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**AUSTRALIA
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STUDIES IN POPULAR MUSIC

Edited by
Shelley Brunt
and Geoff Stahl



Made in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand

Made in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand: Studies in Popular Music serves as a comprehensive and thorough introduction to the history, sociology, and musicology of twentieth-century popular music of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. The volume consists of chapters by leading scholars of Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand music, and covers the major figures, styles, and social contexts of pop music in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Each chapter provides adequate context so readers understand why the figure or genre under discussion is of lasting significance to Australian or Aotearoan/New Zealand popular music. The book first presents a general description of the history and background of popular music in these countries, followed by chapters that are organized into thematic sections: Place-Making and Music-Making; Rethinking the Musical Event; Musical Transformations: Decline and Renewal; and Global Sounds, Local Identity.

Shelley Brunt is Senior Lecturer in the Music Industry program at RMIT University, Australia.

Geoff Stahl is Senior Lecturer in Media Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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Edited by

**Shelley Brunt and
Geoff Stahl**

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Series Foreword

Popular music studies have progressed from the initial focus on methodologies to exploring a variety of genres, scenes, works, and performers. British and North American music have been privileged and studied first, not only for their geographic and generational proximity to scholars, but also for their tremendous impact. Everything else has been often relegated to the dubious “world music” category, with a “folk” (or “roots,” or “authentic”) label attached.

However, world popular music is no less popular than rock ‘n’ roll, r&b, disco, rap, singer-songwriters, punk, grunge, brit-pop, or nu-gaze. It is no less full of history and passion, no less danceable, socially relevant, and commercialized. Argentinian tango, Brazilian *bossa nova*, Mexican *reggaeton*, Cuban *son* and *timba*, Spanish and Latin American *cantautores*, French *auteurs-compositeurs-interprètes*, Italian *cantautori* and electronic dance music, *J-pop*, German cosmic music and *Schlager*, Neapolitan Song, Greek *entechno*, Algerian *rai*, Ghanaian highlife, Portuguese *fado*, Nigerian *jùjú*, Egyptian and Lebanese Arabic pop, Israeli *mizrahit*, and Indian *filmi* are just a few examples of locally and transnationally successful genres that, with millions of records sold, are an immensely precious key to understand different cultures, societies, and economies.

More than in the past there is now a widespread awareness of the “other” popular music: however, we still lack access to the original sources, or to texts to rely on. The *Routledge Global Popular Music Series* has been devised to offer to scholars, teachers, students, and general readers worldwide a direct access to scenes, works, and performers that have been mostly not much or not at all considered in the current literature, and at the same time to provide a better understanding of the different approaches in the field of non-Anglophone scholarship. Uncovering the wealth of studies flourishing in so many countries, inaccessible to those who do not speak the local language, is now no less urgent than considering the music itself.

The series website (www.globalpopularmusic.net) includes hundreds of audio-visual examples which complement the volumes. The interaction with the website is intended to give a well-informed introduction to the world’s popular music from entirely new perspectives, and at the same time to provide updated resources for academic teaching.

Routledge Global Popular Music Series ultimately aims at establishing a truly international arena for a democratic musicology, through authoritative and accessible books. We hope

that our work will help the creation of a different polyphony of critical approaches, and that you will enjoy listening to and being part of it.

Franco Fabbri
Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito di Parma, Italy

Goffredo Plastino
Newcastle University, UK

Series Editors

Preface

Both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand offer a different set of case studies than what might otherwise be expected from the Routledge *Global Popular Music Series*. As editors, we have deliberately paired these two countries together for this volume for reasons of geographical proximity, as well as their shared status of lying at the outer reaches of the Anglo-American sphere of influence. As this edited collection demonstrates, local music-makers have embraced a myriad of global popular music genres and made them their own. These chapters exemplify how popular music—from rock and hip hop to electronic dance music—can subtly and profoundly articulate the specificity of geographical and historical circumstance. This book aims to speak to a number of these kinds of music issues and musical aspects, many of which are often unknown or invisible to the international reader.

Book Organization

Made in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand is divided into four parts, each exploring a different aspect of popular music in one of these countries or sometimes both. It begins with our co-authored historical chapter which provides a context for the volume and its sub-theme of popular music and the city. This Introduction is followed by Part I, “Place-making and Music-making,” which considers how places and practices are deeply intertwined, how places gain their identity through popular song, the power of institutions in the musical life of Australia, as well as the power of built form in shaping musical sensibilities. Part II, “Rethinking the Musical Event,” considers how events are mobilized by a range of interested parties. They are designed to celebrate locality, to reaffirm or mine the value of its musical past through heritage sites and tourist packages, as well as allowing a moment to reflect on the wax and wane of the eventfulness of a place. Part III, “Musical Transformations: Decline and Renewal” speaks to issues of how music-makers and other stakeholders view music as a valuable resource, one that individuals as well as cities rely on to make places meaningful. Part IV, the final section, is titled “Global Sounds, Local Identity” and indicates a shift from an inward perspective on Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand to an outward view, addressing in finer detail how the local and the global are enmeshed in musical practice.

The Coda, written “in conversation” by two American scholars—both fans of music from Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand—considers a number of related questions that are perhaps in the mind of international readers: How is Anglophone music from the Down

Under periphery understood by the center? What are the discourses that are tied to this music, and are articulated via cultural workers, such as musicians, and institutions such as record shops, mail order catalogues, and fanzines? It examines several interrelated dynamics: the role of cultural intermediaries and tastemakers in facilitating first impressions of the music, to whom we sometimes returned for more information; the ways in which recorded music circulates via specific sites of production, distribution, and reception, from record shops to zines to college radio; and the importance of music media as material culture. The authors situate their own consumption and reception of Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand's pop music via these intermediaries and institutions as key to their understandings of the music. The Afterword presents a reflection on the trans-Tasman flow of music and musicians which we, and the other authors in this book, have broadly argued for as a point of connection between Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Australian author of the Afterword presents a case study of the internationally known New Zealand brothers Neil and Tim Finn. She looks back on a series of interviews she conducted with them as co-band members in Crowded House and Split Enz, as well as soloists, and the fandom surrounding these transnational musicians. Lastly, we present a curated but by no means comprehensive list of books about popular music in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, to provide the international reader with further routes of exploration into specific issues or themes mentioned in this volume.

Notes on Terms

We would like to point out the deliberate choice of spelling and languages employed in this book, beginning with the Māori name for New Zealand, “Aotearoa” or the “land of the long white cloud.” In recognition of this name, and in keeping with local custom, we use the composite term “Aotearoa/New Zealand”—rather than simply the English language “New Zealand”—as an important acknowledgment of te reo Māori as one of the country's official languages. The forward slash (/) is also a significant post-colonial statement that recognizes that two cultures, Māori and Pākehā (the Māori term for white European settlers and their descendants), both occupy this land (and although it is increasingly a multicultural, not simply a bi-cultural, nation, the acknowledgment of the first peoples in this way is important). Like scholars Jo Smith and Sue Abel, we view the term Aotearoa/New Zealand as a “conjunction of signs that demarcate the endlessly contested nature of this settler nation,” where

“Aotearoa” refers to an *iwi*-based [tribe-based] nation and “New Zealand” is that which demarcates the settler nation and those who come after *tangata whenua* [indigenous people of the land]. The slash . . . between these two terms is the site that holds in doubt, suspension and fine balance, the potential unity of the two. Accordingly, a critically conscious approach to this conjunction might see Aotearoa/New Zealand as designating a site of endless contestation over what and who gets to count as the nation.

(2008, 9–10)

Australia, however, does not have a government-recognized single indigenous language that is used in a comparable way to te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. English is

Australia's official spoken language—even though a multitude of other languages are articulated every day in what is a deeply multicultural society—and there is no alternative indigenous language name for “Australia” commonly in use.

Our contributors have used their preferred configuration of country names in their respective chapters. We, however, have used the title “Aotearoa/New Zealand” in our own writing and in the book's title to signal that this distinction has an important political salience: although the issues of colonizer and colonized may seem out-dated to some people, it is a situation that is—to use post-colonial parlance—far from settled.

Bibliography

Smith, Jo and Sue Abel. 2008. “Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Indigenous Television in Aotearoa/New Zealand.” *MEDIANZ: Media Studies Journal of Aotearoa New Zealand* 11 (1): 1–14.

Shelley Brunt, RMIT University, Australia
Geoff Stahl, Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand



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Acknowledgments

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Shelley Brunt, RMIT University, Australia

Geoff Stahl, Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand



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Introduction

This is My City: Reimagining Popular Music Down Under

Shelley Brunt and Geoff Stahl

Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand are neighboring countries in the Southern Hemisphere which are often perceived by those in the West and elsewhere as “down under.” This colloquialism refers to their position on the globe as being somewhere underneath Asia, below and to the side of America, and on the opposite side of the world to Europe. Furthering this relational concept is the term “Antipodean,” used primarily by those in the Northern Hemisphere to reinforce the vast distance these two nations seemingly are from more “established” culture, music, history, and so forth. For Australians and New Zealanders, however, the vast Pacific and Indian Oceans do not entirely separate them from the rest of the world. Australia, for example, has long embraced its close proximity to Asia in general and Indonesia more specifically, while Aotearoa/New Zealand is one of the cornerstones of the chain of Pacific Islands (including Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, and other regional island nations). Importantly, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand’s geographical closeness—as countries simply “across the ditch” (meaning “over the ocean”) from each other—has enabled a unique reciprocity that has long informed the way in which musicians and their music have traversed the adjoining Tasman Sea.

Made in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand is intended to introduce international readers to various aspects of popular music from these two countries which share a very special relationship. This chapter sets the scene by providing a historical context and a cursory sketch of a selection of geo-historical specificities that provide the scaffolding for the subsequent chapters. Our specific interest lies in the cities or broader urban areas of these countries—cities are indelibly connected with the production and consumption of popular music. We also collate and synthesize established research in an original manner, with a view to instigating new concepts and understandings of this existing knowledge in such a way as to reimagine popular music “down under.” As such, this is the first study that pairs the popular music histories of both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand together in relation to cities; a timely inclusion to the academic literature.¹ In doing so, we reveal contemporary concerns born out of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand’s colonial pasts and post-colonial presents, and how they respond to globalization in relation to popular music in revealing ways.

What is Australian popular music? What is Aotearoa/New Zealand popular music? Of course, an entire country cannot demonstrate a singular sound that can be said to be “Australian” or “Aotearoa/New Zealand.”² These challenging questions have equally challenging answers that lie beyond any simple description of a genre or style or instrument

or concepts of national identity. Instead, as a starting point for the international reader, it is useful to highlight the numerous, globally recognizable Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand artists who have entered the global rock, pop, and “world music” pantheon via chart success, critical kudos, or their influence on other artists. Australia has introduced the world to Kylie Minogue, Air Supply, Little River Band, AC/DC, Rick Springfield, Helen Reddy, Men at Work, Nick Cave, The Go-Betweens, Midnight Oil, Jet, Yothu Yindi, INXS, Savage Garden, Gurrumul, and, more recently, Courtney Barnett. Aotearoa/New Zealand has produced Split Enz, The Flight of the Conchords, Moana and the Moahunters, The Clean, The Chills, OMC, Shihad (also known as Pacifier), Bic Runga, and Lorde, and (arguably a joint effort between both countries) Crowded House. Indeed, both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand have rich musical histories that speak across, as well as beyond, the Tasman Sea. They are bound together, not just because of proximity, but also through their colonial and post-colonial histories, which have indelibly shaped how pop and rock industries, institutions, and imaginaries have unfolded in both countries.

Indigenous Histories, Colonizers and Musical Life

Although this book focuses on the contemporary state of popular music in the post-colonial nation states of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, it is important to note their indigenous pasts which, in no small way, inform the current state of popular music in both countries. Prior to European invasion and colonization, both countries had robust indigenous cultures, which themselves relied on a wide variety of song and dance as part of numerous rituals and ceremonies. Australia has an unusual and complex history, which, of course, does not simply start with the “discovery” of Australia by various European ships in the 1600s, the charting of the east coast by James Cook, the establishment of British penal colonies, and the subsequent expansion of the Empire during the 1700s. Australia was (and is) home to diverse tribes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people for many millennia; today they are recognized as the oldest living culture on Earth and have strong connections with the land. Indigenous culture is preserved through oral rather than written traditions, and includes songs to pass on values, family histories, verbal maps of the land, and more. Around the time of colonization, it was regarded that these two distinct cultural groups of Indigenous Australians shared over 250 different languages and 700 dialects between them, spread across the vast continent. Today, for many reasons—most notably the brutal and deadly conflict that caused the decline of the Indigenous population by around 90 percent during the first century or so after colonization—perhaps fewer than twenty indigenous languages remain. This may give the perception that now there are only a few Indigenous cultural groups and that these have contemporary musical traditions which are easily defined. On the contrary, Indigenous instruments and performance practices still exist and, importantly, they vary greatly across Australia; the globally-recognizable didgeridoo, for example, is not a traditional instrument for all Aboriginal people—it originates from the very far north of Australia in Arnhem Land. It can be broadly said, however, that sacred and secular ceremonies involving song and dance, as well as Songlines about Creation Stories known as *The Dreaming*; the latter being an integral part of Indigenous culture, whereby a spiritual connection to the land is enacted and reinforced.

Like Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand was mapped out by James Cook. The local population were Māori—descended from travellers from Polynesia from approximately the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the extensive network of Māori *iwi* (tribes) that populated both the North and South Island saw song and dance as a central part of their ecosystem. Much of this was centered around life on the *marae* (meeting house), where many life events, for example births, deaths, and marriages, were marked by a culture of song and dance. *Waiata* (songs) take many different forms, from ritual songs such as lullabies, to laments about the death of a family or tribal member, to love songs. *Waiata* have become a part of the wider culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and can often be heard as part of any number of ceremonies held by Pākehā (the Māori term for white European settlers and their descendants) and others. Notably, Split Enz's first international hit album, released in 1981, was titled *Waiata*, and in Australia, where it was recorded, it was given the title *Corroboree*, a term from a specific Aboriginal dialect that has been used controversially by British settlers and others to refer generally to all Aboriginal song and dance ceremonies.

What is the historical and current relationship between the colonizers and the indigenous peoples for each country, and how is this played out in popular music?³ The answer is undoubtedly complex. One of the most influential events in Aotearoa/New Zealand that reveals much about this relationship is the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and British leaders in 1840. This founding document recognized the sovereignty of the British over the country and ostensibly extended those same rights to Māori *iwi*. It became clear almost immediately, however, that this was not the case, a point of legal fact which was later recognized with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in the mid-1970s. This was a precedent-setting legal case that sought, and continues to seek, to redress historical wrongs regarding the displacement of thousands of Māori from their land. This particular historical injustice, among many others, has long politicized Māori (and some Pākehā) culture. The Tribunal arrived at a watershed moment in the mid-1970s, when a revival of te reo Māori (Māori language) was well under way, and the *hikoi* (stepping out), or the Land March, of 1975 which saw thousands of protesters, Māori and Pākehā, travel the length of the North Island on foot to raise awareness of the numerous injustices regarding the confiscation of native land. This moment galvanized a disenfranchised Māori population and opened up a space in the national imaginary for what would emerge as a newly politicized indigenous music-making culture, one which over the ensuing decades profoundly shaped popular music in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

There is no similar treaty between Indigenous Australians and the British. The day marking the anniversary of the arrival of the First Fleet of eleven convict ships and the raising of the British flag on 26 January 1788 is today known as “Australia Day”—a controversial day on which the government celebrates the modern nation, while Indigenous Australians (and others) mourn with sorrowful reflection on the invasion, war, stolen land, and resulting bloodshed (it is colloquially also known as either “Invasion Day” or “Survival Day”). Numerous other injustices have been inflicted upon Indigenous Australians since then, most notably government policies of forcibly removing Aboriginal and Torres Strait children from their families as part of a devastating assimilation directive that continued until the 1970s. Those who were removed from their land, families, heritage, and, of course, musical culture, are known as the Stolen Generation. There have been many contemporary songs about the

Stolen Generation; perhaps the most well-known is “Took the Children Away” (1990) by Aboriginal singer/songwriter Archie Roach. Only relatively recently, in 2008, did the Australian federal government formally apologize to the Stolen Generation, via a landmark speech by the then-Prime Minister Kevin Rudd. Today, there are numerous national and community events that recognize and promote Indigenous Australians, such as Sorry Day and NAIDOC (National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee) Week, however the relationship between government and Indigenous people may still be considered to be fraught with unresolved conflict.

The music made today by indigenous people in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand is, of course, influenced by other sounds and traditions, a result of syncretism and hybridization. Some influences come from outside, some come from within. In Australian contexts, “there has . . . been a great deal of mutual influence and partial adoption of practices, beliefs and values among different Aboriginal groups. This historical context suggests that anything ‘cultural’ is better understood as always already ‘inter-’” (Ottosson 2009, 100).

Such interplay and cross-fertilization is also seen in Aotearoa/New Zealand, especially with regard to popular music: “the indigenous Māori and the Pacific immigrant communities . . . have been major pop music proponents and have utilised and adapted various pop styles over the years, often using them to combat histories of colonisation and oppression” (Zemke-White 2005, 95).

In both countries, indigenous peoples have their own long-established musical traditions and a rich set of wider music-based practices that sit outside accepted popular music histories. However, many aspects of these deep-seated musical cultures have found their way into the popular music mainstream, from song styles to instruments and instrumentation. This has raised issues about cultural appropriation and fetishization, particularly around the category of “traditional” music. Even so, as a number of scholars have noted—including authors in *Made in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand*—the spread among indigenous musicians of popular music genres (jazz, folk, country, rock, reggae, pop, and more) has also provided moments of syncretism in which self-determination has been forcefully articulated, reclaiming global genres as tools of protest, solidarity, and sovereignty.

How do Australians and New Zealanders (both indigenous and non-indigenous) regard the popular music from their own country? Sometimes with pride and pleasure. It can also be argued, however, that there is a quiet anxiousness about originality, influence, and appropriation. This includes the incorporation of indigenous sounds and instrumentation into pop and rock songs, of which there is a long and complicated history. This may be expressed as a “cultural cringe,” where domestic music is dismissed as “not good enough,” or deemed, perhaps, as a pale imitation of an overseas artist. A similar issue is the “tall poppy syndrome,” where musicians who are successful, particularly with international audiences, are disparaged at home precisely for their success. Over the last few decades, these sorts of dismissals have been countered in part by a concerted effort to bolster cultural nationalisms in each country through policy initiatives and a pro-active strategy to promote popular music intra-nationally and internationally. At various points in time, from the 1970s onward, governments in both countries have put in place programs and policies designed to cultivate, support, and promote music made locally, all of these with varying degrees of success and not without their critics. The interventions of the state are very much symptomatic of a

post-colonial nationalism, a sensibility that has shaped how popular music is seen as a vital part of both a sense of identity as well as a branding tool.

Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand's separate and joint contributions to popular music have unfolded in relation to each other in senses that give the region a distinctive place in the global musical canon. The history of popular music in each country is one bound up in the complex relationships of syncretism that can only emerge from multicultural nations, ranging from transnationalization, translocalism, hybridization, and creolization. It is a history in which settlers and their descendants have borrowed from indigenous repertoires, and vice versa; where migrants connect with their homelands as well as integrate into local custom and ritual, and it is a history of music-making that taps into international musical idioms and works to domesticate them. This variegated process of localization takes many musical forms and social shapes and it confounds the stock standard cultural imperialism charge that is sometimes leveled at popular music in both countries (see Mitchell 1994; Keam and Mitchell 2011; Shuker 2008). Variations of rock, pop, reggae, soul, hip-hop, and dance music from Australasia have all made important contributions to the global jukebox, often taking the form of musical expression that draws from the region's rich and well-established musical histories and traditions. The following section points out how these myriad sounds—and the individuals, industries, and institutions that made them possible—are products of each country's own complex colonial and post-colonial histories, the unique movements and migrations, and the geo-political configurations which make up this part of the globe, as well as Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand's deep connection to one another.

Popular Music: Histories, Distance, Genres

Aotearoa, rugged individual
 Glisten like a pearl
 At the bottom of the world
 The tyranny of distance
 Didn't stop the cavalier
 So why should it stop me
 I'll conquer and stay free.

(Split Enz, "Six Months in a Leaky Boat," 1982)

The "tyranny of distance" referred to here by Split Enz singer Tim Finn, who has spent much of his professional and personal life divided between both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, is a trope that has long bound together both countries. Drawing on the now famous phrase coined by Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey for the purpose of his 1966 book, Finn speaks to a sensibility shared by descendants of European colonizers/settlers in these two nations, claimed by the British as outposts at the edge of the Empire. The "tyranny" has taken hold of each country's sense of an "imagined community" (Anderson 2006 [1983]) in different ways over the course of their recent histories, ranging from a cultural cringe borne of a deep-rooted cultural anxiety, to more muscular, often over-determined, assertions of national identity. Both tyranny and distance take other forms too, in relation to the treatment of each country's indigenous populations and how, when, and where they do and do not

figure in this imagined community's sense of national identity. Tyranny and distance also give shape to the particular experiences of migrants, their connections to their new home and their homelands. Popular music has been one site where these fraught notions of post-colonial nationalism are often worked out and upon. In Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, the emergence, consolidation, and maturation of popular music industries and institutions have underpinned this in a complicated fashion. As a consequence, the notion of distance resonates and inflects how popular music mediates fundamental sociospatial relationships for both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand: the near and the far, the local and global, home and away, the colonized and the colonizer, the settler, the indigenous peoples, and the migrant.

In both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, the manner in which the music and recording industries and popular music cultures and practices unfolded, intra- and internationally, and in relation to one another, can be seen as parables about the emergence and maturation of post-colonial nationalism. The framing of popular music, from jazz to rock to punk and beyond, by the media, the authorities, musicians, and fans (and, it should be noted, popular music scholars) says a great deal about the uneasy ways in which Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia have evolved into distinctly post-colonial nation states. Jazz and rock, for example, are noteworthy demonstrations of how popular music provides a locus of activity around which it is possible to read not only a "structure of feeling" of a given era (Williams 1977), but also point to the complicated settling in of genres.

In the early days of sound recording, the two countries had few domestic recording studios, let alone pressing plants, which meant that much of the early marketing and sales of recorded music relied upon overseas sources, coming from either the UK or the US. Local markets were thus dominated primarily by voices and musicians from overseas, with only a few exceptions. With the global spread of jazz, through recordings and sheet music, in the late 1910s and 1920s, an important vehicle for local talent appeared. In Australia, although the first international jazz bands would not appear live until the early 1920s, local bands drew from already extant dance bands, vaudeville, and earlier minstrel tours that traveled through both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand at the turn of the nineteenth century, music interpreted very much at a distance. As early jazz evolved in Australia, it adopted what could be unkindly called a particular kind of blandness that tempered the American genre's sensuality (as well as its racialized roots) to make it palatable for the predominantly white audiences who were used to European standards of dance music decorum. Jazz in Aotearoa/New Zealand took a different tack, as many local jazz bands were often made up of Māori, Pasifika (a term used to describe the diasporic communities of the Pacific Islands), and Pākehā musicians (and bands were often a multi-ethnic mix). In this case, their reference points were often drawn from Polynesia as much as America, singing in English, sometimes translating these songs into te reo Māori, as well as incorporating Polynesian instruments and instrumentation (see Bourke 2010). A similar sort of "whitening" took place when rock'n'roll emerged in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand in the mid-to-late 1950s, in countries characterized by contradictions and tensions which gave the emergence of rock'n'roll in each country its peculiar local flavor. Both countries were still living under the shadow of an oppressive puritanism, in a climate immediately following concern about impending nuclear war, and a fear of the "Yellow Peril" (immigration from Asia). It was also

a period which saw waves of immigrants from Europe, often to help build national infrastructures (highways, dams, etc.), as well as rapid suburbanization and urbanization. There was also an expanding, and more affluent, middle class, as well as the appearance of a younger class of consumer. In the latter case, youth culture was heavily scrutinized by the authorities in each country, and as young people adopted subcultural styles and consumed pop culture from local and international sources, much like generations of adults before them, the inevitable moral panics came to possess the local and national press. In Australia, the Church, police, government, and press served to act as cultural gatekeepers, and the appearance of rock'n'roll was seen by those in power as a harbinger of musical and social upheaval. As a result, early attempts at localizing rock'n'roll in Australia followed some of the similar patterns of domesticating jazz, meaning certain aspects of its African American elements were exorcised. This meant that

mainstream acceptance of rock 'n' roll was premised on transforming it into melodic music without a strong backbeat and sung without emotional emphasis, music derived from the European musical tradition; respectable music, that is, without an African-American 'primitive' rhythm and blues influence. Establishing rock 'n' roll as having a 'jazz' lineage meant, in white Australia, giving it as far as possible a white, dance music heritage. This would justify 'toning down' rock 'n' roll for white, local consumption even more than [Bill] Haley had already done for white, American teenagers.

(Stratton 2007, 390)

The muted emergence of rock'n'roll in each country—both still dominated by a very conservative culture centered around the family and home—was immediately a concern because of threats of youthful rebellion. The case of rock'n'roll, and its evolution into rock, was also met with anxieties about cultural imperialism that paradoxically sat alongside an ongoing fascination with American popular culture. Indeed,

a common characteristic of most rock'n'roll performers . . . was the appropriation of 'America' as the source of their style. This 'America' was distilled as we have seen, not only through records, radio, magazines [and] Hollywood films but also, decisively, through the importation of American entertainment.

(Zion 1989, 170)

This particular discursive framing of rock'n'roll was often how two of the era's biggest local stars, Johnny O'Keefe (from Australia) and Johnny Devlin (from Aotearoa/New Zealand, later emigrating to Australia), were sometimes dismissed as lesser knockoffs of American stars such as Bill Haley for O'Keefe and Elvis Presley for Devlin. The paradigm shift into the rock era signaled a move away from American influence in certain respects, pointing to the manner in which the anxiety of influence was still caught between seeing Britain as a bastion of high/good culture and America as low/bad culture. Jon Stratton makes this clear in another discussion regarding the arrival of Beat music in the 1960s, where the success of local bands in Australia during this earlier period of rock'n'roll was transitioning into rock. He suggests that it is possible to argue for "cultural influence," but that any sort of

meaningful and productive analysis needs get away from simply reasserting charges of cultural imperialism and the power of Anglo-American hegemonies for “nothing is gained in the understanding of Australian popular music by talking simply in terms of derivation and imitation” (Stratton 2003, 332).

Popular Music Industries

Post-colonial nationalism in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand often means that the government adopts either an interventionist or a laissez-faire approach to culture. In the case of the former, a broadcast medium such as radio (and later television) proved to be an ideal tool for promoting culture on a wide scale. In each case, the guiding principles for government-funded public radio were very much shaped by John Reith and his vision for the BBC, namely that public radio had a “civilizing” function. This meant that content was made up typically of classical music, new stories, drama, children’s programming, and the like, and where high culture was privileged over popular culture (reflecting the prevailing the British cultural legacy). Whereas Australia had a mixed model of commercial and public broadcasting, Aotearoa/New Zealand’s airwaves were monopolized by the government for many decades longer, until pirate radio station Radio Hauraki (founded offshore of Auckland in 1966) was given an official license to broadcast on the FM radio band (in 1970). This opening up of the airwaves for commercial broadcasters across the nation provided a new avenue for international and local rock and pop to find a larger audience.

In Australia, where commercial and public broadcasting sat side by side, the appearance of two more stations would further strengthen its connections to global musical flows. Special Broadcast Service (SBS) was an important conduit for local musical content, both in its initial radio format, founded in 1975, and then when it launched its television wing, in 1979. As a member of the European Broadcasting Union, it connected many of the post-war immigrant communities in Australia to televisual content they could not otherwise access, including popular music programming. It also opened up a European market to some of the lesser-known musical artists coming out of Australia in the 1980s. The other development which did much to undergird Australian pop and rock was the emergence of a national network. One of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation’s (ABC’s) key radio stations aimed at the national youth demographic was Sydney-based Triple J, previously known as 2JJ and launched in 1975 on the AM band. Triple J is an FM station that reached other capital cities from 1989, and was rolled out to Australia’s vast regional centers throughout the 1990s as part of the National Youth Network (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2014). The cultural impact of Triple J on youth and the promotion of popular music in Australia cannot be overstated; some highlights include the annual music countdown “Hottest 100,” which the nation tunes in to each January, and “Unearthed,” where music from emerging bands is aired (and is now its own digital station).⁴

The freeing up of FM frequencies was paralleled by the rise of popular music on screen. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, where television arrived in the 1960s (which was considered to be “late”), it was highly regulated and offered limited channels for much of its first two decades. Even so, popular music was there at its inception, seen in programs such as *In the Groove* (1962), *C’Mon* (1966), while pop show *Ready to Roll* and music video show *Radio*

with *Pictures* ran from the 1970s until the mid-to-late 1980s. Across the ditch in Australia, a small selection of variety shows appeared on television from the late 1950s and early 1960s. *Your Hit Parade* was one of the first (1958), *Bandstand* (1958) and *Six O'Clock Rock* (1959) were among others. These early formats tended to feature overseas talent, or people miming to recent hits, with only a spare few appearances of local bands and artists, such that the history of rock music on Australian television can be seen as “cultural domination or straight borrowing; in this case, of both the music and the program format” (Stockbridge 1992, 68). The long running ABC music television show *Countdown* (1974–1987) offered a corrective to this through its informative yet unpredictable interviews by the enthusiastic host Ian “Molly” Meldrum, and provided a platform for local talent to perform live (which often meant lip-synching) on stage to a studio audience. *Countdown*’s demise coincided with the arrival of the global MTV format to Australia, but the program’s cult status today is recognized by the rebroadcast of interesting segments on television and YouTube, as well as a biopic about Meldrum. Beyond *Countdown*, there have been numerous successful music video shows such as *Video Hits* (1987–2011) and the long running *rage* (1987–present), as well as contemporary music quiz shows.⁵

Key Moments in Popular Music

Pop and rock music, as well as the industries associated with them, in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia matured substantially during the 1970s and 1980s, though at different rates. This was in large part because each country’s government had begun to recognize, to varying degrees, both the value of musical culture to local economies and also its potential to serve as an iconic cultural commodity and thus a viable export in the global marketplace. In 1970s Australia, the ability for a band to gain a national following was aided by numerous factors, including national booking agencies and record labels (Homan 2008, 603), as well as the national pub venue circuit where touring bands could be promoted via capital city radio stations and music television shows. “Oz Rock” was one particular style and scene of music most recognizable at this time and into the 1990s, best described as “a group of (mostly male) performers and bands regarded as identifiably ‘Australian’ in their performance attitudes and techniques” (ibid, 601), perhaps best characterized by bands such as Cold Chisel. By the mid-1980s, the Australian pop-rock nexus was becoming a global force, courtesy of the international success of Men at Work, INXS, Kylie Minogue, among many others, who were sometimes willing and unwilling ambassadors for Australian culture. Men at Work’s famous song “Land Down Under” articulates one experience of being an Australian abroad:

These lyrics function as a first-person narrative, as in the Oz Rock ballad-based tradition, here about an Australian travelling Europe ‘in a fried-out combie.’ The chorus, constructed as a response to the first-person narrator, the traveller, operates in a form of a more or less didactic, critical, political statement . . .

(Stratton 2006, 250)

The “statement” mentioned above is, in the words of lyricist Colin Hay, “about celebrating the country, but not in a nationalistic way,” while also lamenting “the selling of Australia . . .