.govt.nz/-/media/Project/Creative-NZ/CreativeNZ/PublicationsFiles/Advocacy/Guide_for_arts_advocates_2UP.pdf.
[149] Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, "New Zealanders' Cultural Participation in 2023," 17.
[150] Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work," 11.
[151] McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies," 519.

result of neoliberalism may be a risk facing the arts in ANZ. Of the creative professionals surveyed by Kantar, 39% said that they spend less time than they would like on their creative practice.[152] The main reasons given for not being able to contribute an ideal amount of time to their creative practice were the need to also work outside of the creative sector (62%) and the pressures of the "gig economy" (i.e. working on short term, project-based contracts) (43%),[153] both of which have been identified by Davies and McRobbie as key challenges facing artists which are fundamentally connected to neoliberal economic regimes.[154] The rise of the gig economy directly connects to the "increasing casualization and short-term contract working" within the neoliberal economic model, which dominates the cultural and creative industries.[155]

Kantar also found that more than a third of professionals surveyed would like more support in marketing (39%) and business management (35%).[156] Such findings indicate that creative professionals in ANZ are conscious of the need for self-entrepreneurialism, a notion reaffirmed by Horrocks,[157] and reflective of observations made by Scharff, McRobbie, and Davies.[158] The Kantar report also identifies that just over half of all creative professionals surveyed had experienced burnout in past year.[159] Of the 52% of professionals who said they had experienced burnout in the previous year, 68% of them were aged between 16 and 39, 63% considered themselves to be in the early stages of their career, and 57% were also working outside of the creative sector.[160] Data on burnout within the arts in ANZ has not, to my knowledge, been collected in the past, so it is difficult to ascertain whether cases of

[152] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 22.
[153] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 22.
[154] Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work"; McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies."
[155] Hesmondhalgh and Baker, "'A Very Complicated Version of Freedom,'" 5.
[156] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals."
[157] Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*, 342.
[158] Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies"; Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work."
[159] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 37.
[160] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 37.

burnout have increased over time. However, given the known correlation between the rise of neoliberalism and an increase in experiences of insecurity, anxiety, stress and depression,[161] alongside the aforementioned feedback from ANZ creative professionals on the challenges of undertaking a creative career including precarious work, limited funding and opportunities, and pressures for self-entrepreneurialism, it can be inferred that there is a connection between the self-reported burnout amongst ANZ creative professionals within the Kantar study and the pressures of working within a neoliberal environment.

Although official communications from CNZ regarding the recent reform of its funding distribution system do not speak explicitly of the neoliberal economic policy which has shaped the arts in ANZ over the past four decades, the reform is clearly designed to relieve some of the pressures associated with making art under a neoliberal regime. In April 2023, prior to the announcement of the reform (which occurred in November 2023), CNZ released a report which reflected on feedback it had received from the ANZ arts community over the previous two months. The report opens stating:

> Artists and arts organizations have told us Creative New Zealand Toi Aotearoa needs a different approach to arts development and arts funding. We agree it's time to do things differently […] We agree with many artists and arts organizations that where we are now doesn't serve our communities and will not improve without an intentional and significant shift. We need to make changes that work for artists, arts organizations and their communities.[162]

In CNZ's recognition of its system's inability to serve ANZ artists, CNZ subverts the dominant neoliberal ideology that places responsibility for success and career sustainable solely on the artists themselves. This sentiment is reinforced through the statement:

> The first step in this intentional and significant shift is for everyone at Creative New Zealand - the Arts Council, management and staff - to

[161] Hall and O'Shea, "Common-Sense Neoliberalism," 12.
[162] Creative New Zealand, "The Future of Arts Development in ANZ," 1.

> acknowledge we need to transform our relationship with the arts sector in parallel with redesigning our programmes.[163]

Within this report, CNZ declared its intention over the following months to "co-design a way forward,"[164] in collaboration with arts practitioners and policy advisors. At that point, the immediate priorities were firstly to remove the "one size fits all" application model which saw arts practitioners and groups of different scales and experience levels competing against each other in the same funding round, and secondly, to support artists and organizations outside of the three main city centres more equitably.[165]

The final reformed funding model, announced in November 2023, went well beyond fulfilling these basic priorities. Gretchen La Roche, Senior Manager of Arts Development Services at CNZ explained: "we've moved from a 'one size fits all' approach to accessible, focused, fairer support with broader opportunities for artists, arts organizations, and artists at an early stage of their career."[166] Significantly, the reformed funding model actively challenges the neoliberal notion of art and artists as a "product" to be "sold."[167] As explained by La Roche, the reformed funding model shifts "from a focus on investing in projects to investing in people."[168] The establishment of the Creative Fellowship Fund,[169] for example, which doesn't require the culmination of a particular creative project or product but rather offers artists the opportunity to "think, explore, create, and develop fresh ideas and approaches," demonstrates CNZ's stated people-centred approach. The positive impacts of people-focused arts funding have been demonstrated elsewhere. For example, a current pilot program in the Republic of Ireland which is testing the impact of a basic income for artists

[163] Creative New Zealand, 1.
[164] Creative New Zealand, 3.
[165] Creative New Zealand, 3.
[166] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts."
[167] Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 113–39; Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*, 331.
[168] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts."
[169] Creative New Zealand, "Creative Fellowship Fund."

found that in the first six months of receiving a basic income, artists experienced an increase in overall life satisfaction and a decrease in anxiety (in comparison to a control group of artists not receiving the basic income).[170] Further discussion on the Irish pilot study is undertaken in Chapter 2.

The Development Fund for Artists and Practitioners has been designed to address the pressure for arts practitioners to develop additional skills to support their creative practice.[171] Acknowledging that arts practitioners will benefit from business, marketing and other commercially-associated skills, the Fund aims to relieve some of the pressure on individuals to sacrifice financial resources that they could be using to create their art in order to undertake adjacent professional development opportunities. Additionally, the Development Fund can be used for creative practice-based development activities, once again supporting holistic artistic development.

Significantly, the Early Career Fund - Toi Tipu Toi Rea[172] is specifically designed to support early career artists, and thus has a good deal of flexibility in its assigned purpose, and is open for applications on a rolling basis. At face value, the Early Career Fund appears to be able to cover a wide range of activities including creating, presenting, or distributing creative work, sharing knowledge and skills with others, and covering mentor fees. Early career artists are also eligible to apply to the Development Fund if they wish to undertake an activity that falls beyond the broad ambit of the Early Career Fund. Furthermore, the Early Career Fund accepts applications at any time, and confirms results at three points throughout the year. The breadth and flexibility of this Fund demonstrates CNZ's awareness of and responsiveness to the unique challenges experienced by early career artists, including barriers to accessing

[170] Basic Income for the Arts Research Team, "Basic Income for the Arts: Initial Impact Assessment (6-Month)" (Dublin: Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, December 2023), 4, 25–28, https://www.gov.ie/pdf/?file=https://assets.gov.ie/278306/10ae2240-851a-4411-af8d-064e21c322ca.pdf#page=null.
[171] Creative New Zealand, "Development Fund for Artists and Practitioners."
[172] Creative New Zealand, "Early Career Fund."

opportunities to develop their careers, and their high rates of burnout, as demonstrated in the Kantar report.

As far as I know, public responses to the reformed funding model were limited to the initial reception of the November 2023 announcement. As such, it is difficult to speak to the overall success of the reformed funding model at this early stage. Given the circumstances, no one (including CNZ) knows yet how effective the reformed funding model will be, and existing critique, both scholarly and anecdotally, is limited. One of the few sources available is an article by one of ANZ's leading online media companies, The Spinoff, in which seven artists and sector leaders were interviewed following the November 2023 announcement.[173] The scale of CNZ's reform clearly impressed a number of arts practitioners. As one interviewee said, "I absolutely did not expect […] for there to be a seismic shift in the way they do things. The process used to arrive at it was rigorous and incorporated a huge amount of voices. What they are presenting is a road map for genuinely transformational, human-centred arts investment. I'm waiting to see the details but I'm cautiously optimistic."[174]
A more cautious level of optimism was clear among several artist interviewees. One noted that "what is encouraging is that this overhaul shows that they (CNZ) are listening."[175] They said that while there are potential definitions under the reformed funding model which may mean some artists "slip through the gaps," CNZ's openness thus far hopefully suggests an ongoing willingness to review and reform its model.[176] Others commented that the reformed funding model demonstrates a "level of trust and support that has been missing in funding structures across the board" in the past.[177] Some interviewees mentioned they would still like

[173] Sam Brooks, "Artists and Sector Leaders Respond to the Massive CNZ Funding Changes," The Spinoff, November 28, 2023, https://thespinoff.co.nz/pop-culture/28-11-2023/artists-and-sector-leaders-respond-to-the-massive-cnz-funding-changes.
[174] Brooks.
[175] Brooks.
[176] Brooks.
[177] Brooks.

more transparency around the assessment criteria for applying to the new funds. Others questioned what the changeover between systems would look like, and worried about the risk of established organizations being without funds during the transition period, due to the new alignment of funding round dates. [178]

One interviewee acutely highlighted that while CNZ has undertaken a monumental shift in how they characterize the arts in ANZ, this doesn't mean that the same shift has happened on the higher governmental level. They noted that the CNZ reform is coming to fruition just as ANZ experiences a change in Government in which a Deputy Prime Minister has directly questioned the validity of funding art.[179] A coalition Government made up of the National Party, ACT Party, and New Zealand First Party came into power in October 2023 and is arguably the most conservative Government ANZ has had in decades.[180] In December 2023, the ACT Party, whose leader is one of two Deputy Prime Ministers, released a statement which included the threat that "with a new Government looking to make spending cuts at low-value departments, Creative NZ is tempting fate."[181] ACT Party arts spokesman Todd Stephenson reiterated this sentiment in an interview in April 2024 when questioned about the Party's position on government support for the arts: "our position is that the government shouldn't be supporting the arts the way it does today."[182] The ACT Party has also questioned CNZ's statutory duty to determine which artistic projects receive funding, arguing that the Government should be able intervene if it disagrees on an art form being funded. [183] These threats evidence the ACT Party's neoliberal ideology for the privatization

[178] Brooks.
[179] Brooks.
[180] Natasha Frost, "New Zealand Elects Its Most Conservative Government in Decades," *The New York Times*, October 14, 2023, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/14/world/asia/new-zealand-election-national-wins.html.
[181] Todd Stephenson, "ACT Condemns $60,000 Poetry Award," ACT New Zealand, December 21, 2023, https://www.act.org.nz/act_condemns_60_000_poetry_award.
[182] Steve Braunias, "Act's Arts Spokesman Once Watched a Musical," Newsroom, April 28, 2024, http://newsroom.co.nz/2024/04/29/acts-arts-spokesman-once-watched-a-musical/.
[183] David Seymour, "Govt Funding Hate with Show about Murdering White People," ACT New Zealand, March 1, 2023, https://www.act.org.nz/govt-funding-hate-with-show-about-murdering-white-people.

of the arts through the removal of State support. Furthermore, they indicate the ACT Party's desire for governmental power to quash publicly funded forms of artistic expression that perpetuate messages with which the Government disagrees. Such a sentiment echoes what scholars have warned about the impact of neoliberal regimes on the arts: that these regimes deter individuals from making structural level critiques,[184] and that they develop institutional rewards to those who engage with the neoliberal vision,[185] namely, those who refrain from engaging in structural criticism.

It remains unclear whether the ACT Party's threats will be acted upon in subsequent years' budgets. It is possible that the significant recent shifts by CNZ – which challenge and subvert the neoliberal pressures that have affected the arts in ANZ over the past four decades – will have limited impact if the Government decreases funding for CNZ or, more dramatically, enacts statutory reform of CNZ's powers and duties. CNZ's recent funding reform in the context of the change in Government seems well summed up by one of The Spinoff's interviewees: "While I agree with the kaupapa (strategy) of funding intent and not results, I also worry that kaupapa will be particularly targeted politically in the months to come."[186]

This chapter has outlined the historical and contemporary functions of CNZ, and contextualized these within broader ANZ cultural and economic policy, particularly within the rise of Rogernomics in the 1980s which has impacted ANZ artists across disciplines. This chapter has also outlined key features of and public reception to the recent reform to CNZ's funding distribution model. The following chapter compares CNZ's recent reform to similar initiatives supporting "people over projects" within the arts: the ongoing Basic Income for

[184] Hesmondhalgh, "Cultural and Creative Industries," 552.
[185] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity*, 115.
[186] Brooks, "Artists and Sector Leaders Respond."

Artists pilot scheme in the Republic of Ireland, and the Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment, which existed in ANZ in the early 2000s.

CHAPTER 2 Funding People over Projects: historical and contemporary insights from ANZ and Abroad

Despite going some way in attempting to alleviate challenges facing artists in ANZ, CNZ's recent shift "from a focus on investing in projects to investing in people"[187] is not necessarily a wholly new one. This chapter examines two other reform-minded initiatives by governments. The first is ongoing; it was initiated in the Republic of Ireland (hereafter "RoI") in 2022 and also seeks to prioritise funding people over projects. It will provide a comparative perspective to the CNZ's new model. The second, ANZ's Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment (hereafter "PACE") scheme, ran from 2001-2012. I consider its history and how it compares to CNZ's reformed model.

These two examples are not an exhaustive list of "people over projects" policies that currently exist or have existed. I have chosen them to demonstrate (1) an example of a similarly motivated reform of arts funding which is ongoing in a comparative jurisdiction to ANZ, and (2) an example of a similarly motivated initiative which has occurred in the past within ANZ.

The RoI and ANZ have various demographic, economic, and political similarities. They have comparable population sizes: approximately 5.197 million people in RoI, and approximately 5.173 million people in ANZ, as of 2023.[188] Both countries have well-functioning governments: RoI's government was indexed at 8.2, and ANZ's is indexed at 9.3 in 2023 on a scale from 0 to 10 of effective governments which act on behalf of citizens (10 being most effective), according to the Economist Intelligence Unit.[189] Data collected in 2023 on self-reported life satisfaction of citizens shows similar perspectives between RoI and ANZ populations: RoI is scored at 6.84 out of 10 (10 = most satisfied), while ANZ is scored at

[187] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts."
[188] HYDE (2023), Gapminder (2022), and UNWPP (2024), "Population," Our World in Data, accessed July 20, 2024, https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/population.
[189] Economist Intelligence Unit (2006-2023), "Democracy Data Explorer," Our World in Data, accessed July 20, 2024, https://ourworldindata.org/explorers/democracy.

7.03 in the World Happiness Report.[190] Both countries also have two main languages which are particularly important from an arts and culture perspective: English, and an Indigenous language (Te Reo Māori in ANZ, and Irish in RoI). Notably, the countries have differing Gross Domestic Product (GDP) values: RoI's GDP per capita is approximately $112,445 international-$, while ANZ's is approximately $45,185 international-$, according to data the World Bank data published in 2023.[191] Additionally, the median annual income of RoI (as of 2022: €52,971, approximately $95,915 NZD or $79,147 CAD),[192] is much higher than in ANZ (as of 2022: $61,800 NZD, approximately $34,126 Euro or $51,200 CAD).[193] However, the central government debt as a percentage of GDP is comparable between the countries (50.69% in RoI, and 52.79% in ANZ in 2023), [194] and they have similar rates of inflation (7.81% in RoI, and 7.17% in ANZ, as of 2022).[195] For the purposes of this study, the similarities between the two countries make them acceptable for comparison in terms of their reforms to arts funding.

The structure of Government administration of the arts in RoI is similar to ANZ. Like ANZ's Ministry for Culture and Heritage, the RoI has a Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media. Both of these entities are administered under part of the relevant Government's umbrella, and are under the responsibility of a Minister appointed by the Government in power. The RoI Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media has a much larger ambit than ANZ's Ministry for Culture and Heritage (given the inclusion of Tourism, Sport, and Media within its objectives), although for all intents and

[190] World Happiness Report (2012-2024), "Self-Reported Life Satisfaction," Our World in Data, accessed July 20, 2024, https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/happiness-cantril-ladder.
[191] World Bank, "GDP per Capita: Ireland and New Zealand," Our World in Data, accessed July 20, 2024, https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/gdp-per-capita-worldbank.
[192] Statista, "Ireland Average Annual Wage 2022," Statista, accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.statista.com/statistics/416212/average-annual-wages-ireland-y-on-y-in-euros/.
[193] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 11.
[194] World Data, "Country Comparison: Ireland / New Zealand," Worlddata.info, accessed May 1, 2024, https://www.worlddata.info/country-comparison.php?country1=IRL&country2=NZL.
[195] World Bank, "Inflation of Consumer Prices," Our World in Data, accessed July 20, 2024, https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/inflation-of-consumer-prices.

purposes within this thesis, the two entities serve effectively the same Governmental function. Additionally, like ANZ's CNZ (which falls under the ambit of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage), the RoI has the Arts Council of Ireland, which falls under the ambit of the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media. Similarly to the case in ANZ regarding the functions of the Ministry versus CNZ, the Department supports large institutions (such as the National Symphony Orchestra, and Irish Museum for Modern Art) and Government policy initiatives, while the Arts Council supports smaller organisations and individual artists.

Republic of Ireland: Basic Income for the Arts (2022-)

Overview

In 2022 RoI introduced a Basic Income for the Arts (BIA) pilot scheme, with the main objective of addressing "the financial instability faced by many working in the arts" in RoI.[196] In 2020 the government funded Arts and Culture Recovery Taskforce was established to investigate strategies for arts sector recovery following COVID-19. The Taskforce was unanimous in the need for a BIA pilot programme.[197] Following this recommendation, Catherine Martin, the Minister of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media secured Government commitment for a BIA pilot scheme.[198] The Department then undertook further consultation with key stakeholders during 2021-22. This consultation included discussions with the Life Worth Living Oversight Group (a group established to implement strategies

[196] Citizens Information, "Basic Income for the Arts (BIA)."
[197] Arts and Culture Recovery Taskforce, "Life Worth Living: The Report of the Arts and Culture Recovery Taskforce," October 2020, 8,17.
[198] Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, "Minister Martin Secures Government Commitment for Basic Income Guarantee Pilot Scheme for Artists as Government Launches National Economic Recovery Plan," June 1, 2021, https://www.gov.ie/en/press-release/a231b-minister-martin-secures-government-commitment-for-basic-income-guarantee-pilot-scheme-for-artists-as-government-launches-national-economic-recovery-plan/.

recommended by the Arts and Culture Recovery Taskforce in November 2020);[199] a stakeholder forum in December 2021 with over 150 arts workers; and a public consultation in January 2022 which specifically sought feedback on the design of a BIA scheme.[200]

The three-year pilot project (2022-2025) provides 2000 arts practitioners with €325 per week each, and is designed to evaluate the impact of a basic income on the lives and careers of arts workers.[201] People over the age of eighteen, based in RoI, and who consider themselves to be artists, creative arts workers, or recently trained in an arts practice were able to apply. Applicants were assessed for eligibility, and then a randomiser software selected participants. One thousand applicants (who do not receive BIA payments) were additionally selected to form a control group.

The overarching objective of the BIA Scheme is "to address the earnings instability that can be associated with the intermittent, periodic, and often project-based nature of work in the arts," by "providing the security of a basic income, thereby reducing income precarity."[202] The BIA scheme is not a welfare payment: it is a grant payment and pilot scheme to research the impact of such a program.[203] Over the course of a year, participants in the scheme receive €16,900 (approximately $30,600 NZD or $25,250 CAD). It is not necessarily intended for the BIA scheme to form the entirety of participants' income: for reference, the median annual income in RoI, as reported in 2002, was €52,971 (approximately $95,915 NZD or $79,147 CAD).[204] Recipients of the BIA are still able to apply for additional funding from the Arts Council of Ireland, for example, for materials,

[199] Arts and Culture Recovery Taskforce, "Life Worth Living."
[200] Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, "Basic Income for the Arts: Public Consultation Report" (Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, 2022).
[201] Citizens Information, "Basic Income for the Arts (BIA)."
[202] Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, "Basic Income for the Arts Pilot Scheme: Guidelines," gov.ie, April 5, 2022, https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/29337-basic-income-for-the-arts-pilot-scheme-guidelines-for-applicants/.
[203] Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, "Basic Income for the Arts Pilot Scheme: Your Questions Answered," gov.ie, April 5, 2022, https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/6d4e1-basic-income-for-the-arts-pilot-scheme-faqs/.
[204] Statista, "Ireland Average Annual Wage 2022."

production, commissioning, and other costs: the BIA is not an alternative to or a replacement for Arts Council funding.

The Initial Impact Assessment after the first six months found that in comparison to the control group, recipients were able to invest more time and resources into their creative practice (3.5 additional hours per week), were 10% less likely to experience depression and anxiety, and were working three fewer hours per week in other sectors.[205] Impact Assessments are expected to be released on a biannual basis for the remainder of the scheme.

RoI's BIA in comparison to CNZ's reform

Significantly, a request for a BIA in ANZ was prominent within various CNZ consultation rounds. The Kantar research, conducted in 2022, presented ANZ creative professionals with four ideas to provide financial protections for artists: a basic income for creative professionals, greater funding for CNZ projects, expansion of the research and development tax incentive (a 15% tax credit) to include creative expenditure, and an increase of Government benefits.[206] Respondents were asked to select their most preferred, and 55% selected the BIA option. The remaining options were supported by 19%, 9% and 3% respectively, with 6% of respondents selecting "none of the above" and 7% saying they "don't know". Additionally, during CNZ's March and April 2023 consultations, numerous arts practitioners expressed support for a BIA. Key pieces of feedback published in CNZ's "Future for Arts Development" report summarising the consultation include:[207]

> [CNZ should] Advocate for NZ to adopt a universal basic income for artists! What art, culture and creativity does for our social

[205] Nadia Feldkircher, Doire Ó Cuinn, and Brian O'Donnell, "Basic Income for the Arts: Initial Impact Assessment (6-Month)" (Dublin: Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, December 2023), 4, https://www.gov.ie/pdf/?file=https://assets.gov.ie/278306/10ae2240-851a-4411-af8d-064e21c322ca.pdf#page=null.
[206] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 30.
[207] Creative New Zealand, "The Future of Arts Development in ANZ," 28.

> cohesion, communities, individual health and wellbeing, education of our young people, etc, etc, deserves to be fully supported.
>
> [A] Universal basic income would solve half the problems for arts communities.
>
> [CNZ should] Replace competitive tendering with a universal artists' income.
>
> Can CNZ seriously look at the artists' wage? Like in Ireland, which seems like a good model. Living wage would make a huge difference.
>
> We need to be thriving not surviving, not making a baseline. Especially if you're not a 'normative artist' who has the bank of mum and dad or assumed 'normative body' (non- disabled) and instead a UBI or similar to start addressing that rather than blunt grants which land inequitably on what you bring in as a person.
>
> PACE was life changing for so many of us 20 years ago, how can we get it back?[208]

Despite the popular support for a BIA, this is not the option that CNZ chose to pursue. While the reformed funding model is broadly reflective of a similar premise in BIA (funding people over projects), the funds available to individual practitioners in the new CNZ model are cyclical and relatively short-term (6 -12 months, depending on the Fund), and are still awarded on a highly competitive basis. That said, it remains unclear what a BIA in RoI beyond the pilot study would look like. For instance, would BIA be available to all artists on a permanent basis?

It is clear in the ANZ context that a long-term and/or non-competitive scheme for artists is not currently something CNZ is able to entertain. CNZ does not have the level of

[208] See discussion on PACE below.

political backing that is supporting the BIA pilot in RoI, [209] which in RoI's case is being led by the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media (the equivalent body to ANZ's Ministry for Culture and Heritage), with full support from Catherine Martin (the relevant Minister) and the wider Government.[210] The scope of available financial resources and political momentum differs significantly between a policy supported by a Government Minister and their respective Ministry (in the case of RoI) and a policy stimulated by a Crown entity such as the case of CNZ. CNZ is acting independently in implementing the newly reformed funding distribution system, and received no support or endorsement from the Government or any Ministers for any type of reform to better support ANZ artists.[211] While CNZ did not give an explanation as to why a BIA scheme was not part of its reform, it may well be the case that a BIA simply was not a financially viable option for CNZ's reform due to a lack CNZ-allocated Government funds (see discussion, pp. 29-35).

For a BIA to be a reasonable possibility in ANZ, support from the Minister and Ministry for Culture and Heritage (and therefore, support from the Government) would likely be essential. ANZ Government funding for the arts extends beyond those directed to CNZ: as discussed, pp. 29-35), CNZ is responsible for distributing funds to small-scale organizations and individual artists, while the Ministry for Culture and Heritage is responsible for maintaining larger-scale artistic infrastructure such as the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, national museums, heritage sites, and broadcasting services. The total amount of Government funding for the arts in ANZ via the "Vote Arts, Culture and Heritage" allocation within the 2023-24 Budget was $579.886 million NZD (approximately €320.799 million or $471.96

[209] See for example statements made by coalition Government partners: Stephenson, "ACT Condemns $60,000 Poetry Award"; Braunias, "Act's Arts Spokesman Once Watched a Musical."
[210] Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, "Minister Martin Secures Government Commitment."
[211] That is, outside of the emergency funding provided by the previous Labour Government during the COVID-19 pandemic: see Chapter 1.

million CAD).[212] In comparison, for the 2024 financial year the RoI Exchequer awarded €367.4 million (approximately $663.77 million NZD and $554.33 million CAD) to the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media (the equivalent of ANZ's Vote Art, Culture and Heritage) to support arts and culture infrastructure and initiatives, including the BIA scheme and the Arts Council of Ireland (RoI's CNZ equivalent).[213] The RoI government's contribution to the arts is larger than that of ANZ (by approximately 13.5%). If a higher amount could be adopted in ANZ, it is possible that a BIA in ANZ, too, could be funded. This would require a shift in ANZ Government policy and spending priorities. Without a more detailed economic analysis (which is beyond the scope of this thesis), it is difficult to determine whether a BIA initiated at a Ministerial level (such as the endorsement and support that RoI's Minister for Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media Catherine Martin and her Government provides for the RoI's BIA Pilot) would be feasible in ANZ. However, if the ANZ Government sought to respond to the majority's feedback in CNZ's data – which clearly identifies a strong support for flexible-term funding on a non-competitive basis to tide over the basic costs of living as artists in ANZ – then a BIA pilot may be an appropriate initiative for ANZ to pursue.

The Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment Scheme

PACE Overview

Some of the comments garnered through CNZ's consultations on sustainable income for artists referred to a perceived need for the return of the PACE Scheme.[214] The PACE

[212] Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, "Overarching Briefing for the Incoming Ministers for Arts, Culture and Heritage 2023 | Manatū Taonga | Ministry for Culture & Heritage" (Wellington, New Zealand: Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture & Heritage, February 1, 2024), 13, https://www.mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2024-02/proactive-release-overarching-briefing-to-the-incoming-ministers-for-arts-culture-and-heritage-redacted.pdf.
[213] Department of Public Expenditure, NDP Delivery and Reform, "Budget 2024 Expenditure Report" (Dublin: Rialtas na hÉireann Government of Ireland, October 10, 2023), 151.
[214] Creative New Zealand, "The Future of Arts Development in ANZ," 28.

Scheme (2001-2012) arose following findings from a study conducted by The Higher Trust, a community arts non-profit organization located in Dunedin (a small city in the South Island). The study identified that artists were facing challenges in accessing support from Work and Income NZ (hereafter referred to as "WINZ"[215]), specifically its Employment Service and Jobseeker's Benefit which are designed to support individuals in accessing resources and work in their field and provide an unemployment benefit to support individuals while they are looking for work. Complaints included the administrative impossibility of registering with WINZ as artists, a lack of available training for artists through WINZ's Employment Service, and a general lack of opportunities for professional development such as residencies, internships and apprenticeships.[216] In 2001, the Fifth Labour Government of ANZ (1999-2008) introduced the PACE Scheme in response to The Higher Trust's findings and as part of the Government's broader Cultural Recovery Package following the exit of the previous Fourth National Government (1990-1999). When Judith Tizard, the Associate Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, announced the launch of the PACE Scheme in Parliament in November 2001, she explained that PACE: "really is an important departure, where we can say to young artists, 'go and get the skills and contacts you need, work on your craft, develop your professional skills, we believe in you'."[217]

PACE was not a government-sourced income for artists like the Irish BIA: it was a program to provide professional development for artists who were receiving government unemployment benefits through WINZ. It therefore became colloquially known as "the artist dole".[218] The premise of PACE was twofold: (1) for artists to be able to register "art" as their

[215] WINZ is a social service that operates through the Ministry for Social Development.
[216] Rob Garrett and Paula Brand, "'Arts Advocacy and Research Project Report: A Dunedin Arts Employment Initiative April 1999'" (Dunedin, New Zealand: The Higher Trust, 1999).
[217] Judith Tizard, "Launch of PACE - Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment," The Beehive, November 9, 2001, https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/launch-pace-pathways-arts-and-cultural-employment.
[218] Henry Oliver, "What the Pace Scheme Did for Me," The Spinoff, May 9, 2020, https://thespinoff.co.nz/politics/29-05-2020/what-the-pace-scheme-did-for-me.

first career choice when applying for unemployment financial support packages from WINZ, and (2) for artists to be able to access arts-specific professional development opportunities through their local WINZ Employment Service office.[219] Responsibility for the implementation and administration of PACE was held by the regional WINZ offices, with each region independently managing job seeker agreements, support contracts, and professional development programmes to support artists on the PACE Scheme.[220] No extra finances were provided to WINZ offices to implement the project: any funds or services provided to artists on the PACE Scheme came out of that office's existing budget.[221]

The experienced realities of the PACE Scheme differed from one person to another. As musician Henry Oliver reflected in his article "What the PACE scheme did for me", instead of having to meet regularly with a WINZ supervisor and demonstrate that he was applying for jobs (a requirement of accessing WINZ support prior to PACE), on the PACE Scheme he would "sit in a room full of musicians and actors and painters [and] talk about our opportunities […] how to budget, how to make a basic sheet, how to find new opportunities and how to monetise our creativity."[222] However, not all artists seeking support from PACE received the same opportunities. Some were able to be marked "artists" in the WINZ system, but their regional WINZ office did not provide the kinds of professional development or support groups from which Oliver benefitted; others were told by their WINZ case managers that PACE did not exist at all, or that they would "never qualify for the programme."[223]

Participation in the PACE Scheme peaked in 2003 with 2306 artists registered.[224] However, funding and policy priorities shifted in 2008 with the new, incoming Fifth National

[219] Tizard, "Launch of PACE - Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment."
[220] Adam Goodall, "The Difficult History and Precarious Future of the PACE Programme," *Pantograph Punch*, June 28, 2018, https://pantograph-punch.com/posts/difficult-history-of-pace.
[221] Goodall.
[222] Oliver, "What the Pace Scheme Did for Me."
[223] Goodall, "The Difficult History and Precarious Future of the PACE Programme."
[224] Goodall.

Government which purportedly instructed WINZ offices to shift their internal allocation of funding away from initiatives like PACE. [225] By 2011, very little information was available about the PACE Scheme: a Dominion Post reporter requested information from the Ministry for Social Development and was told that information on PACE was "no longer kept."[226] Paula Bennet, the Social Development Minister, told reporters: "As valuable as the arts are to our society, now is not the time to be turning down available work to follow an artistic dream."[227] By 2012, the PACE Scheme was no longer in operation, although it's disestablishment did not come via any public Ministerial decree, but rather from a gradual withdrawal of available information on the Scheme made available through regional WINZ offices.

While PACE did not have centralised governmental support or strategy, and ultimately had an inconsistent impact, it was an important recognition of the uniquely precarious position of early career artists. As Antony Deaker, the Project Manager of The Higher Trust's research which led to the PACE Scheme notes, "PACE [was] great because it [bought] people time. It validate[d] people's career choices and [bought] them time to get grounded and set up again after training."[228]

Echoes of PACE in CNZ's reformed funding model

Similar to the PACE Scheme, the Early Career Fund under CNZ's reformed funding model contributes toward buying early career artists time for creative work and other needs. The flexibility of the Early Career Fund lies in its broad coverage of possible uses – "creating, presenting or distributing work," "sharing knowledge and skills with others," and

[225] Goodall.
[226] Tom Fitzsimons, "What Happened to the Pace Scheme?," *Stuff*, February 3, 2011, sec. dominion-post, https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/capital-life/4612498/What-happened-to-the-Pace-scheme.
[227] Fitzsimons.
[228] Goodall, "The Difficult History and Precarious Future of the PACE Programme."

"mentor fees"[229]. The Fund essentially offers early career artists financial support to pursue the opportunities that they need the most to advance their careers. The framing of the Fund as a grant (as opposed to a form of unemployment benefit, like the PACE Scheme) also affirms the viability of a career in the arts. It avoids the issue raised by some artists: that the PACE Scheme ultimately prioritized the funnelling of people into employment on an as-soon-as-possible basis, even if that opportunity was short-term, insecure, and not necessarily beneficial to long-term career development.[230] However, unlike the PACE Scheme, which appeared to be available to any eligible applicant (although anecdotes from artists suggest that the parameters of eligibility, and what the scheme actually offered, were vague) the Early Career Fund is awarded on a competitive basis: in the first reporting of results since the fund opened in early 2024, only 37 applicants received funding, out of a total of 87 applications.[231] Nevertheless, the availability of the Early Career Fund, and potential access to the Fellowship Fund, would appear to provide a foundational level of income for successful ECC applicants to "buy time" to develop the skills and experiences needed to secure further career opportunities.

[229] Creative New Zealand, "Early Career Fund."
[230] Goodall, "The Difficult History and Precarious Future of the PACE Programme"; Fitzsimons, "What Happened to the Pace Scheme?"; Oliver, "What the Pace Scheme Did for Me."
[231] Creative New Zealand, "Funding Rounds."

PART 2 | THE COMPOSITION OF PRECARITY: EXPLORING THE PROFESSIONAL CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPING A CAREER IN COMPOSITION

CHAPTER 3 Composition in Aotearoa New Zealand

This chapter provides an overview of the history of music composition in ANZ and how it is practised today. I trace the development of composition in ANZ from its historical roots in the early 20th century, including key figures and organizations who have shaped the community, as well as the availability and role of composer residencies. This Chapter's historical overview provides a context for critical engagement Chapter 4 which considers the present-day impact of neoliberal economic policies on developing a career in composition in ANZ.

Historical Roots

In his 1946 lecture at the Cambridge Summer School of Music in ANZ, Douglas Lilburn (1915-2001) set the impetus for the development ANZ's compositional tradition. Heralded today as the "unchallenged […] Father of New Zealand composition",[232] Lilburn urged for "a music of our own, a living tradition of music created in this country, a music that will satisfy those parts of our being that cannot be satisfied by music of other nations."[233] Lilburn was only thirty-one when he delivered his lecture, titled "A Search for Tradition"; that is, it took place in the early days of a career that had developed during a time of nationalist awakening in ANZ at the end of World War II.[234] His compositional identity was indelibly marked by the War. Lilburn had returned from his studies with Ralph Vaughn Williams in London, U.K., in 1941, and subsequently dedicated himself to promoting ANZ music. His cause reflected parallel movements in literature and visual arts which sought to

[232] William Dart, "Establishing a New Tradition," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed April 26, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/composers/page-1.
[233] Lilburn, "A Search for Tradition."
[234] Valérie Baisnée, "Politics and Aesthetics of Contemporary Music in France and New Zealand," *British Review of New Zealand Studies* 16 (2007): 169.

establish a distinctive canon of ANZ arts that would "constitute a common source of reference away from the colonial influence."[235] Noting the then-fledgling state of ANZ music, Lilburn spoke to the urgent need for the establishment of a national music conservatorium and a symphony orchestra - both of which exist today.[236] He criticized the civic authorities and broadcasting services' lack of commissioning of music for plays and special public occasions.[237] Highlighting the lack of infrastructure to support composers, Lilburn shared his concern that composers would "gradually forget that at one time they were interested in the writing of live music."[238] For Lilburn, such concerns came not only from his identification of a lack of financial support for composition, but also from a then non-existent broader cultural commitment to creativity:

> Economics aside, it is necessary for the creative artist that he should have a great deal of faith, and faith implies things to believe in. If he cannot find those beliefs current and alive in the community about him, there is danger that his creativeness will dry up from want of spiritual sustenance, unless he be strong enough to carry his own beliefs intact in any sort of community.[239]

Lilburn's legacy on ANZ's compositional infrastructure is significant, and his emphasis on ANZ's need to develop "a music of our own, a living tradition of music created in this country"[240] has fundamentally shaped the development of music composition in postcolonial ANZ.[241] Lilburn founded the country's first electronic music studio at Victoria

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[235] Baisnée, 169.

[236] The National Orchestra of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service had its inaugral concert in 1947, the year after Lilburn's Cambridge lecture, and went on to become today's New Zealand Symphony Orchestra. ANZ does not have a specific music conservatory, however, the New Zealand School of Music—Te Kōkī (located in Wellington) was established in 2006 as a joint venture between the Victoria University of Wellington and Massey University, and operates in a conservatory-type model with substantially sized performance and composition programs. Additionally, today all eight universities around the country have music departments, including programs in music composition.

[237] Lilburn, "A Search for Tradition," 25.

[238] Lilburn, 25.

[239] Lilburn, 27.

[240] Lilburn, 25.

[241] I thank Dr. Neil Smith for suggesting future research on the postcolonial legacies in the organisation of ANZ's creative sector and the experiences of people within it. This is an area of research which I agree warrants further investigation, and which I hope to contribute to in the future.

University of Wellington in 1963,[242] and established the Wai-te-ata Music Press in 1967.[243] During the late 1970's, he led the charge in creating the Archive of New Zealand Music at the Turnbull Library in Wellington,[244] and founded an ANZ music trust (now called The Lilburn Trust) in 1984.[245] Over the course of Lilburn's life, as a result of his efforts and the efforts of others, the musical arts in ANZ began to flourish, giving plenty of "things to believe in" to energize local composers. Other composers also significantly contributed to establishing a composition tradition in ANZ, including Edwin Carr (1926-2003), David Farquhar (1928-2007), Larry Pruden (1925-1982), Dorothea Franchi (1920-2003), John Ritchie (1921-2014), Ronald Tremain (1923-1998), and Anthony Watson (1933-1973), all of whom were heavily involved in developing ANZ composition and broader music community.[246] More than twenty years after his famous Cambridge Summer School speech, in a lecture delivered at the University of Otago in 1969, Lilburn reflected on his 1946 speech, and noted how far the country had come:

> Opportunities for performance are now better here, I'd think, than in many parts of the world […] opportunities for publication and commercial recording are increasing rapidly […] commissions are plentiful and generous now where 20 years ago they were almost non-existent […] communication is no longer the difficult thing it was; composers travel readily within the country, get more help for overseas travel and study, enjoy a greater reciprocal flow of visiting composers.[247]

Lilburn's acknowledgement of the improving conditions for composers in ANZ offers insight into the changing nature of composition careers over the mid-20th century, particularly

[242] Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka, "Electroacoustic and Recording Studios | New Zealand School of Music," Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/nzsm/about/resources/recording-studios.
[243] Wai-te-ata Music Press, "About," Wai-te-ata Music Press, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.powr.io/popup/u/7a7e65e6_1585086078.
[244] Jill Palmer, "Twenty-Five Years On: The Archive of New Zealand Music and the Alexander Turnbull Library," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 46, no. 1/2 (1999): 35–41, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23509055.
[245] Lilburn Trust, "Lilburn Trust," Lilburn Trust, accessed March 12, 2024, http://www.douglaslilburn.org/lilburn_trust.html.
[246] Dart, "Establishing a New Tradition."
[247] Douglas Lilburn, "A Search for Language" (Open Lecture, University of Otago, March 12, 1969), 59.

in the wake of the postwar boom which saw the ANZ economy grow in strength.[248] I now turn to more recent conditions for composers, specifically in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. I outline this history in two subsections – the first which references specific composers, and the second, which references the organizations and initiatives, which have defined this period – and draw upon anecdotal accounts, news articles, and governmental commissioned heritage documents. While a brief deviation from the overall analytical objectives of this thesis, I consider the remainder of this chapter to nevertheless be a worthwhile undertaking which offers an important departure point for future endeavours to address the void in current literature on historical composition practice in ANZ. This overview is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive compiled to date encompassing key figures, organisations, and initiatives which have been central to the development of composition in ANZ.

ANZ Composers: 1960s to 2000s

The following subsection does not claim to be a comprehensive account of all composers writing music in ANZ over the course of the late 20th century. Rather, it is intended to outline key figures whose output fundamentally shaped the ANZ composition community today. Additionally, this subsection is intended to broadly map educational and professional trends within ANZ composition over the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Much of the information has been sourced from the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga (including its publications in *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*)[249] and from the SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music.

[248] Brian Easton, "Great Boom, 1935–1966," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed July 21, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/economic-history/page-9.
[249] Dart, "Composers."

By the 1960s, composition in ANZ had become increasingly influenced by concerns for environmental and cross-cultural themes, including interest in Māori music and instruments.[250] Key figures who began their careers during this period include Annea Lockwood (1939-), Jenny McLeod (1941-2022), Gillian Whitehead (1941-), John Rimmer (1939-), Ross Harris (1945-), Jack Body (1944-2015), John Cousins (1943-), and Lyell Cresswell (1944-2022). With the exception of Harris and Cousins, all had spent time studying and/or working outside of ANZ, some for significant periods: Whitehead spent more than thirty years based in the UK (1967-1981) and Australia (1964-66, 1981-96) before returning to ANZ permanently in 1996. Lockwood studied and worked in Europe (1961-73) before settling in the USA (1973) where she still lives today, and Cresswell undertook graduate studies in Canada (1969-71) before settling in Scotland (1972) where he largely remained until his death in 2022. Body, Cousins, Harris, McLeod and Rimmer spent most of their careers based in ANZ and were instrumental in the ongoing development of the country's compositional reputation and infrastructure. Body taught composition at the Victoria University of Wellington from 1980 until 2009, and was an ambitious curator, facilitating several international exchanges to foster creative connection between ANZ and the wider Asia-Pacific region. Cousins taught composition at the University of Canterbury School of Music from 1965 until 2004. Harris spent more than thirty years teaching electro-acoustic music at Victoria University of Wellington. He was instrumental in the development of electronica music in ANZ and, in collaboration with author Witi Ihimaera, composed the first ever Māori language opera, *Waituhi* (1984). McLeod's work spanned across an array of genre including music-theatre works for children, church music for both Māori and Pākeha (New Zealand European) choirs, and most famously, "Tone Clock Theory," which she developed in

[250] William Dart, "New Influences, 1960 Onwards," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed April 26, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/composers/page-2.

collaboration with Dutch composer Peter Schat (1935-2003). Rimmer founded the electronic music studio at the University of Auckland in 1976, as well as the Karlheinz Company in 1978 (see discussion on Ensembles below, beginning at p. 78).

From the 1980s, "composers benefited from the increasing professional status of music in New Zealand"[251] and unlike earlier periods, "significantly, not all of these composers found it necessary to study overseas."[252] Dorothy Buchanan (1945-), Chris Cree Brown (1953-), Eve de Castro-Robinson (1956-), David Hamilton (1955-), Leonie Holmes (1962-), Martin Lodge (1954-) and Anthony Ritchie (1960-) are just some of the emerging figures at this time who completed all of their composition studies within ANZ. Many of these composers went on to secure university teaching positions, some of whom took over from earlier generations who were retiring. Cree Brown (University of Canterbury, 1988-2018), de Castro-Robinson (University of Auckland 1995-2019), Holmes (University of Auckland, early 2000s-present), Lodge (1994-2022), and Ritchie (2000-present) all went on to secure university teaching positions. Other composers arising during the 1980s and 90s include Brigid Bisley (1961-), Christopher Blake (1949-), Helen Bowater (1952-), Philip Dadson (1946-), David Downes (1967-), John Elmsly (1952-), Helen Fisher (1942-), David Griffiths (1950-), Nigel Keay (1955-), Christopher Marshall (1956-), Philip Norman (1953-), Peter Scholes (1957-), and Kenneth Young (1955-).[253] Arguably, some figures, including Griffiths and Young, have made their mark on ANZ music more significantly through performance and conducting. Blake was the Chief Executive of the New Zealand Symphony

[251] William Dart, "Consolidation, 1980s Onwards," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed April 29, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/composers/page-3.
[252] Dart.
[253] Dart; William Dart, "Resounding Reputations," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed April 30, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/composers/page-4.

Orchestra (2012-2019) as well as several other performing arts organizations. Scholes is the Founder and Music Director of Auckland Chamber Orchestra (1999-present).

Both John Psathas (1966-) and Gareth Farr (1968-) developed particularly resounding international reputations in the early 2000s: Psathas was commissioned for the 2004 Olympic opening ceremony, and Farr for the 2000 and 2008 Olympic opening ceremonies and the 2011 Rugby World Cup. Psathas also taught composition at the Victoria University of Wellington from 1993 to 2018. Other important figures in the early 2000s include Chris Adams (1979-), Philip Brownlee (1971-), Chris Gendall (1980-), Samuel Holloway (1981-), Victoria Kelly (1973-), Dylan Lardelli (1979), Michael Norris (1973-), Chris Watson (1976-) and Anthony Young (1979-).[254] Gendall and Norris both hold teaching positions at universities. Norris and Brownlee, along with conductor Hamish McKeich and flautist Bridget Douglass, founded the contemporary music ensemble Stroma in 2000, the "only remaining professional ensemble in New Zealand dedicated solely to music of today" (see Stroma in "Ensembles" discussion beginning at p. 78).[255] Kelly worked as Director of NZ Member Services at the Australasian Performing Right Association and Australasian Mechanical Copyright Owners Society (see APRA AMCOS, p. 77), and Watson manages the Resound Project at the SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music (see SOUNZ, p. 75), where his primary role is to film and edit performances of music by ANZ composers.

The *Te Ara Encyclopaedia of ANZ* composers (last published in 2014) ends its coverage in the early 2000s, for instance, labelling Gendall, Norris, Brownlee and Watson as "young composers".[256] These composers are now in their 40s and 50s and hold some of the established and most secure positions within composition education and infrastructure in the

[254] William Dart, "Young Composers, 2000 Onwards," Web page, Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), accessed April 30, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/composers/page-5.
[255] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "Stroma," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 14, 2024, https://sounz.org.nz/contributors/155.
[256] Dart, "Young Composers, 2000 Onwards."

country. It is clear that the *Encyclopaedia*, compiled by the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga, needs updating. An updated catalogue of notable "young composers" might include such figures as Celeste Oram (1990-), Alex Taylor (1988-), Salina Fisher (1993-), Simon Eastwood (1985-), Flo Wilson (1991-), Reuben Jelleyman (1993-) and others. While not the primary purpose of this thesis, such an update could be undertaken in the future. *Te Ara* demonstrates the need for investigation and recording of the experiences and outputs of today's ECC, as part of the ongoing legacy of composition in ANZ. It is my hope that this thesis contributes to carrying on the recording of ANZ music composition history and offers further insights into the evolving nature of composition practice in ANZ.

Key organizations supporting ANZ composition

In addition to the organizations founded by Lilburn mentioned above, several key institutions and groups have supported the development of ANZ composition. The following section provides an overview of these important arts infrastructure initiatives, contextualizing them within the development of the ANZ creative sector over the second half of the 20th century and into the 21st century.

Te Rōpū Kaitito Puoro o Aotearoa | The Composers Association of New Zealand

Te Rōpū Kaitito Puoro o Aotearoa, the Composers Association of New Zealand (henceforth "CANZ") was founded in 1974. Its membership is comprised of student, amateur, and professional composers, as well as individuals and instructions supportive of ANZ composition. CANZ aims to provide a network to bring together composers from

around the country, including administering the National Composers Workshop.[257] CANZ publishes a bi-monthly electronic newsletter called *Canzonetta,* and undertakes advocacy work including "representing composers in the industry, and making submissions on items of policy, such as music curricula, arts programming, and industry funding."[258] Historically, CANZ has also provided funding for small-scale projects and awards on an informal basis,[259] and published a printed retrospective yearbook, *Canzona,* covering events of the previous year (1979-2009),[260] although budget constraints have stopped these activities.

Importantly, CANZ advocates on behalf of ANZ composers in communications with other arts sector organisations and Government bodies. A key resource which CANZ has created and keeps updated is a set of Commissioning Guidelines, which suggests a scale of fees for different types of composition commissions that reflects the time commitment and specialist nature of composition.[261]

SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music | Toroa Toi te Arapūoro

The SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, Toroa Toi te Arapūoro (henceforth "SOUNZ") was established in 1991, and is funded by the government, as well as various industry organizations, trusts, and foundations.[262] SOUNZ works to make ANZ music available digitally and its functions include making and broadcasting music recordings, collecting and selling scores by ANZ composers, digitally publishing news stories and

[257] Composers Association of New Zealand, "CANZ Composers Workshop," accessed March 12, 2024, https://canz.net.nz/canz-composers-workshop/.
[258] Composers Association of New Zealand, "About CANZ," Composers Association of New Zealand, accessed March 12, 2024, https://canz.net.nz/about-canz/.
[259] Composers Association of New Zealand, "What Is CANZ? What Will CANZ Do for Me?," Composers Association of New Zealand - pre2022, accessed March 12, 2024, https://pre2022.canz.net.nz/.
[260] Composers Association of New Zealand, "Canzona," Composers Association of New Zealand - pre2022, accessed March 12, 2024, https://new2021.canz.net.nz/canzona/.
[261] Composers Association of New Zealand, "Commissioning Guidelines," Composers Association of New Zealand, accessed April 16, 2024, https://canz.net.nz/commissioning-guidelines/.
[262] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "About SOUNZ | He Kōrero Mō SOUNZ - SOUNZ," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.sounz.org.nz/about-sounz.

articles related to ANZ music, and presenting workshops on relevant topics. SOUNZ has a growing collection of more than 24,000 ANZ music resources and represents the music of more than 600 composers.[263] SOUNZ also provides development opportunities for composers and community music groups through administering various projects, collaborations, prizes and awards. SOUNZ offers two annual commissions. One of these is the SOUNZ Commission for Orchestra Wellington and the Arohanui Strings Sistema Youth Orchestra, in which a selected composer is commissioned to write a 4-5 minute work featuring the groups' combined forces.[264] SOUNZ also provides a Community Commission which aims to bring together professional ANZ composers with community music groups to collaborate on a project.[265] Both commissions offer a grant of $2000 NZD (approximately $1660 CAD) for the selected composer, although this commission fee is well below the minimum recommended rates: CANZ suggests a minimum rate of $1300 NZD (approximately $1070 CAD) per minute of music written for full orchestra or brass band (and a maximum rate of $4000 NZD per minute, approximately $3300 CAD), and a minimum rate of $850 NZD (approximately $700 CAD) per minute of music written for large ensemble of 10-20 instrumental parts (and up to a maximum of $3000 NZD per minute, approximately $2475 CAD) .[266] Additionally, SOUNZ facilitates recording sessions of ANZ composers' works with the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra,[267] and the Westlake Symphony Orchestra, a

[263] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music.
[264] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "SOUNZ Commission for Orchestra and Sistema Youth Orchestra 2024," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.sounz.org.nz/news/sounz-commission-orchestra-and-sistema-youth-orchestra-2024.
[265] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "SOUNZ Community Commission | Te Tono Mahinga Ā-Hapori a SOUNZ," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.sounz.org.nz/sounz-community-commission.
[266] Composers Association of New Zealand, "Commissioning Guidelines."
[267] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "NZ Composer Sessions | Ngā Huihuinga Hāpai i Ngā Kaitito o Aotearoa," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.sounz.org.nz/nz-composer-sessions.

high school orchestra.[268] The SOUNZ Contemporary Award, valued at $3000 NZD (approximately $2500 CAD) and presented in collaboration with APRA AMCOS NZ (see below), was established in 1998 and is awarded to one composer each year in recognition of "outstanding levels of creativity and inspiration."[269]

APRA AMCOS NZ

The combined Australasian Performing Right Association and Australasian Mechanical Copyright Owners Society (APRA AMCOS) is a music rights management organization operating in ANZ and Australia. Collectively, APRA represents over 119,000 songwriters, composers, and music publishers in the two countries.[270] In addition to ensuring that artists receive royalties for use of their music, APRA AMCOS NZ promotes the work of its members through a range of activities, including government submissions on topical issues, and its awards program, the Silver Scrolls. There is one award for ANZ composers within the Silver Scrolls (the SOUNZ Contemporary Award) administered in collaboration with SOUNZ. While the majority of APRA AMCOS's members in both the Australian and ANZ branches work within popular music, specific opportunities are facilitated by APRA AMCOS for contemporary classical music composers. For instance, the annual Art Music Fund provides funding for 11 composers (nine from Australia and two from ANZ) to create a commissioned work with an existing committed partner organization.[271] APRA AMCOS NZ also provides Professional Development Awards for early career artists, for which composers

[268] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "SOUNZ and Westlake Community Project | Te Kaupapa Hapori a SOUNZ Me Westlake," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.sounz.org.nz/sounz-and-westlake-community-project.
[269] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "SOUNZ Contemporary Award | Te Tohu Auaha," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.sounz.org.nz/sounz-contemporary-award.
[270] APRA AMCOS, "What We Do," APRA AMCOS, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.apraamcos.co.nz/about/what-we-do.
[271] APRA AMCOS, "Art Music Fund," APRA AMCOS, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.apraamcos.com.au/about/supporting-the-industry/competitions/art-music-fund.

are eligible to apply. The award provides $10,000 NZD (approximately $8,300 CAD) to each artist to "contribute towards the next step of their career enhancement" which may include accessing mentorship, internships, lessons, and other training.[272]

Ensembles

Performance ensembles naturally play an important role in any compositional environment, and various ensembles have contributed to supporting composition in ANZ. The Karlheinz Company was established at the University of Auckland by composer John Rimmer in 1978 ANZ's oldest contemporary new music ensemble, the Company was directed by composers John Elmsly from the mid-90s until 2014 and Eve de Castro-Robinson from 2014 to 2019.[273] Concerts over the past four and a half decades have included commissions from ANZ composers David Farquhar, Dorothy Ker (1965-), Samuel Holloway, and others, as well as premieres of works by University of Auckland composition faculty and student composers.[274] The most recent concert was held in 2019, but with the retirement of de Castro-Robinson and no new appointment, the future of the Company is unclear. Another Auckland-based new music ensemble, 175 East, was established by composer James Gardner (1962-) in 1996 and later directed by Samuel Holloway (from 2010). Like the Karlheinz Company, 175 East featured many of ANZ's leading performers and was dedicated to performing works by emerging and established ANZ composers as well as to presenting new works from international composers to ANZ audiences. The ensemble commissioned and premiered more than fifty new works by ANZ composers, including Helen Bowater, Chris Cree Brown, Phil Brownlee, Rachel Clement (date of birth not available), Lyell Cresswell,

[272] APRA AMCOS, "Professional Development Awards," APRA AMCOS, accessed March 12, 2024, https://www.apraamcos.co.nz/music-creators/awards/professional-development-awards.
[273] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "The Karlheinz Company," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, August 6, 2020, https://news.sounz.org.nz/the-karlheinz-company/.
[274] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music.

Phil Dadson, James Gardner, Neville Hall (1962-), Ross Harris, Samuel Holloway, Dorothy Ker, Dylan Lardelli, Michael Norris, John Psathas, John Rimmer, Jeroen Speak (1969-) and Chris Watson.[275] 175 East's final performance was in 2014; since then, the group has been inactive.[276] Stroma is ANZ's sole currently operating professional ensemble dedicated to contemporary classical music.[277] The Wellington-based ensemble was founded in 2002 by conductor Hamish McKeich, composers Michael Norris and Philip Brownlee, and flautist Bridget Douglas.[278] Since its inception, Stroma has commissioned and premiered more than 50 new works by ANZ composers, and given repeat performances of more than 40 existing ANZ works.[279] The Wellington-based SMP Ensemble was founded in 2008 by composer and performer Andrzej Nowicki (date of birth not available) and gives particular emphasis to contemporary music.[280] SMP works in a flexible format and schedule, with most performers comprising NZSM students and recent graduates. The ensemble usually presents one to two concerts per year (although there have been years where the ensemble did not present any concerts), often featuring ANZ composers' works, including works by ensemble members. Unfortunately, SMP does not have the funding support to commission new works.[281]

Other ensembles in ANZ that do not give specific focus to contemporary composition also commission and/or perform works by ANZ composers. Orchestra programs around the country usually feature at least one ANZ composer in each annual season. Some orchestras have historically offered Composer-in-Residence roles (see discussion in the section immediately below). Chamber Music New Zealand, established in 1945, has presented a wide

[275] Ensemble 175 East, "175 East - Welcome!," 175 East, via the WayBack Machine, October 14, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20081014085251/http://www.175east.co.nz/index.html.
[276] Samuel Holloway, "About 175 East," Samuel Holloway, accessed March 13, 2024, https://samuelholloway1.wixsite.com/175east/about-175-east.
[277] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "Stroma."
[278] "Stroma," *Symphony Quarterly* 25, no. July-September (2000): 27, https://search.worldcat.org/title/173361114.
[279] Stroma, "About Stroma," accessed March 14, 2024, https://www.stroma.co.nz/about.
[280] Peter Mechen, "A Good Time Not A Long Time – SMP Ensemble – Middle C," *Middle C* (blog), June 27, 2010, https://middle-c.org/2010/06/a-good-time-not-a-long-time-smp-ensemble/.
[281] As explained by Participant 5, one of SMP's founding members (see Chapter 4).

range of chamber music, performed by domestic and international ensembles, to generations of ANZ audiences. The organisation programs work by ANZ composers, although it does not give priority to commissioning ANZ composers. Since its inception in 1987, the New Zealand String Quartet has performed more than 150 works by ANZ composers.[282] Another group, NZTrio, has commissioned over 75 new works since 2002, with more than two thirds by ANZ composers, and features at least one ANZ composition in every concert.[283] Seven of their commissions have gone composers under the age of 35.[284] In addition to its regular concert series, NZTrio also runs a competition for student composers, and perform the selected seven works (although these are neither brought on tour nor promoted beyond the universities). Works by ANZ composers can also be found within programming choices of the New Zealand Youth Choir and New Zealand Voices.

Composer Residencies

Artistic residencies serve as significant infrastructure to support creative careers as well. Akin to PACE, BIA, or CNZ Fellowship Fund, residencies are one of the primary avenues for artists to secure an extended period of time to work on their craft, with the additional benefit of providing infrastructural support in the realization of compositional projects. Developing a comprehensive understanding of past and present composer residencies in ANZ is an important element in investigating conditions for developing a career in composition in ANZ.

To my knowledge, there is neither a comprehensive compendium of composer residencies which have existed in ANZ, nor a contemporary list of currently existing

[282] As stated on the New Zealand String Quartet website, although it is unclear whether this number includes repeat performances. New Zealand String Quartet, "About the Quartet," New Zealand String Quartet, accessed March 14, 2024, https://www.nzsq.org.nz/about-the-quartet.
[283] NZTrio, "About NZTrio," NZTrio, accessed March 14, 2024, https://nztrio.com/nz-trio-story/.
[284] NZTrio, "Commissions," NZTrio, accessed May 5, 2024, https://nztrio.com/full-repertoire/.

residencies. While there have been many composer residencies in ANZ over the past sixty years, the unavailability of funding and/or their perceived low strategic priority has meant that very few have operated continuously. Additionally, historical documentation and information regarding composer residencies in ANZ is limited. The historical and contemporary composer residencies I outline below has been compiled through anecdotal accounts, composer biographies and interviews, and calls for applications published in newsletters, magazines, and websites. In my attempts to create a comprehensive list, I have shared it with a collective "hivemind" of ANZ composers to fill in any blanks.[285]

Composer Residencies in universities.

The longest running composer residency in ANZ is the Mozart Fellowship, which has operated out of the University of Otago since 1969.[286] The annual Fellowship lasts for twelve months, although can be extended to 24 months, and provides the Fellow with an office space and a salary no less than the minimum of a full-time university lecturer. The only other university to host a composer residency is Victoria University of Wellington's New Zealand School of Music Te Kōkī (NZSM).[287] The NZSM Composer in Residence scheme was established in 2004 as a year-long paid position, funded by CNZ with NZSM acting as the host organisation. The residency includes use of the Lilburn House, Douglas Lilburn's home which is cared for by the Lilburn Residence Trust, which offers use of the house to the NZSM Composer in Residence at a "modest rent."[288] CNZ funding cuts in 2019 put this

[285] With thanks to the following individuals and organisations for help in this process: Eve de Castro-Robinson, Michael Norris, Simon Eastwood, Sarah Ballard, Jessie Leov, Phil Brownlee, Tessa Peterson, Elizabeth Kerr, Manukau Symphony Orchestra, Chamber Music New Zealand, Orchestra Wellington, and the Auckland Phliharmonia.

[286] Division of Humanities, University of Otago, "The Mozart Fellowship," 2023, https://www.otago.ac.nz/humanities/about/otago-fellows/mozart-fellowship.

[287] Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka, "Composers in Residence | New Zealand School of Music," Victoria University of Wellington, accessed May 2, 2024, https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/nzsm/about/residence/composer.

[288] Lilburn Residence Trust, "Lilburn Residence Trust - Home," Lilburn Residence Trust, accessed May 2, 2024, https://www.lilburnresidence.org.nz/.

scheme on a two-year hiatus. In response to the funding cuts, the NZSM Composer in Residence Endowment Fund (originally named the Jack Body Memorial Fund) was established in October 2019 with an investment of $100,000 from the Victoria University of Wellington, and an intent to fundraise on an ongoing basis. In 2021, NZSM announced the creation of three residencies to begin in 2022 (which have continued into 2023 and 2024), jointly funded by CNZ and income accrued by the Endowment Fund.[289] The three new residencies are (1) a Composer in Residence position of 9-12 months, with accommodation provided at the Lilburn House, as per the original scheme, (2) a Jazz Composer in Residence position of six months, and (3) a Sonic Artist in Residence position of three months. All three positions include a competitive salary and research funds. However, it is unclear how long these residency opportunities will continue to be offered, and whether they will continue in the same format. There have been no publicly announced updates on the success of the Endowment Fund campaign, and ongoing uncertainty around available CNZ funds make CNZ's partial commitment precarious.

Composer Residencies outside of universities

Various ANZ regional orchestras and organizations have provided, and in some cases continue to provide, composer residence positions. It is these types of residencies (i.e. those not located within universities) that have particularly sparse archival documentation. Through my correspondence with all major regional orchestras in ANZ, and explorations of the New Zealand National Library and National Archive, I have discovered that there are almost no formal records of the holders of Composer in Residence roles within ANZ orchestras, although these positions have certainly existed, according to oral sources. The information

[289] Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka, "Composers in Residence | New Zealand School of Music."

that I have been able to gather is pieced together from correspondence with organizations, conversations with composers who have held these Composer in Residence positions, and news reports and composer biographies available online. I have, for the most part, been able to identify the dates and durations of each composer residency. However, information about the fees awarded by these positions has not been forthcoming: this lacuna would be suitable for future investigation.

Orchestra Wellington hosts the only currently running regional orchestra Composer in Residence position (established in 2011), as well as an Emerging Composer in Residence, and an Educational Composer in Residence opportunities which have been available occasionally since 2011. Orchestra Wellington and SOUNZ offer a joint commission for a composer to write for the combined forces of Orchestra Wellington and a local Sistema orchestra.[290] The Auckland Philharmonia Composer in Residence position existed between 1990 and 2017; however, there have been no public signs of resuming the position. Other regional orchestras that have provided Composer in Residence positions in the past include the Dunedin Symphony Orchestra (formerly Southern Sinfonia, dates unknown),[291] the Christchurch Symphony Orchestra (a one-time occurrence in 1992),[292] and the Manukau Symphony Orchestra (2005-2009).[293]

From 1976-82, and again from 1985-89, the Composers in Schools Scheme was run by the Department of Education (who founded the program) in conjunction with the Composers Association of New Zealand.[294] Another organization, Chamber Music New

[290] Beckie Lockheart to Ihlara McIndoe, "Personal Communication: Information about Historical OW Composer Residencies," May 20, 2024.
[291] This residency was mentioned in composer Anthony Ritchie's biography, although I have not found reference to it elsewhere. SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "Anthony Ritchie - SOUNZ," SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, accessed June 6, 2024, https://sounz.org.nz/contributors/1082.
[292] Philip Norman, "About | Philip Norman CNZM," Philip Norman Composer, accessed June 6, 2024, https://www.philipnormancomposer.com/about.
[293] Terry Spragg to Ihlara McIndoe, "Personal Communication: Manukau Symphony Orchestra Composers-in-Residence," May 14, 2024.
[294] Susan P. Braatvedt, "A History of Music Education in New Zealand State Primary and Intermediate Schools 1878-1989" (Christchurch, New Zealand, University of Canterbury, 2002), 359.

Zealand, commissioned composers annually from 1981 through 2005 in a residency-type arrangement.[295] The Nelson School of Music from has also historically offered a composer residency, although this has been discontinued.[296]

More recently, At The Worlds Edge Festival (AWE), established in 2021, has welcomed a Composer in Residence[297] each year since its inaugural festival. Details regarding salary and/or fees for the Composer in Residence are not published, although the AWE Deed (a required document for all registered charities in ANZ) stipulates the commissioning of new works by ANZ composers as a key purpose of AWE.[298] This stipulation suggests that financial support is offered to the Composer in Residence. Since 2022, AWE has also reserved an "Emerging Composer Mentorship"[299] position for composers aged 23 or younger.[300]

Composer Residencies for ECC and Young Composers

In recent years, residencies specifically designed for ECC or "young composers" have been established. Some residencies adopt eligibility requirements on the basis of age which suggest that their purpose lies in supporting composers who are undertaking undergraduate composition studies (young composers), while others, adopt an older age cut-off, and records

[295] Valerie Paquin to Ihlara McIndoe, "Personal Communication: Information about Historical CMNZ Composer Residency," May 6, 2024.
[296] Aside from anecdotal mention and reference to it within composer biographies, I have been unable to find information on the Nelson School of Music Composer Residency, including within the New Zealand National Library and Archives. I contacted the Nelson School of Music to request information that they might have in their archives, but did not receive a reply.
[297] At The World's Edge Festival, "Composer in Residence," AWE Festival 2024, accessed May 2, 2024, https://www.worldsedgefestival.com/festival-artists-2024.
[298] Chamber Music at the World's Edge Foundation, "Deed of Charitable Trust: Chamber Music at the World's Edge Foundation," Submitted to the New Zealand Charities Register, March 27, 2020, 5.
[299] At The World's Edge Festival, "Emerging Composer Mentorship," AWE Festival 2024, accessed May 2, 2024, https://www.worldsedgefestival.com/emerging-composer-mentorship-2024.
[300] The call for applications for the 2024 AWE Emerging Composer has an upper age limit of 23; calls for applicants for the 2022 and 2023 position had an upper age limit of 20.

of past holders suggest that they cater more toward composers who have completed their studies or are studying at a postgraduate level (ECC).

The AWE Emerging Composer Mentorship'[301] position for composers aged 23 or younger mentioned earlier provides a young composer with the opportunity to write a string chamber work of approximately five minutes to be premiered at the AWE Festival. The two past Emerging Composers (2022 and 2023) have both been in the early stages of their undergraduate degree, which implies that the Emerging Composer in Residence role is designed for young composers who are dedicated to their composition studies and the possibility of a career in composition, but who are in the earliest stages of their composition education and career development. The Emerging Composer receives mentorship from the AWE Composer in Residence over the five-month period prior to the Festival. The Emerging Composer attends the Festival, including rehearsals prior to the event. There is no fee for the Emerging Composer's work; however, the AWE Festival covers travel and accommodation costs for attending the Festival, as well as evening meals and a daily per diem for general expenses.[302]

The Auckland Philharmonia runs a Young Composer in Residence programme in partnership with the University of Auckland.[303] The opportunity has been offered annually since at least 2013.[304] During the year-long opportunity, the Young Composer in Residence composes an orchestral work and a chamber work to be performed at the Auckland Philharmonia's "Learn & Participate" concert series. [305] There may be an additional opportunity to compose a third work for either orchestra or chamber ensemble.[306] The Young

[301] At The World's Edge Festival, "Emerging Composer Mentorship."
[302] At The World's Edge Festival.
[303] Auckland Philharmonia, "Auckland Philharmonia Young Composer-in-Residence," Auckland Philharmonia, December 18, 2023, https://aucklandphil.nz/learn-participate/aspiring-musicians-programme/auckland-philharmonia-young-composer-in-residence/.
[304] Gemma Henderson to Ihlara McIndoe, "Information about APO Young Composer in Residence Program," May 7, 2024.
[305] Auckland Philharmonia, "Auckland Philharmonia Young Composer-in-Residence."
[306] Henderson to McIndoe, "Information about APO Young Composer in Residence Program," May 7, 2024.

Composer receives a commission fee of $400 NZD (approximately $330 CAD) per work composed.[307] The Young Composer also receives mentorship from University of Auckland staff. The opportunity is only available to Auckland-based composers, and usually is awarded to a University of Auckland composition student in their undergraduate degree or early in their master's studies.[308]

The New Zealand Symphony Orchestra National Youth Orchestra (NYO) Composer in Residence is perhaps the most directly applicable opportunity for ECCs in general. While any ANZ composer under the age of 30 can apply, most of the past Composers in Residence have been either freelancing professionals, or students pursuing master's (or doctoral) studies.[309] The residency offers the opportunity to compose a work for the NYO which is performed in two ANZ locations. The Composer in Residence also receives mentorship from an established composer. The costs of travel and accommodation to attend rehearsals and concerts are covered by NZSO. Additionally, the Composer in Residence receives a modest fee of $1,500 NZD (approximately $1,235 CAD). A number of composers interviewed as part of this project have held the NYO Composer in Residence position, and provided further insights on the experience (see Chapter 4).

Concluding Remarks

ANZ has a relatively short but rich history of music composition, one which was developed through the passion, dedication and talent of its composers, performers, and arts workers. Infrastructure for compositional endeavours was at a clear peak in the 1990s to early 2000s: ensembles such as Karlheinz, 175 East, and SMP were highly active; most regional

[307] Henderson to McIndoe.
[308] Auckland Philharmonia, "Auckland Philharmonia Young Composer-in-Residence."
[309] New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, "Previous Composers-in-Residence | NZSO," New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, accessed May 3, 2024, https://www.nzso.co.nz/the-nzso/learn-and-engage/young-musicians/nzso-nyo-composer-in-residence/previous-composers.

orchestras offered paid Composer Residencies; and other residency opportunities were available, such as those through CMNZ and the Nelson School of Music. Today there remains only one ensemble (Stroma) that is dedicated to contemporary music in ANZ, and which is commissioning ANZ composers on a regular basis. Only one reliable paid residency exists (the Mozart Fellowship), although the recent establishment of the AWE Festival and its composer residency, as well as the fundraising efforts of the NZSM residencies are promising movements. Programmes led by AWE, the Auckland Philharmonia, and the NYO offer valuable mentorship and professional development opportunities for young composers and ECC. However, the NYO Composer in Residence – the only program directly targeting ECC – notably pays ECC at a rate significantly below the CANZ recommended commissioning scale. The NYO Composer in Residence receives a commission to the value of $1500 NZD (approximately $1270 CAD) to compose a 10-minute work for orchestra. By comparison, the CANZ Commissioning Guidelines recommend a starting rate of $13,000 NZD (approximately $11,000 CAD) for a work of this type.[310]

Discussion regarding the financial viability of opportunities for ECC, including the NYO Composer in Residence position, are discussed further in the following chapter, in which I turn to consider the perspectives I gathered through interviews with ANZ ECC. I contextualize these findings within the body of research investigating professional conditions for ECC, ANZ's composition history, and ANZ's broader economic context.

[310] Composers Association of New Zealand, "Commissioning Guidelines."

CHAPTER 4 Developing a compositional career in Aotearoa New Zealand

Research Methodology and Questions

In seeking to deepen my understanding of the professional conditions for ECC in ANZ, I undertook interviews with current ECC.[311] Five ECC confirmed their willingness and capacity to be interviewed as part of this project. Three participants are female, two are male, and one is nonbinary. In the interest of protecting participants' identities and attempting to avoid statements being linked to specific individuals, I use the pronouns "they/them" for all ECC interviewed for this thesis. Two participants are permanently based in ANZ (one in a major North Island city, the other in a major South Island city); one participant recently returned to their hometown, a major North Island city, after a year of working and studying abroad; one participant is currently based abroad, having moved there less than a year ago after undergraduate studies in a major North Island city (where they also lived for several years after graduating); and one participant lives and works nomadically within and beyond ANZ. Three participants self-identify as Pākeha/New Zealand European; one identifies as Pākeha/Afrikaans; and one identifies as Asian New Zealander. While I intended to include Māori and Pacific Island ECC, and reached out to all those that I know, I did not receive responses indicating a willingness to participate, and did not wish to pressure anyone. One participant is slightly younger (23 years old) than the minimum age of 25 that I originally set when determining my working definition of "ECC". I decided to include this participant nonetheless as I felt that they could provide valuable perspectives to my research. They are currently in the final month of their Master' studies in Composition, and could provide interesting perspectives as someone who is in the midst of the transition from graduate

[311] My process for attaining participants is outlined in Appendix 1. This process was guided by McGill's REB process, and received REB approval on 16 April 2024, File number 24-02-010.

studies to a freelance career. The ages of the other four participant all fall around the median of the 25-35 age range.

The key questions for my interviews arose both from my initial overarching research questions (What are the conditions of the wider ANZ arts sector which ECC are a part of? And how do ECC experience and navigate these conditions?) and following on from my literature review of similar studies conducted outside of ANZ. A full list of interview questions is provided at Appendix 3.

The questions I posed were open ended in nature, and I adopted a semi-structured approach to the interview, based on a list of set questions approved by the Research Ethics Board. During the course of the interviews, I embraced any departures from the set questions depending on the participants' unique experiences and perspectives. I adopted this approach drawing on Westerlund and López-Íñiguez's interview objectives to "prompt [both] the participants' personal pathfinding [and] their insider understanding of the field at large".[312] I was also conscious of the need to avoid letting my own experiences and perspectives as an ANZ ECC influence participants' responses. As such, I had framed my planned interview questions as broadly as possible, and followed up with more specific or targeted questions based on ECC's initial responses, where doing so was needed to flesh out details and nuances.

Findings

I was particularly interested to consider the perspectives and experiences of the ECC I interviewed alongside those of ECC and classical music workers in the UK, Finland, and Germany, as investigated by Smith and Thwaites',[313] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez,[314] and

[312] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 3.
[313] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity."
[314] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?"

Scharff;[315] and those of practitioners across the arts in ANZ more broadly, as reported by government commissioned research, [316] and Horrocks.[317] I present my findings below under four broad themes: (1) precarity in income, work, and lifestyle; (2) navigating opportunity culture; (3) Tall Poppy Syndrome; and (4) the role and impact of CNZ and broader Government arts policy. While not structured in direct reflection of the original themes which informed my interview questions (see question theme titles within Appendix 3), I consider this presentation structure to be a more effective approach to reporting and analysing the perspectives and experiences which the interviewees chose to emphasise. For clarification purposes, within the text below, I cross-reference my findings to the relevant corresponding themes and questions listed in Appendix 3.

While much of the discussion in this chapter speaks directly to the challenges ECC in ANZ face, it is important to note that all of the conversations with interview participants were generally positive and hopeful in tone. All ECC interviewed were quick to point to the positive elements of undertaking a career in composition, and their commitment to their practice despite its various challenges. Participant 2 explained the simultaneous existence of enthusiasm and apprehension involved in being an ECC particularly aptly:

> It's an exciting point and it's a terrifying point. All because it's uncertain […] Stuff that I'm looking forward to is, you know, the hope of opportunity, or getting excited at the prospect of opportunities because when you're a student, you make connections with people […] and oftentimes opportunities arise from that […] I'm at a point of transitioning out of being a student, [my] connections are still fresh and [I] haven't done anything yet really. And so that's cool. But it's uncertain.

[315] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*; Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet."
[316] Creative New Zealand, "Sustainable Careers for Artists and Arts Practitioners: Discussion Document"; Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals"; Creative New Zealand, "NZers and the Arts: Attitudes, Attendance and Participation: Research Summary" (Wellington: Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, 2020).
[317] Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*.

As further affirmed by Participant 1, despite the uncertainty of undertaking a career in composition,

> [t]he benefits are obvious. You get to do what you love, it's your passion and it's enjoyable. I wouldn't have it any other way.

This being said, the following discussion examines experiences and perspectives shared with me by the participants and contextualizes them within prior studies mentioned earlier in this thesis.

Precarity: Income, Work, and Livelihood

Precarity was a theme discussed by all ECC interviewed as something that they have directly experienced which spans across their income sources, available forms of work, and broader lifestyle. In response to questions on their composer identity, lifestyle, and practice (see Appendix 3A), several participants spoke of their struggles as ECC to attain secure income to reliably cover their costs of living. As Participant 2 explained (in response the question at Appendix 3A2):

> It's absolutely not a stable income of any sorts [sic] or a stable career. Opportunities come up and things, and then you might have long periods in between […] all the while you have to find a way to make a living.

All ECC interviewed undertake work outside of composition, and four out of five describe themselves not simply as a "composer" but rather, a "performer and composer,"[318] or a "composer and conductor,"[319] or a "music maker" encompassing composition, song

[318] In the case of Participant 2.
[319] In the case of Participant 4.

writing, performance, and teaching.[320] As Participant 1 elaborated (in response to the question at Appendix 3A3):

> The general advice that you get is, like, the more versatile you can be, the more different things you can do in the industry, then you're gonna be able to, you know, diversify your income streams.

Such a sentiment echoes perspectives such as those identified by Westerlund and López-Íñiguez amongst Finnish ECC who embrace a "protean" approach to career development, whereby they adopt a versatile array of skills which allow for manoeuvrability between artistic income sources.[321]

Some ECC, such as Participant 4, see their income source outside of composition as an equally important element of their career portfolio and skillset (Appendix 3A3):

> I try to do an equal balance of composing and conducting […] My original background is as a singer, so increasingly I've been doing a lot more work as a composer working with text or collaborations with writers, and increasingly creating opera. I specialized [in my Master's degree] as a composer, but the program was in opera making and writing, so a big part of it was collaboration and interdisciplinary collaboration.

Others, while dedicated to their work outside of composition, see the former more as a matter of necessity which can, at times, present challenges to maintaining their composition practice and work-life balance. As explained by Participant 1 (Appendix 3A2):

> Financially, it's very difficult at this stage in my career. I need to have another stable income job, which for me is teaching in three schools as [an] itinerant music teacher. So I do that for basically two and a half days a week. Which pretty much ends up being three days, to be honest. So that gives me, you know, a bit of a stable income, but […] the work-life balance is a problem because inevitably then you use the weekend to do your creative work. So that's probably my biggest challenge of being a composer or just a creative person. And I'm still trying to navigate it. For some people, they may be OK with just snatching little periods or chunks of time to do their creative work. For me, I work better if I can get in a flow, [a] sort of connective day flow.

[320] In the case of Particiant 1.
[321] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 10.

Participant 3, who travels frequently in ANZ and abroad, manages their living costs in other creative ways. They acknowledge that not all ECC are in the position to embrace such a lifestyle (Appendix 3A3):

> Right now I'm doing some online writing so that pays some of the bills. But, a little bit unusually, I house sit with my partner […] So the costs of living are quite low, which just means I don't have a fixed address. So I'm moving around a lot which I enjoy and love, but it's not for everyone.

Participant 2, who is in the final month of their Master's degree in Composition, spoke of their anticipated change in financial circumstances once they are no longer eligible to take out Government-supported living allowances or loans (Appendix 3A2).[322]

> For the past few years I've had a student allowance and then student loan for living costs [from the Government] to support me while I'm doing my studies. And that's been great. But of course, that comes to an end in about six weeks to two months from now, and I don't know how I'm going to pay my rent. I mean, that's something that people will always have to worry about, no matter what they're doing. There are all of these exciting projects, but […] at this point of time, people don't know if there's any money that's actually going to come from that. And so it's very exciting to have the prospect of doing things. […] But you get used to it when you have consistent student support and stuff like that [and] you just do things without expecting to be paid for it. You do it because you're learning, because it's fun, because you're invested in it and it's important to you. But once you don't have the student support or, you know, […] other support you might have when you're in that learning stage, it's really a matter of, well, you know, how am I going to support myself? How am I going to continue to be invested in these projects? Can I continue to be performing or composing? […] Can I really invest my time and energy appropriately enough into these projects if I have to go and do my nine to five at The Warehouse or something like that?

[322] Students studying at any tertiary level in ANZ are eligible for $228.81 NZD (approimately $194 CAD) per week, available through the Studylink office of the ANZ Inland Revenue Department, as part of student's Studylink Student Loan. Students studying at the undergraduate level who meet certain eligibility requirements may instead receive a Studylink Student Allowance (at a rate which depends on various socioeconomic factors), which does not require repayment. The Studylink Student Allowance has not been available to graduate students since 2013.

As Participant 2 articulates, the movement from student to freelancer brings not only financial precarity, but also an uncertainty around their capacity to commit to artistic opportunities. Participant 5 (in a discussion which began in response to Appendix question 3A2, and traversed across questions 3C1 and 3C2) also spoke to the difficulties of committing to creative projects and contributing to initiatives within the music community once Government support for students end. Participant 5 began their graduate studies in composition shortly after the Government ended the Studylink Student Allowance for graduate students in 2013 (see footnote 322). Rather than taking out an additional student loan, they elected to study on a part-time basis while working 20 to 25 hours per week. They explained how the time and energy they had for music projects while undertaking their Master's degree and working part time was significantly reduced in comparison to during their undergraduate studies:

> I started university in 2010 […] and it was near the end of my undergraduate [studies] when [the Government] removed funding for postgraduate study.[323] So you couldn't claim living allowance for postgraduate study. I noticed a big shift from during my undergraduate [years]. [During undergraduate studies] people had more time to engage in projects and that's when I started getting involved with SMP.[324] People would just have the time and [taking on extra projects] was seen as like part of the study, because it's improving musicianship and expanding ideas about music. But when funding started getting harder, and was removed, students ended up working more and having less time [for additional unpaid or low paid music projects]. And things kind of fragmented off a little bit. There wasn't as much of a community.

Participant 5 also noted that the pressure for performers to take on additional work unrelated to their creative practice as a result of the increasing cost of living means that performers have limited capacity to support composers:

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[323] "Postgraduate study" in ANZ refers to any degree higher than a Bachelor's, for example, a Master's or Doctoral degree. Because my project is being undertaken through a Canadian university, I have adopted North American language in the body of my thesis (i.e. I refer to Master's and Doctoral degrees as "graduate study"). However, in interviewee quotes such as this, the term "postgraduate study" is used instead.
[324] SMP Ensemble, as discussed in Chapter 3.

> There are lots of amazing musicians who give a lot of time to support New Zealand composers, which is really positive. But it's hard because they're in similar positions to composers, where it's hard for them to do [music] full time, to be funded to be an artist, you know, to create. So everyone is stretched for time.

This perspective is reflective of findings identified by Kantar and CNZ. Of the 603 creative professionals surveyed, 44% said they undertook paid work outside of the creative sector.[325] Of those 44% of respondents, 58% of them were music and sound artists.[326] 39% of all respondents said that they were spending less time that they would like working on their creative career: 62% of those respondents were also working outside of the creative sector, and 50% of them were music and sound artists.[327] Participant 5's identification of the income-related challenges faced by performers highlights how interconnected artists' livelihoods and opportunities are: when performers' availability is limited due to work and income constraints, opportunities for composers are also limited.

Navigating Opportunity Culture

The link identified by Participant 5 between work and income pressures facing performers and the resulting limitations for composers in having their work performed connects to the broader pressures of opportunity culture. While interviewees did not use the term "opportunity culture" specifically (although the "opportunistic" nature of applying for CNZ funding was noted, and is further discussed in the subsection below: "The role and impact of CNZ and broader Government arts policy"), many of the perspectives shared resonate with those of UK ECC as highlighted by Smith and Thwaites (see discussion on opportunity culture in the UK within the above "Literature Review"). Discussions with ECC interviewed suggest that three elements are often interconnected in contributing to

[325] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals," 19.
[326] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 19.
[327] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, 22.

opportunity culture within the ANZ composition arena: (1) a limited number of opportunities, (2) a lack of financial compensation for work or financial assistance with pursuing professional opportunities, and (3) a diminished status and power of ECC in certain professional contexts. Participants spoke of these elements in fluidly interconnected ways and as such, this thesis section adopts a similarly fluid discussion of these three elements to examine ECC's complex and multidimensional experiences of opportunity culture in ANZ composition.

As noted by Participant 1 (Appendix 3C1; 3C3) while there are various opportunities available for composers at university to develop their skills and portfolio, for those who have graduated, opportunities are more limited:

> It's hard especially now that I've kind of gone past the age limit for a fair number of "young composer" opportunities. I think there is a fair amount for students. If you're in university there's lots of collaborative partnerships. […] But I think that once you're over 25, there's not really many other [opportunities] that are aimed at [ECC]. […] It's a tricky period of time. We are still in the emergence of an early career [but] up against the established composers [who] have been around for decades.

Various ECC interviewed confirmed the significance of the support provided through universities in developing a composition portfolio while studying, although Participant 2 and Participant 4 both expressed frustration with the lack of support from universities in preparing students for navigating and thriving within the arts sector beyond university (Appendix 3C5). Participant 2 said that they have not received any support from their university in learning about funding opportunities available to support their artmaking as they enter their freelance career: a view that echoes those expressed by Finnish ECC.[328] Participant 4 suggested that universities fall short in fostering a cross-fertilization of artistic

[328] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 11.

practice between student performers and composers with momentum to continue beyond university infrastructure:

> At least when I was studying, there wasn't much cross fertilization or collaboration happening […] there's not so much emphasis on really collaborating with a singer and writing for their voice or for specific players. And so then it's like a double edged sword […] I feel lots of our young instrumentalists and singers especially don't [perform] much New Zealand music.

Participant 4 also suggested that the small scale of ANZ's chamber music infrastructure was a key limitation to the availability of opportunities for ANZ composers to have their work performed (Appendix 3C3; 3C5):

> One of the drawbacks [of being in ANZ] is that […] it's a small community so there are only so many performance opportunities. There are only so many New Zealand works that can be programmed. We don't have a robust chamber music ecosystem.

The decline of the number of ANZ ensembles dedicated to performing contemporary music, as discussed in pp. 78-80, provides quantitative evidence in support of Participant 4's perceptions on the lean state of ANZ's chamber music infrastructure and the resulting limitation of opportunities for composers to have works performed. Participant 5's explanation above (at p. 94) about how the withdrawal of Government support for graduate students necessitated their stepping back from extracurricular musical activities, suggests that the financial instability experienced by ECC may be a hindrance to fostering a more robust chamber music ecosystem in ANZ. Additionally, this financial instability may present an additional challenge to building the long lasting "cross fertilization" between performers and composers that Participant 4 desires. It is notable that the only remaining contemporary chamber music ensemble in ANZ, Stroma, [329] is directed by Michael Norris who has full time employment as a Professor of Composition at the University of Victoria in Wellington, and

[329] SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, "Stroma."

most of its musicians are permanent salaried members of the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra. Such evidence suggests that the successful maintenance of contemporary chamber music organizations in ANZ may only be possible as a 'side hustle' for secure salaried professionals: a situation that very few early career artists are in. The small number of ensembles dedicated to programming contemporary music limits the availability of opportunities for ECC to have their work performed. Additionally, it perhaps also impacts perceptions among emerging performers of the viability of a career in contemporary music. Financial pressures also limit ECC's and fellow musicians' abilities to initiate new avenues for performance.

Those interviewed also highlighted a lack of paid opportunities for ECC within existing infrastructure. As Participant 5 explained (Appendix 3C4):

> There are a few good opportunities, competitions and readings and whatever, that are around but […] there's not a lot of financial support for these things. I guess you get a title or something you can put on your CV, but you don't really get any [financial] reward for your labour.

Most competition and reading opportunities for composers in ANZ are administered on a call for score basis which require a full score to be completed at the time of application with no guarantee of selection/performance. Such competitions and opportunities include the SOUNZ Composer Sessions (open to all ANZ composers), the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra Todd Young Composer Awards (for ANZ composers under 25), the national choral composition competition Compose Aotearoa! (open to all ANZ composers), and the Philip Neil Memorial Prize (open to all ANZ composers). Participant 4 discussed the isolation and risk that is connected to the precarity of composing for call for score competitions in particular (Appendix 3C3):

> The unfortunate issue with all calls for scores [is] that you're writing a piece in a vacuum, hoping that you might get some money or recognition […] but maybe you might have made a net loss at the end of the day.

In reflecting on the interconnectedness of time, energy, and insecure income, Participant 4 further explained (Appendix 3C4):

> There's a financial barrier […] to genuinely create high quality work, not just bashing out a piece […] but actually making good work, which takes a lot of time […]. The time and energy, which obviously translates to money, I think [is] always the big thing [big challenge].

Other opportunities, such as the Chamber Music New Zealand Composer Woodshed (open to all ANZ composers) only require a project proposal rather than a complete score at the time of application, which reduces the risk of 'net loss at the end of the day' for composers considering applying for the opportunity. However, other potential barriers such as the cost of travel to attend, create obstacles for composers to participate. As Participant 5 shared (Appendix 3C4; 3C5):

> I think the travel costs between New Zealand cities [are a problem for composers], because […] it's a small community that's spread out over quite a large geographic area. It costs quite a bit to travel, so becomes quite hard to engage if there's no financial support.

The lack of support for travel expenses makes accessing such opportunities particularly difficult for composers based outside of Wellington and Auckland, the major cultural centres. As indicated by Participant 5, an inability to travel due to financial restrictions not only limits composers' ability to access opportunities such as composer reading sessions, but also may prevent these composers from interacting with the broader national composition community. I have been unable to identify composition reading opportunities for professional composers (at any career stage) which include funding for travel expenses, or any sort of stipend or fee. Additionally, participation in these composition reading opportunities does not come with any promise of future commission: a situation

which reflects the observations made by Smith and Thwaites in the UK, and Westerlund and López-Íñiguez in Finland.[330]

Some opportunities, such as the NZSO National Youth Orchestra Composer in Residence role do provide the necessary travel and accommodation costs to fulfil the role, as well as an award that involves a commission for a new piece. However, the remuneration for this residency is marginal. As Participant 1, a recent awardee, explained (Appendix 3C4):

> The compensation for writing the orchestra piece is really limited. It's a $1500 commission, for an extraordinary amount of work. […] They're not commissioning you as they would a professional composer […] which is really difficult when you're an emerging composer. [You're] working a part time job on top of your composing, and, you know, trying to make ends meet and then you're putting months of your life towards the piece. So it is an exposure opportunity really. Which is something I struggled with […] because it makes you feel like your work isn't being valued. You're so grateful for the opportunity, it's amazing, but also you feel like "this doesn't feel right," like "you're kidding."

By comparison, the CANZ Commissioning Guidelines recommends a much higher rate: a commissioned ten-minute orchestra piece (the length expected by the NZSO) should receive $13,000 NZD (approximately $11,000 CAD). NZSO's award of $1500 NZD (approximately $1270 CAD) is significantly below this figure.

The significance of such a low remuneration for a commissioned work is heightened considering that the Composer in Residence role seems to be aimed at ECC, rather than composers still operating within the financial and infrastructural security of an undergraduate music program. Most composers who have held the position were either freelance professionals or pursuing master's or doctoral studies.[331] Additionally, the Composer in Residence is expected to have prior experience composing for orchestra, and at least one

[330] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 599; Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 11.
[331] New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, "Previous Composers-in-Residence."

previous orchestral score is required to be included within composers' applications for the role.[332] As Participant 4 shared, there is also an expectation that previous orchestral works were completed recently. For instance, feedback received by the Participant from the NZSO indicated that the former's orchestral work from 2018 was not recent enough when submitting an application for the role in 2023. Because most other opportunities to have orchestral works read are potential 'net loss' call-for-score applications which require a significant upfront investment of time, Participant 4 felt unable to commit to continuously update their orchestral portfolio to stay in the running for the competition.

The provision of low renumeration rates despite an expectation for professional quality work, from professionally experienced composers at an early stage of their careers, was also identified by Smith and Thwaites as a common occurrence in the UK. Smith and Thwaites argued that such opportunities are used as a cost-effective way of supporting organizations' compositional and educational needs.[333] For the NZSO, which has a statutory mandate to "promote and encourage New Zealand musical composition and composers,"[334] $1500 does seem like a cost-effective initiative to evidence the execution of this broad mandate. Smith and Thwaites argued that such an approach to commissioning ECC essentially reduces highly skilled workers to the status of an apprentice or a student,[335] and arguably to a diminished sense of status. One ANZ ECC (a recent holder of the NZSO National Youth Orchestra Composer in Residence position) revealed:

> It [wasn't] all smooth sailing. The deadline they gave me was 31 January […] which was not ideal because usually it's in March. […] So I emailed them just sort of asking "is there any flexibility with the deadline?" and the answer was "no there is not any flexibility" which is disheartening and

[332] New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, "Application | NZSO NYO Composer-in-Residence," New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, accessed June 11, 2024, https://www.nzso.co.nz/the-nzso/learn-and-engage/young-musicians/nzso-nyo-composer-in-residence/application.
[333] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 602.
[334] Parliamentary Counsel Office, "New Zealand Symphony Orchestra Act 2004 No 20 (as at 25 January 2005)," No 20 § (2004), section 8(d), https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2004/0020/4.0/DLM242832.html.
[335] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 600.

> reflected a bit of a lack of understanding of the realities of what goes into writing quite a long piece of orchestral music. But I was having mentoring sessions with [an established ANZ composer] and […] she felt quite strongly about it and actually ended up writing a letter to [the orchestra]. And as soon as she did that, they pushed out my deadline to March. [Seeing] the power she has compared to me […] was a bit disheartening because it kind of showed that they weren't really taking me seriously. It was a power I didn't really have as just an up and coming young composer.

Not only was Participant 1's experience and skill underrecognized due to low renumeration, but the unwillingness of the organisation to engage with them when they voiced legitimate concerns (and a comparative willingness to engage with a more established composer voicing the same concerns), illuminates a broader attitude of dismissal of ECCs' professional status.

Feelings of disappointment, anxiety, and guilt around access to opportunities and renumeration were common experiences among ECC interviewed. Despite acknowledging the vast amount of musical and extra-musical work they have undertaken alongside their composition practice, as well as on various occasions having sought additional financial support through WINZ's Jobseeker's Benefit (discussed in Chapter 2) Participant 4 nevertheless looks back at the time when they were first entering their freelance career with regret for not undertaking more unpaid compositional work (Appendix 3C1):

> I look back at myself, even like a few years ago, 2020 and 2021, and I […] I hate having to say this, but I wish I had taken on more unpaid things to just get my name out there a bit more. I really valued my practice and the fact that you have to be remunerated, but it actually meant that I got very little [composition opportunities because I focused only on remunerated activities].

Such a statement demonstrates Participant 4's internal conflict between navigating the neoliberal pressures of individualism and self-responsibility, against their personal values to be compensated for their work as a young professional. Much like Scharff's study participants, whose desires for financial security and career development manifested as a

perceived need for self-transformation rather than for change within the socio-political sphere,[336] Participant 4 (increasingly) views submitting to opportunity culture as a personal responsibility necessary for success: a dilemma also faced by ECC in the UK.[337] Despite knowing that such a statement goes against their own personal and political values ("I have having to say this […] I really value my practice […] but…"), this participant feels the considerable weight of neoliberalism on their career.

Tall Poppy Syndrome

While most experiences and perspectives shared by ANZ ECC echo those identified in the UK and Finland studies, as explained above, one Participant pointed to a social phenomenon they have experienced which has a prominent Australasian significance: Tall Poppy Syndrome (henceforth "TPS"), a term they invoked. Participant 4 shared (in conversation which evolved from the questions Appendix 3C):

> You have to be much more grassroots with how you organize things here, which isn't for everyone, and you have to be quite driven and resourceful. Which is also tricky when culturally I think there is a Tall Poppy Syndrome. And so sticking your neck out can be quite scary.

TPS is defined by the *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* as "the New Zealand habit of denigrating or 'cutting down' those who are successful or who are high achievers".[338] There is little research on TPS in ANZ, although it is a term used frequently in public discourse and popular culture. One of the few empirical studies, published by Jodyanne Kirkwood in 2015, investigated ANZ entrepreneurs' experiences of TSP. Kirkwood found that despite high rates of entrepreneurialism in ANZ, TPS pervades entrepreneurial experiences, and co-exists

[336] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 113.
[337] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 601.
[338] Tony Deverson, ed., *The New Zealand Oxford Paperback Dictionary* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), 833.

alongside entrepreneurial culture.[339] The authors explain that detractors to high achievers can be at the peer, or wider societal, level.[340] Participant 4 implied that they feel the impact of TPS at a peer level, as they went on to explain:

> Being here in a small community can sometimes be a bit suffocating because people […] just speaking from my own experience, I feel people are scared to be vulnerable with each other. Because at the end of the day, it's a small scene and your peers are also your competitors for a very select few opportunities […] It's so difficult to just have discussions about craft with each other sometimes […] I definitely found this while I was studying […] some friendships with peers of mine became really fraught because it was so difficult to have frank, vulnerable conversations that didn't have a competitive aspect to them.

This perspective resonates with Horrocks' explanation of the impact of neoliberalism on early career artists in ANZ, in which he asserts that the artists "see themselves not as joining an artistic tradition much larger than themselves, but rather as undertaking an individual, competitive enterprise."[341] Horrocks goes so far as to say that within the neoliberal political framework in ANZ, artists are "individual entrepreneurs",[342] which suggests that Kirkwood's research on ANZ entrepreneurs would apply to the arts sector as well.

Within Participant 4's two statements above, we can observe the hesitancy to 'stick your neck out' because it risks success being met with hostility resulting from TPS. Simultaneously, the Participant hesitated to have frank conversations for fear of revealing possible weaknesses, either one's own and/or those of others. There are coexisting fears of being seen to succeed and being seen to fail. In the context of ANZ entrepreneurialism, Kirkwood argued for three possible impacts of TPS: (1) it may discourage people from starting a business; (2) it may discourage people who have failed in the past from starting

[339] Jodyanne Kirkwood, "Tall Poppy Syndrome: Implications for Entrepreneurship in New Zealand," *Journal of Management & Organization* 13, no. 4 (November 2007): 367, https://doi.org/10.5172/jmo.2007.13.4.366.
[340] Kirkwood, 369.
[341] Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*, 342.
[342] Horrocks, 342.

another business; and (3) that entrepreneurs may choose to deliberately limit the growth of their business to avoid attracting TPS-related criticism.[343] Participant 4's experiences suggest that TPS might similarly affect those in the ECC community.

Participant 4, among the last I interviewed, was the first and only one to bring up the matter of TPS. The absence of mention of TPS from other ECC interviewed does not mean that they have not experienced its implications. As revealed in the questions I posed, outlined in Appendix 3, I deliberately steered away from terminology such as "neoliberalism", "individualism", "precarity", "insecurity", "competition" and other similarly charged language. Participant 4 took a particularly vulnerable, candid and open approach to our conversation. I consider experiences of TPS amongst ECC in ANZ to be a topic which warrants further focused investigation, perhaps in the form of a wider ranging study of ANZ composers, with a larger participant group, and conducted by an investigator beyond the ANZ composition community to ensure greater impartiality and therefore increased comfort for composers to share their perspectives on this sensitive matter.

The role and impact of CNZ and broader Government arts policy

ECC were asked to reflect upon their past experiences and perceptions of CNZ, as well as their initial reactions to the recent CNZ reform to arts funding distribution (see Appendix 3B). Four out of the five ECC interviewed had applied to CNZ for funding in the past: two said that at least one of their applications had been successful, although both had also experienced rejections. As Participant 3 shared (Appendix 3B1):

> My first grant application was in 2019 to Creative New Zealand. I must have been at university, maybe towards the end of it. A fellow composer asked me to come on to do a joint application to attend a festival. So that was successful and was, like, my first introduction to Creative New Zealand as a funding body […] I looked over my record and saw that I

[343] Kirkwood, "Tall Poppy Syndrome," 377.

> applied in 2020, 2021, and 2022 and none of those applications were successful.

Participant 3's experience with CNZ resonates with the findings of Westerlund and López-Íñiguez. According to them, Finnish ECC who received project funding once did not necessarily secure further support. In addition, Finnish ECC found the process of securing such funding opaque.[344] Participant 3's experience also reflects those of ECC in the UK, who benefit rarely and only temporarily from State intervention in the arts.[345]

Under CNZ's previous funding model (prior to 2024), unsuccessful funding applications could not be resubmitted in following rounds. Participant 3 spoke of the resilience and opportunism that is necessary to come up with fresh project proposals for each new CNZ funding application:

> You've got to be quite resilient and […] perhaps you don't get too invested in an idea, especially if you're waiting on funding. I guess if the idea is worthwhile, then you really make it happen. But maybe there's another idea that would be better suited or have better success [in getting funding], so it's a lot of trial and error. It's tricky in terms of planning as an early career artist because it doesn't feel like there's much you can plan towards. A lot of it is very opportunistic. So you take what you can get.

Participant 5 shared a similar insight:

> The way that the model worked before, I had issues with. You essentially applied, putting a lot of effort into apply for a project and then […] you couldn't resubmit the same idea [if the application was unsuccessful] which I think is a terrible thing, because if you think you've got a good idea and it's what you really want to do, and the judges are changing every time, there's no reason why you shouldn't be able to resubmit the same idea again.

[344] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 11.
[345] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 594.

Scharff identified the pressure felt by many classical music workers in the UK and Germany to cultivate a "brand" and to market themselves as a "product".[346] It seems that ECC in ANZ feel a similar pressure and seek to cultivate their artistic practice and identity around a "product" which CNZ is most likely to approve. However, what CNZ's preferred "products" look or sound like remains unknown to the applicants.

As the ECCs quoted above imply, the labour involved in a CNZ application, the need to immediately generate new ideas after an unsuccessful funding application, the frequency of rejection, and the inability to rely on professional momentum when applying for CNZ funding risks reaching a pressure level which ECCs are unable to handle successfully. As Participant 3 articulates:

> I think [the funding situation in ANZ] disservices the community in terms of people who get to enjoy art. […] If you fail too many composers […] if you don't help them to get past that massive obstacle, which is that first step into the career […] then it's highly likely there are composers who are going to stop being composers. You have to be somewhat […] a little bit crazy or really dedicated to keep wanting to do this regardless of how difficult it is.

For the ANZ ECC interviewed, "opportunism" in applying for CNZ funding and other opportunities involves (1) strategizing to develop an idea that the ECC believes may have a good chance of success at receiving funding (the expectations of which are unclear), (2) investing significant time, and creative and emotional energy into submitting applications, and (3) recovering from rejection quickly, and developing a new idea, in a "trial and error" approach. The perspectives of interviewees reflect those of ECC and other arts workers in the UK, as identified by Smith and Thwaites, and Scharff: "rejection from opportunities can feel highly personal, particularly as composers are encouraged to act as entrepreneurial individuals in which they are their own brand."[347] The pressures on composers to act and

[346] Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 65–67.
[347] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 598; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*.

succeed as entrepreneurial individuals is complicated by the opaque nature of such applications, as was also noted as an issue in the UK and Finland.[348] Despite the opportunistic nature of applying for CNZ funding being a theme mentioned by four out of five ECC interviewed, when posed with the question of whether they believed CNZ supported a variety of creative aesthetics (see Appendix 3D1), all ECC replied in the affirmative. None said that they believed that their type of creative aesthetic or practice was more or less likely to receive CNZ funding.[349] ECC do not appear to believe that compositional works that sound a certain way, or that embody certain aesthetic or cultural characteristics have a greater chance of funding success. I was conscious, when asking this question to ECC, of Baisnée's 2007 essay examining the politics and aesthetics of contemporary music in ANZ, in which she argues that:

> Music in New Zealand has […] been given a social and cultural mission, based on consensual values: to celebrate the natural beauties of the country's landscape, and the reconciliation of two cultures [Māori (the Indigenous Peoples), and Pākeha (European Settlers)].[350]

Baisnée bases her argument on her observations of the French avant-garde music tradition and ANZ's lack thereof, and draws on the experiences of ANZ composer Nigel Keay, who left ANZ for France in the late 1990s, and who appears to be an acquaintance of Baisnée. She argues that the cultural policy in ANZ has led to a state in which music is "rarely assessed on aesthetic factors alone."[351] Baisnée elaborates that ANZ music is expected to "act as a cultural text, that is to represent the beauties of a reconciled country,"

[348] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 603; Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 11.s
[349] Although one participant did identify that many of the professional development opportunities available, such as orchestral score readings, and compositional workshops, are targeted toward acoustic composers and often do not accommodate for those who prefer other approaches such as electroacoustic composers or sonic artists.
[350] Baisnée, "Politics and Aesthetics of Contemporary Music in France and New Zealand," 170.
[351] Baisnée, 171.

whereby "musical aesthetics are affected by cultural politics" leading composition in ANZ to be "assessed on its capacity to bring people together, to perform a community role."[352] While not criticizing the political and moral values of cultural reconciliation, Baisnée argues that aesthetic choices which do not seek to directly communicate these policy objectives can "place a composer at the margins of the dominant currents."[353] Other scholars of classical music, such as Bull and Scharff, have also highlighted the power of institutions to "(re)produce distinctions and hierarchies between genres,"[354] which ultimately affects how individuals' identities are materialised.[355] Smith and Thwaites also acknowledge that "certain bodies 'fit' more within the contours and expectations of certain institutions and places."[356] However, none of the ANZ ECC interviewed voiced any opinions that echoed those of Baisnée, or the themes considered by Bull and Scharff or Smith and Thwaites. Nor did any ECC interviewed suggest that factors relating to gender, race, socioeconomics, or geographic location affects their ability to attain CNZ funding. Given these ECC responses, my assertions as to the deeper meaning(s) of the "trial and error" nature of applying for CNZ funding are limited. It may be that such an approach, in which composers seek to find project ideas "that would be better suited or have better success," is reflective of observations also made of the opaque[357] and temporary[358] nature of funding for compositional projects, and the pressures to cultivate a brand or product deemed worthy of investment. [359] It may also be that through ECC's persistence, they demonstrate an ongoing commitment to creativity for creativity's' sake: a process in which they "play the neoliberal game" while simultaneously developing an artistic practice which (directly and/or indirectly) challenges the neoliberal

[352] Baisnée, 174.
[353] Baisnée, 172.
[354] Bull and Scharff, "Classical Music as Genre," 683.
[355] Bull and Scharff, 686.
[356] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 596.
[357] Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?," 11.
[358] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 594.
[359] Scharff, "Blowing Your Own Trumpet"; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 65–67.

policy framing of the arts. It is also worth noting Scharff's important observation that within a neoliberal creative sector, individuals are more likely to critique their own practice and abilities, rather than structural-level cultural, social, and political conditions which impact their artistic practice.[360] In order to garner a more in- depth understanding of perceptions amongst composers regarding CNZ and broader ANZ arts and culture policy, further research would be required to investigate the considerations composers make within their "trial and error" process and strategy when applying for CNZ funding, particularly with regards to the (complexly intertwined) aesthetic, commercial, and postcolonial aspects of composing music in ANZ for ANZ audiences today.[361]

ECC interviewed were broadly supportive of CNZ's reformed funding distribution model. CNZ's shift from project-focused to people-focused funding was noted as one of the main changes that positively impacted ECC. As Participant 1 shared:

> One of the tricky things about the old application system was that you had to […] say what the outcome was going to be […] really aiming to perform something, to get it out there, and to have vendors or people say "yes" to you in advance, which is really, really tricky as someone who's maybe never done a big project before. So having an open ended [application] and allowing people to just say "I want to experiment […] or try a few things and this will go towards the living cost […] maybe commission fees […]" but not having to provide a budget or the final outcome, which is a lot of pressure. I like that.

Participant 1 also noted the benefit of the Early Career Fund's rolling deadlines to ECC:

> I'm a big fan of that fund because I think […] it's actually quite flexible. It's a bit lucky for early career people because it's a rolling fund [sic], it's always open [and has] three notification dates. […] It's really broad what you can actually use it for. […] So I think that's actually pretty exciting for us.

[360] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 113.
[361] See footnote 241.

Other ECC interviewed were also pleased with CNZ's shift toward a more open and flexible application process. Participant 5 explained how difficult it had been to provide the supplementary materials necessary to support a successful CNZ application under the previous model, especially as other arts infrastructure was being scaled back:

> [When applying for funds for a commission] there were also things like requirements of press reviews and things like that. By the time I started [applying for grants], [reviewing] had dwindled […] and hardly ever happened, or [reviews] were condensed to 200 words, and if you're in a concert with five people and the review is 200 words, you don't really get anything out of it. And Radio New Zealand's funding declined during that period when I was starting, […] they would record less, and they wouldn't send reviewers to things like they had before […], so you couldn't use that infrastructure to support you application for a commission. The application required you to have [these materials] at a time when all that support kind of fell through.

Participant 5 also noted the challenges for ECC under the previous CNZ application system, which has historically favoured ECC whose projects are connected to large established organizations:

> Funding for early career composition is often tied to big organizations like the orchestras or Chamber Music New Zealand. […] CNZ [under the previous funding distribution model] will support something because it has the support of an institution. And there's not a lot of room for people coming up to create their own smaller institutions or just to do projects and to get funded.

At the present, it is difficult to analyze the implementation of CNZ's new funding distribution model and determine how the shift "from a focus on investing in projects to investing in people"[362] will actually differ from the previous model. While applications for the Early Career and Fellowship Funds, in particular, promote the opportunity for artists to take time to explore ideas rather than produce a specific creative product, CNZ has not shared information on the metrics used to assess applications. Unlike the previous CNZ funding

[362] Creative New Zealand, "For the Arts."

application model which required a comprehensive explanation of the planned project and requested letters of commitment from project collaborators (i.e. musicians who would perform the compositional work), a project budget, and other project-specific details, the new CNZ model is framed more broadly, allowing applicants to discuss the ideas they intend to explore rather than the specific details of the project outcome. In the reformed model, artists are asked various open questions about what they want to do while supported by CNZ, why it is important to do this now, and what they have been doing recently. Applicants with a specific project in mind may detail this if they choose. Supplementary materials such as a budget or letters of commitment from project collaborators are not required, although applicants are able to upload such documents along with their application if they choose. Participant 1 noted the positive impact that the new, less structured application system may have in supporting a diverse array of artists and art. Reflecting on the previous model, they explain:

> I always imagine that it must be really difficult if you don't have a high level of literacy to be able to apply to a grant. I've slowly learned those skills over the years, but it's not easy writing one of those applications. And they really need to understand the game, so to speak, and be able to use the right language. So I always wonder if there is a group of people that miss out or don't attempt to [apply to] Creative New Zealand because of those reasons. Which is a problem because you want diverse applications from different backgrounds, different classes, economics […].

It may be the case that the flexibility and openness of CNZ's new application model reflects a broadening of the policy-influenced "contours and expectations" [363] of art making in ANZ, which may welcome "certain bodies"[364] to better "fit" [365] within ANZ's artistic ecosystem.

[363] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 596.
[364] Smith and Thwaites, 596.
[365] Ahmed, "A Phenomenology of Whiteness," 153.

Despite CNZ's shifted emphasis to fund people and ideas rather than projects and products, some artists will naturally wish to apply for funding to support project-oriented endeavours, such as composing a new work for a music ensemble. Questions naturally arise as to how applications which involve detailed project timelines, budgets, and outcomes will be assessed against more openly framed applications from artists wishing to take time to explore and create with no specific product or project outcome. Indeed, various arts practitioners interviewed by ANZ news media following CNZ's reform said that while the reform seems broadly positive, they would still like more transparency around the assessment criteria.[366]

Other arts practitioners interviewed by ANZ news media noted their concern regarding the risk of arts organizations being without funds during the shifting period due to the new alignment of funding round dates. This is a concern which Participant 2 shares, due to the impact that small local arts organizations have on ECC, particularly those at the very beginning of their careers. Participant 2 does not believe that their compositional portfolio is developed enough to apply for the Early Career Fund or other arts funds through CNZ as an individual.[367] However, they feel the impact of CNZ's reform acutely due to their reliance on small community arts organizations for professional development opportunities. Two of their upcoming projects involve working with a community choir in Christchurch, and a Baroque chamber ensemble in Wellington. Both organizations are concerned about what their funding will look like under the new CNZ scheme, and whether they will have the financial means to carry on with their planned projects.

[366] Brooks, "Artists and Sector Leaders Respond."
[367] Participant 2 falls slightly outside the age range I originally set when determining a loose definition of ECC. They are 23 years old, and are in the final months of their Masters in Composition degree. They expressed interest in participating in this research and I chose to include them, due to the unique perspective they offer as someone who is making the journey from tertiary study into a freelance composition career.

Concluding remarks

Participant 2's mention of their reliance on small community arts organizations, and Participant 5's noting of the withdrawal of Government support for music journalism and recording, reiterate what has been made clear by all ECC interviewed: that ECCs', and perhaps indeed all artists', creative practice is fundamentally reliant on the community and infrastructure around them. However, this community and infrastructure are also under pressure due to withdrawal of funding and rising operation costs. Feedback from ECC collected within this research, the decline in composer residencies and chamber music organizations as discussed in Chapter 3, and feedback from the wider arts community,[368] confirm that the challenges facing artists in ANZ encompass more than simply CNZ's funding distribution methods. For instance, university music departments – which many interviewees mentioned as important forms of support, and which some suggested ought to be doing more – have been subject to significant budget cuts in recent years. The University of Auckland, University of Victoria of Wellington, University of Waikato, and University of Otago music departments have all been restructured as a result of budget cuts in the past decade, leading to the loss of numerous staff members across music disciplines, including composition.[369] A university composition program may indeed be a significantly different experience for young composers today than it was for the ECC who participated in this study.

Other ECC shared that while CNZ's newly reformed funding distribution system – the Fellowship Fund and the Early Career fund in particular – offer much for artists to be positive about, they are disappointed that a BIA wasn't pursued. Applying for funding from

[368] Kantar Public, Creative New Zealand, and NZ on Air, "Profile of Creative Professionals"; Creative New Zealand, "Sustainable Careers for Artists and Arts Practitioners: Summary of Consultation" (Wellington: Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, October 2020); Creative New Zealand, "Sustainable Careers for Artists and Arts Practitioners: Discussion Document."
[369] Dugal McKinnon, "NZ Music Schools under Threat: We Need a Better Measure of Their Worth than Money," The Conversation, July 11, 2023, http://theconversation.com/nz-music-schools-under-threat-we-need-a-better-measure-of-their-worth-than-money-209323.

CNZ remains highly competitive, meaning funding for artists remains precarious and insecure. Participant 1 emphasized that a BIA would have greater impact in more directly addressing the experiences of precarity experienced by artists, particularly those at the beginning of their career:

> I mean, at the most basic level, just some kind of artists living wage model or something [is needed] […] It just gives you that time […] a period of time to, you know, develop your practice and try and build up, you know, the freelance income and all of that stuff. That would be amazing. Just anything to give you that time to develop a practice.

The variety of insights shared by ECC interviewed reinforce the importance of ongoing engagement with the composition community to understand its changing conditions and needs. Precisely mapping the contours of contemporary precarity and opportunity culture within the ANZ ECC community is necessary to properly investigate the impact of neoliberal capitalism on artistic work within composition practice.[370] Soliciting feedback from the composition community is a vital step in crafting roadmaps to better support community members, especially those of whom are at the beginning of their career and experiencing precarity most directly.

[370] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 590.

Conclusion

When Lilburn delivered his 1969 lecture delivered at the University of Otago, reflecting on his 1946 talk at the Cambridge Summer School of Music, he spoke of the progress that had been made:

> Opportunities for performance are now better here, I think, than in many parts of the world […] opportunities for publication and commercial recording are increasing rapidly […] commissions are plentiful and generous now where 20 years ago they were almost non-existent […] communication is no longer the difficult thing it was; composers travel readily within the country, get more help for overseas travel and study, enjoy a greater reciprocal flow of visiting composers.[371]

Based on the interviews I have undertaken, it is unlikely that ECC today would look at the changing conditions of developing a career in composition in ANZ over the past twenty years with the same sense of progress. ECC interviewed have noted the lack of opportunities for performance,[372] which are being made increasingly more difficult due to the financial and cultural pressures which prevent many artists from creating grass-roots opportunities for themselves.[373] They have noted the decline in music journalism and withdrawal of support for commercial recording.[374] They have explicitly commented on the difficulty of attaining commissions as an ECC,[375] and the low financial value of those commissions which are designed to support ECC.[376] They have mentioned the barriers to accessing opportunities which arise due to the costs of travel both domestically and internationally.[377]

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[371] Lilburn, "A Search for Language," 59.
[372] As noted by all Participants. Participant 4 also noted the frustration they have experienced after recently returning to ANZ from London, where they had many opportunities to have their work performed during the year spent there. They had hoped their success abroad would lead to a "snowball effect" of opportunities arising upon return to ANZ, however, this has not taken place.
[373] As discussed by Participants 2, 4, and 5.
[374] Discussed by Participant 5.
[375] Discussed by Participants 1, 3, 4, and 5.
[376] Discussed by Participants 1 and 4.
[377] Discussed by Participants 1, 4, and 5.

Experiences of precarity amongst ECC interviewed, both in terms of financing their career and livelihoods as well as finding opportunities for professional development, resonate with findings of conditions for ECC and classical musicians studied elsewhere.[378] The impact of neoliberal economic policy in ANZ, as discussed in Part 1 of this thesis, was highlighted directly and indirectly in ECC's experiences. Several ECC explained that insecure professional opportunities and piecemeal income forms make producing high quality work particularly difficult.[379] Such experiences echo McRobbie's assertion that "the rise of the creative subcontractor" due to neoliberal pressures "marks the decline of 'the indies' (the independents)" and "the downgrading of creativity."[380] Insights shared by interviewees also reflect Horrocks' assertions that "many young people now approach an arts career in neoliberal terms […] an individual, competitive enterprise."[381] Views shared by some ECC suggest that neoliberal pressures of individualism and self-responsibility contribute to a sense of anxiety and guilt around taking on low or unpaid compositional work, which reflects observations made by Smith and Thwaites,[382] and Scharff. [383]

However, while ECC interviewed spoke to the challenges involved in this individualist, competitive career, they also all acknowledged the importance of the ANZ composition community to their artistic practice. Additionally, while ECC experienced pressure to adapt their artistic goals, strategies, and projects to meet the "contours and expectations"[384] of certain arts organizations and infrastructural initiatives, they all simultaneously acknowledged a need for change within the socio-political sphere. ECC interviewed were highly aware of the impact that Government initiatives and political

[378] Including those discussed within: Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity"; Westerlund and López-Íñiguez, "Professional Education toward Protean Careers in Music?"; Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*.
[379] Discussed in particular by Participant 1 and Participant 4.
[380] McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies," 519.
[381] Horrocks, *Culture in a Small Country*, 342.
[382] Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 598–600.
[383] Scharff, *Gender Subjectivity, and Cultural Work*, 113.
[384] To use the language of Smith and Thwaites, "The Composition of Precarity," 596.

ideology has on the professional conditions of being an artist in ANZ. Participant 4 used particularly specific language in articulating the economic and political ideological movements at play within CNZ's reform:

> The fact that they open it up and say "the main thing is we want to allow you to explore and continue to grow" […] I feel like on a very deep level that's so meaningful because […] I guess it steps away from the capitalist model really. It puts resources into an individual or a group, or whoever is applying […] but into actual humans to think and reflect and do. That's so at odds with a capitalist model where we, as composers, are doing the grind and we have a brand and [are] turning out products essentially.

A conscious awareness of, and resistance to, neoliberal pressures within art making in ANZ was clear within the ECC group. The willingness of ECC to discuss the various structural-level challenges facing ANZ artists demonstrates a reluctance to accept the neoliberal commitment to meritocratic competition which assumes that "talent" will "rise to the top".[385] ECC interviewed were not fooled by the "illusion of increased autonomy" within neoliberal agenda, [386] and clearly identified the ways in which Government- and organisation-based policies actively limit their autonomy as ECC. All ECC said that CNZ's reform marks a positive shift toward supporting the people who make art, rather than the product created. Such a shift presents a welcome challenge to neoliberal ideology. However, ECC were also clear in articulating that the professional conditions of developing a career in composition in ANZ extend beyond the impact of CNZ. Some of the key challenges ECC face relate to arts-based infrastructure, including limitations in the scope of support from universities, opportunities made available through ensembles and other music organizations, commissioning practices, availability of residencies, and wider arts infrastructure such as the national radio. Other challenges relate to the broader conditions of living and working in

[385] Smith and Thwaites, 159.
[386] Davies, "The (Im)Possibility of Intellectual Work," 11.

ANZ, including the rising costs of living and travel, and large geographic spread of a small population (and therefore, spread of the music community).

In this thesis, I have sought to unpack the key challenges ECC in ANZ face, and contextualise these challenges within the political and economic history of ANZ since the mid 20th century [spell out]. In Chapter 1, I outlined the history of arts funding in ANZ, Rogernomic neoliberal reforms to economic policy during the 1980s, and its resulting impact on the arts. In Chapter 2, I examined how CNZ's 2023 reform to the distribution of funding for the arts challenges neoliberal ideologies, and considered the principles and details of the reform alongside similar initiatives from other countries and within ANZ's history. In Chapter 3, I turned my focus to conditions relating to developing a composition practice in ANZ, by outlining important figures and organizations who have supported ANZ composition, as well as a comprehensive summary of all composer residencies which have existed in ANZ (the sole comprehensive collection of information on ANZ composer residencies, to my knowledge). In Chapter 4, I examined the perspectives shared by five ECC from ANZ, and contextualised my findings within the findings of similar studies conducted in the UK and Finland, as well as the broader context of arts policy and composition history explored in the previous thesis chapters.

Through this process, I have discovered various elements of ANZ compositional history and experience which deserve further research. Firstly, during my research for Chapter 3, I realized how little material relating to historical and contemporary compositional infrastructure is preserved either in original form or online. Reference to many composer residencies of the past only exist in composer biographies: in some cases, even the organizations (which still exist today) that offered these opportunities do not have records of what the residencies involved and who held them. Similarly, there are various contemporary music ensembles that no longer operate, which have left a limited online footprint and few

materials in print stored in libraries and archives. While not the primary intent of this thesis, I hope that my research goes some way in expanding upon the preserved written history of these important pieces of historical ANZ compositional infrastructure.

Secondly, through my interviews with ECC it was made clear that Tall Poppy Syndrome (TPS) is something which a significant challenge some composers face in developing their career. While only one ECC interviewed spoke about TPS openly, it is widely acknowledged as a common experience amongst high achievers across disciplines in ANZ. Further investigation into the impact TPS has on ECC – and artists more broadly – in developing their artistic careers would be of immense value to better understanding the pressures of making art in a highly competitive environment.

Thirdly, in order to garner a more in-depth understanding of perceptions amongst composers (and artists more broadly) of CNZ and wider ANZ arts policy, further research ought to be undertaken to investigate the considerations applicants make within their "trial and error" strategy when applying for CNZ funding. Such investigation may illuminate potential underlying expectations of ANZ arts policies.

It also became clear through the interview process that ECC appreciate the opportunity for frank and vulnerable discussions about the realities of developing a career as a composer in ANZ. All ECC who participated mentioned the value in speaking about their experiences, and many commented on the lack of space in which to have conversations where experiences of precarity and broader creative and professional insecurities could be shared and validated. It is my hope that beyond this thesis, such conversations may be able to continue.

Throughout this research and interview process a point which has continuously been reiterated is that, while the recent reform to CNZ's funding distribution model is broadly understood by artists as a promising step forward, neoliberal economic policy still

fundamentally impacts the arts sector in ANZ. Experiences of precarity do not only affect ECC. While the unique dynamics of these challenges as experienced by ECC are important, they are themes that are common to many New Zealanders. Between April 2023 and 2024, an estimated 130,600 people left ANZ, the highest annual migrant departure on record, which economists have attributed to rising living costs and ongoing job shortages.[387] The current challenges faced by ECC are part of a broader national experience. Nevertheless, it remains important to investigate and report on experiences of artists in ANZ today, and to undertake focused investigations on specific interest groups (such as ECC) to better understand their unique experiences and needs. Only through understanding the intricacies of the challenges facing ECC can we develop well-informed, high-quality advocacy and innovative, sustainable solutions.

When Lilburn gave his "A Search for Tradition" lecture in 1946, he spoke of the need for the creative artist to have a "great deal of faith," and that such faith "implies things to believe in."[388] While there are a myriad of challenges facing ECC in ANZ today, many of which Lilburn could not possibly have foreseen, there remains a sense of faith "alive in the community." There are plenty of things to believe in, as evidenced by the commitment of ANZ composers, and those who support them, who continue Lilburn's legacy in the development of a uniquely ANZ music tradition. Some of the challenges ECC face today are similar to those Lilburn knew well. Others are entirely new. Many are continuously evolving in nature. What has remained constant over the generations is a curiosity and enthusiasm amongst ECC to contribute to ANZ's rich compositional community and tradition, despite the uncertainty such a career brings. Participant 2 describes the experience of being an ECC

[387] Eva Corlett, "Record Number of People Leave New Zealand amid Cost of Living Pressures," *The Guardian*, June 12, 2024, sec. World news, https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/jun/12/new-zealand-cost-of-living-pressures-record-people-leaving-australia.
[388] Lilburn, "A Search for Tradition," 27.

in ANZ particularly succinctly: “It’s an exciting point and it’s a terrifying point. All because it’s uncertain...”

Appendix 1 – Procedure for Recruiting Research Participants

With Research Ethics Board approval, I sought interview participants by publishing calls for volunteers through various composition networks, including the Composers Association of New Zealand, and the University of Canterbury Composers Forum and University of Auckland Composers Forum on Facebook.[389] The call for participants was directed to self-described "Early Career Composers". I provided a loose description of this category as "composers aged approximately between 25 and 35, and not currently enrolled in an undergraduate music degree." Participants could be based in ANZ or internationally but needed to have some experience in developing a composition career on the ground in ANZ: I left it open and up to prospective participants to determine whether they had sufficient experience to speak to. Prospective participants were advised that their names would not be published in the final thesis, but that some potentially identifiable details may be included for contextual purposes, such as ECCs' locations, details of their practice, and anecdotes that they choose to share during the interview. All participants were given the option to review any quotes or references from their interview included in the thesis prior to thesis publication, with the option to remove any extracts they are not comfortable with being published. Participants were asked to fill out a short survey prior to the interview, which collected demographic information including the ECC's ethnicity, location where they grew up, current city of residence, and education experience. Interviews were conducted between April and June 2024 via Microsoft Teams video calls, with most interviews lasting between twenty minutes and an hour.

[389] The only other university with a Facebook Forum is the University of Victoria, but I received no reply from the group administrators when I requested permission to share information on my study, so I did not advertise through that platform. However, both the Christchurch and the Auckland composer facebook forums have members from outside of those cities, so I was satisfied that the combination of these forums, as well as the CANZ email list, resulted in a broad enough reach in my call for volunteers.

Appendix 2 – Survey Questions for the Collection of Demographic Information

1. Name and email (open description)

2. Gender identity
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Non-binary

3. Ethnicity (open description)

4. Where did you grow up? (open description)

5. If you undertook university study, where did you complete this? (open description)

6. Where do you live now? (open description)

7. Music education (select all that apply)
    a. No formal music education
    b. Bachelors degree
    c. Masters degree
    d. Doctoral degree
    e. Other qualification (ie ABRSM / Trinity exams) (please provide details)

Appendix 3 – Interview Questions

Appendix 3A: Questions on composer identity, lifestyle, and practice

1. In your opinion, what are some of the benefits of working as a composer?
2. In your opinion, what are some of the challenges of working as a composer?
3. How would you describe your composition practice in terms of your broader career portfolio? i.e. What approximate proportion of your work time involves composition (including grant applications, and administrative work relating to composition)? Is this reflected in the approximate portion of your income derived from your composition practice?

Appendix 3B: Questions on experiences in applying for funding, and perspectives on CNZ reform

1. Please describe your experience finding and applying for arts funding to date. This might include applying for CNZ funding, creative communities funding through your local council, or other methods of applying for paid composition work.
2. Do you feel that the former arts funding model (prior to CNZ's announced reform) adequately supports early career composers in developing their artistic practice?
    - Participants will be encouraged to understand the term 'support' in various ways, including financial provisions, potential for collaboration, fostering of community, and opportunity for professional development.
3. What are your initial thoughts on the newly reformed CNZ funding model overall, particularly the Early Career Artist Fund?[390] Please consider potential benefits and/or shortfalls of the new model. (Acknowledging that at the time of interview, the first round under the new model may not yet have opened applications).

Appendix 3C: Questions on broader ANZ composition infrastructure

1. Outside of those available through university degree programs, what infrastructure/initiatives have supported your career development? (i.e. SOUNZ Composer Readings, commissions from ensembles, residencies, etc).
2. Do you think there are more or fewer opportunities available for early career composers than there were in previous generations (going back approximately 50 years)? How do you think this impacts your career development?
3. Do you think there are enough opportunities to have your work performed and recorded in ANZ? What are some of the beneficial forms of infrastructure for supporting performance and recording?
4. Based on your experience, do you think the financial component of these opportunities is appropriate for your age and stage of career?

[390] The Early Career Artist fund will be open once a year for early career artists to apply to for up to $10,000NZD to support mentorship.

5. Based on your personal experiences, are there any infrastructure initiatives that you think could be developed/revived to better support early career artists?

Appendix 3D: Questions on creative aesthetics and collaboration

1. Do you think that the funding and infrastructure for composition in ANZ supports a diversity of creative aesthetics? Why/why not? How does this impact your personal practice?
2. How would you describe the potential for creative collaboration in ANZ? Both within your own city, and across geographical area within ANZ. What are some of the factors that support collaboration? What are some of the challenges to collaboration?

Appendix 3E: Questions on developing a career as an ECC in ANZ versus Overseas

1. What are your reflections on the appeal of being an early career composer based in ANZ versus being based overseas?
2. Do you think the opportunities available to early career composers in ANZ stand up against international locations such as in Australia, the UK, Europe, and the US?
3. Do you think there is sufficient infrastructure and initiatives to support ANZ composers in participating in the international composition community/dialogue? Do you think that having this infrastructure is important? Examples of infrastructure and initiatives include availability of funding for attending overseas events and support in accessing these opportunities, and interaction with the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) and the Asian Composers League (ACL).

Appendix 4 – Glossary

ANZ: Aotearoa New Zealand. I adopt this name for the country to reflect both the Māori-language and English-language terms. In ANZ, the two names (Aotearoa, and New Zealand) are used interchangeably.

APRA AMCOS NZ: Australasian Performing Right Association and Australasian Mechanical Copyright Owners Society. A music rights management organization operating in ANZ and Australia. For more information, see Chapter 3.

Arts Council of Ireland: an organisation which falls under the ambit of the RoI's Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media. For the purposes of comparison between the ANZ and RoI contexts, the Arts Council of Ireland is the equivalent of ANZ's CNZ. For more information, see Chapter 2.

BIA: Basic Income for Artists. In this thesis, "BIA" refers to the Basic Income for Artist Pilot Scheme currently being trialled in the Republic of Ireland (RoI). For more information, see Chapter 2.

CANZ: Te Rōpū Kaitito Puoro o Aotearoa | The Composers Association of New Zealand. A charity organization for ANZ composers. For more information, see Chapter 3.

CNZ: Creative New Zealand. The main body that arts practitioners, including composers, and most arts organizations in ANZ interact with. CNZ is a Crown Entity, which sits under the umbrella of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, and receives its funding through the Ministry, as well as through the New Zealand Lotteries Commission. For the purposes of comparison between the ANZ and RoI contexts, CNZ is the equivalent of the RoI's Arts Council of Ireland. For a full explanation of CNZ's history, functions, and funding, see Chapter 1.

Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media: Ireland's Government Department which overseas the arts. The Department supports large scale arts organizations such as the National Symphony Orchestra, and Irish Museum for Modern Art. For the purposes of comparison between the ANZ and RoI contexts, the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media is the equivalent of ANZ's Ministry for Culture and Heritage. For more information, see Chapter 2.

ECC: Early Career Composer, as loosely defined by the parameters: composers aged approximately between 25 and 35, and not currently enrolled in an undergraduate music degree.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage: the ANZ Government Ministry which overseas the arts. Formerly called the Ministry for Arts, Culture and Heritage. The Ministry manages large scale arts organizations, such as the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, Royal New Zealand Ballet, and various museums including Te Papa. See Chapter 1 for more information. For the purposes of comparison between the ANZ and RoI contexts, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage is the equivalent of RoI's Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media.

PACE: Pathways to Arts and Cultural Employment Scheme. A scheme which ran in ANZ from 2001-2012, which was designed to provide professional development for artists who were receiving government unemployment benefits through WINZ.

RoI: Republic of Ireland.

SOUNZ: The SOUNZ Centre for New Zealand Music, Toroa Toi te Arapūoro. SOUNZ works to make ANZ music available digitally and its functions include making and broadcasting music recordings, collecting and selling scores by ANZ composers, digitally publishing news stories and articles related to ANZ music, and presenting workshops on relevant topics. For more information, see Chapter 3.

TPS: Tall Poppy Syndrome. Defined by the *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* as "the New Zealand habit of denigrating or 'cutting down' those who are successful or who are high achievers".

WINZ: Work and Income NZ. A Government entity offering a range of services to support New Zealanders in finding work and accessing essential. Key functions of WINZ include its Employment Service, which supports people looking for work, and the Jobseeker's Benefit, which provides people with an income while unemployed. WINZ facilitated the PACE Scheme from 2001-2012.

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