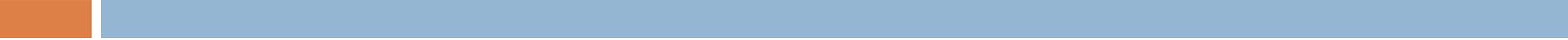




MUSIC PIRACY: A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Overview



- Overview of who engages in music piracy and why
- Wide-reaching account of the cultural consequences of music piracy
- Adopt a broadly *psychological perspective*

Resources

- Multidisciplinary Doctoral thesis ('The Psychology of Music Piracy'), consultation with International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI)
- Postdoctoral research (supported by The Society for Education, Music and Psychology Research)
- Forthcoming book ('Digital Piracy: A Global, Multidisciplinary Approach')
- See Krause, A.E. and Brown, S.C. (in press). The social and applied psychology of engagement in music piracy. In S.C. Brown and T. Holt (Eds), *Digital Piracy: A Global, Multidisciplinary Account*. Routledge

But first



- Music piracy is *dynamic* process (file-sharing, torrents, cyberlockers, stream-ripping)
- Anti-piracy efforts have similarly been dynamic
- Focus on appeasing consumer preferences
- Industry focus now appears set on enablers ie YouTube, Google

Who pirates music and why?

- A wealth of individual differences found over the years with the most consistent observations being:
 - ▣ Demographics (with typical profile of young males)
 - ▣ Technological competence
 - ▣ Utilitarian motives, including cost

- Research findings also reveal reasons not to engage in music piracy, including:
 - ▣ Moral judgements
 - ▣ Fear of viruses
 - ▣ Comparatively poor quality of content

...Pirates adapt well to technological and legislative changes

Demographics: Gender

- Young males have been routinely singled out as the most likely cohort to engage in music piracy (see Watson et al., 2015)
- Females have higher risk perceptions and a willingness to pay for legal alternatives (Chiang & Assane, 2008)
- Males and females react differently to perceptions of punishment severity (Morton & Koufteros, 2008)
- Males are more easily influenced by peers online (Miller & Morris, in press)

Demographics: Gender

- Lau and Yuen (2014) find that males are more likely to participate in immoral activities online – including piracy
- Other findings propose that individuals favouring music piracy to be *less fair* (Brown & MacDonald, 2014); males would be expected to be less moral (see Brown, 2013)
- Findings concerning gender conform to *stereotypes* and of course criminology reminds us that gender is the strongest predictor of criminality overall (Brown et al., 2007), so perhaps it is no stereotype at all

Demographics: Age

- *Peer influence* has been found to be a predictor of engagement in piracy especially amongst young people (Shanahan & Hyman, 2010).
- It is often cited that younger people are time-rich and cash-poor, whereas older populations are time-poor and cash-rich; certainly, a negative relationship has been found between household income and digital piracy engagement (Chiang & Assane, 2009; Coyle et al., 2009) and on a larger scale low gross domestic product (GDP) and other financial indexes are often found to predict higher rates of piracy (Kigerl, 2013; Mostafa, 2011)
- Missing in this simple dichotomy, however, is that *young people simply listen to more music* (Bonneville-Roussy et al., 2013), in much the same way that gender simply predicts crime

Why listen to music?

- Schäfer et al. (2013), found that the principal functions of listening to music were to regulate arousal and mood, and achieve self-awareness; social aspects were also discovered, but found to be of lesser importance
- It is thought that it is the impact on mood which accounts for the positive effects of listening to music (Chanda & Levitin, 2013; MacDonald, Kreutz & Mitchell, 2012) and indeed one of the most often cited reasons for listening to music is for mood management (see Swaminathan & Schellenberg, 2015 for a review)
- All of this comes from the very recent trend of music being available all of the time

Adolescents/young adults and music

- Helps formation of identities and meeting emotional needs (see North, Hargreaves & O'Neill, 2000). As such, this group may have stronger motivations to listen to a wider variety of music than older populations who tend to seek out the same music from when they were themselves young (Bonneville-Roussy et al., 2017) and are, therefore, less motivated to seek out new music
- Adolescents have been the subject of the aforementioned ability of music to enhance mood (Saarikallio & Erkkilä, 2007), and much research demonstrates how adolescents and young adults in particular use music preferences to reinforce how they view themselves, communicating to others (Saarikallio, 2012)

Personality and music

- Personality accounts for not only preferred music (Greenberg et al., 2016), but wider music listening behaviours too – individuals open to experience report greater levels of browsing music by mood (Ferwerda et al., 2015)
- Who we are is reflected in our musical choices; 88% of participants in Warlick's research (2006) believed that the music on their portable music devices was representative of their personality
- *Low levels of conscientiousness* (Brown & MacDonald, 2014; Brown & Krause, under review), which incorporates aspects of self-discipline and is, therefore, cognate in many respects to self-control (plus high levels of openness)

Predictive factors, continued

- Strain, including low GDP and other financial indexes
- Low self-control, predictive of all crime
- Personality, openness and *unfairness*
- Peer influence
- Sound familiar?

Why buy music?

- *Short-term comparisons and Long-term considerations* (Brown & Knox, 2016a)
- Motivations focused on value-maximization across both themes, with short-term comparisons including how many songs were liked on an album and the pros and cons of different formats
- Price was by far the biggest factor; this extended to a consideration of recording artists' financial position – *where does the money go?*
- Some participants mentioned as a factor how long an album would be enjoyed, thus betraying the nature of music as an *experience good*. The desire to add to a music collection was an important consideration

Value for money

- The findings suggest that what might drive people toward music piracy is not the perceived costliness of music, but rather a perception of poor *value for money*
- Value can be added and manipulated (see case study of Nine Inch Nails by Brown, 2011)
- Focus of recent research quantitatively confirms the role of value for money (see elsewhere)

Who pay to go to a gig?

- Four key themes defined: *Experience, Engagement, Novelty* and *Practical*
- Finite amount of tickets available and chance to see band (including ‘last chance’) (see Burland & Pitts, 2010, 2012; Pitts, 2014; Pitts & Burland, 2013)
- Social motivations including maintaining social membership (i.e., it’s functional)
- Offers novel experiences and creates memories

Live music vs recorded music

- No mention of price – at all! Practical included concerns over time and date, etc.
- Recorded music: want to know everything possible before making a decision
- Live music: will pay anything for an unknown; part of the appeal
- Masnick (2009) argues live music represents the ultimate example of ‘reason to buy’ plus ‘connect with fans’ in practice (see Brown, 2011)

The changing relationship between live music and recorded music

- Recorded music now sells live music, with music piracy impacting positively on concert attendance (Gayer & Shy, 2006; Montoro-Pons & Cuadrado-Garcia (2011) and increasing awareness of smaller artists (Fer & Baarsma, 2016; Mortimer, Nosko & Sorensen, 2012).
- Ticket prices have risen in price well beyond the rate of inflation and research shows that is attributable to music piracy (Mortimer et al. 2012; Wikstrom, 2013)
- *'So if you want ticket prices to go down stop stealing music'* (Irving Azoff, 2010, August)

Changes in the music industry make-up

- Williamson and Cloonan (2007) argue that it is *one* of the music industries which is struggling to come to terms with the new business environment
- The live music sector in the UK is a particularly thriving industry, valued in excess of £1 billion; Forbes (2014) credits the £125 million Hydro Arena in Glasgow as contributing to the recent boost
- Industry analysis suggests that the decline in revenue from recorded sales has changed the industry to focus more on large volume live concerts
- Holt (2010) adding that the average price of a superstar concert has more than *doubled* since 1996

The legacy of music piracy?

- David (2016) explains that: 'The most profound legacy of the copyright-infringing free sharing of music online has been in reinforcing the significance of live performance as a means for musicians to get paid' (p. 63)
- This is echoed Tschmuck (2016) who further explains that income streams for musicians with a sizeable fan base now predominantly come from live performances
- Wikström (2011) optimistically notes that artists receive approximately 85% of the profits as compared to around 10% for recorded music, business practices vary considerably and it is unlikely most musicians earn anywhere near as much

Recap



- Insight into why music pirates tend to be younger and male
- Differences in motivations behind recorded and live music purchases
- Music piracy has revolutionised the music industry, with resulting impact on live music sector
- *Now let's move on*

Cultural consequences of music piracy

- Music listening is becoming integrated into our personal and social lives (Krause & Hargreaves, 2013), and we must remain curious about such changes so we can trace them over time
- Music has now become a shared, communal resource (not always owned)
- Technology has freed up the opportunity to listen to a wide variety of music (Waldfogel, 2014) and research supports the notion that people are listening to a wider range of music than before (Greasley, Lamont, & Sloboda, 2013)

Is anyone listening?

- Yet, Ward, Goodman and Irwin (2014) found that although consumers state a preference to listen to unfamiliar music, familiarity with music positively predicts preference for songs, playlists, and radio stations.
- Ward et al (2014) argued that the need for familiarity is motivated by a desire for low levels of stimulation; this is certainly plausible, given music listening via mobile devices or on computers would be expected to be an accompaniment to other activities i.e. travel (North et al., 2004; Heye & Lamont, 2010)
- Reznor (Nine Inch Nails) demonstrates a clear awareness of how music is now consumed, noting in a recent interview that: ‘People listen to music while they’re doing something else, you know?’ (Marchese, 2017)

Playlists

- It has been shown that playlists are not necessarily listened to, but that their creation is motivated by the fun of making them – the process (Krause & North, 2016)
- This observation echoes related findings discussed concerning music collections, with music purchased not necessarily listened to (Greasley, Lamont & Sloboda, 2013)
- Boulton (2016) reports that around half of people buying vinyl do not listen to it

Playlists

- It is thought that the average person now spends about four hours a day 'listening' to music (Luck, 2016a; Peoples, 2016), and much of this time will be via playlists; as of May 2016, playlists accounted for almost one third of total listening time. This is almost 1.5 times that of album listening (Savage, 2016)
- Playlists appear to be a dominant mode of listening when performing other tasks (Kamalzedah, Baur & Möller, 2012)
- iPod effectively killed album format, encouraging shuffle and playlists (Pierce, 2017); streaming services appear to promote playlists as a dominant mode of listening and some artists have even talked about their albums as playlists

Playlists

- Having created playlists, people feel as though effort has been exerted and so feel a sense of *psychological ownership* (see Sinclair & Tinson, 2017)
- Playlists are therefore likely to play a central role in the continued subscription to a particular streaming service
- Elsewhere, experimental research shows that preference for particular music styles varies according to seasonal differences, with a preference for arousing music in warmer months, for instance (Krause & North, 2017)

An unexpected consequence

- Mulligan (2015) argues that the choice of music available now leads to 'shallower engagement'
- Explaining that whilst the overall volume of music listening has risen, people are listening to music fewer times and not engaging with it as much – choice abundance is leading to 'casual fan relationships'
- Long-term impact of this is likely to be felt in the live sector, arguing that the future of live music will be in festivals and multiple act tours, resulting in artists receiving a smaller slice of revenue
- Songs (and playlists), not albums

Recap 2

- Consequences of music piracy are far-reaching, and not just commercial in nature
- Changes in how music is listened to, if in fact it is being listened to at all; the rise of playlists
- Pessimistic outlook in the long-term as a result of subscription services, as a result of new ways of listening to music
- *Multitude of ways in which we can now listen to music*

Mixing and matching

- IFPI discuss *multi-channelling*, or simply mixing and matching between different music formats
- Despite the apparent ‘advantages’ of digital music, both from the perspective of consumers (such as storage utility – Kinnally et al., 2008) most people still possess a physical music collection and actively listen to digital collections (Liikanen & Åman, 2015)
- Music listening now occurs across a range of delivery modes, with consumers empowered by the choice available in which to seek out and listen to music
- *So what’s going on there?*

Theory

- Uses and gratifications theory (Katz et al. 1973; Katz et al. 1974) is a framework used to study how people select and use new media (Rayburn & Palmgreen 1984; Ruggiero 2000; Stafford et al. 2004)
- According to the theory, people distinguish between types of media based on the *needs* they aim to satisfy as a result of media use (Katz et al. 1973), with media use considered goal-directed—that people are aware of their needs
- We have produced a model to account for the needs that different music formats satisfy (considering *physical, digital file, radio, free streaming, paid-for streaming, live music*)

Method and findings

- Survey methods, with large international sample; *factor analysis*
- Preference for accessing music digitally was associated with more favorable attitudes towards music piracy, as was being male, and expressing low levels of conscientiousness (partially replicating Brown and MacDonald, 2014)
- When considering how the uses and gratifications associated with music listening formats mapped onto piracy attitudes, *value for money* was positively associated with more favorable piracy attitudes
- Brown, S.C. and Krause, A.E. (in press). Psychological predictors of engagement in music piracy. *Creative Industries Journal*.

Conclusions

- Clear mixing and matching, with users of legal streaming services also appearing to engage in music piracy
- Quantitatively confirms earlier proposition concerning music piracy being related to value for money
- Further works to follow

Dimension	Description	Items (Cronbach's α)
Usability and intention to use	Continued use based on convenience	9 items (.885)
Discovery	Aids discovery of music and broadens taste	11 items (.905)
Functional utility	Storage, ability to control selection	7 items (.891)
Flexibility	Portability, playback matches moment-to-moment demands	5 items (.819)
Connection	Allows user to connect emotionally with music	5 items (.723)
Social norms	Others tend to listen to music in this way	3 items (.875)
Value for money	A financially viable method of listening to music	2 items (.734)
Playback diversity	Format features which allow to shuffle, create playlists	2 items (.596)

But what do we *really* know?

- Lowry, Zhang, and Wu (2017) analysed 257 studies, with a resulting sample size of 126,622, to explore the major constructs and variables used in the literature to generate predictors of digital piracy engagement
 - Outcome expectancies (considerations of rewards, perceived risks, and perceived sanctions)
 - Social learning (positive and negative social influence and piracy habit)
 - Self-efficacy and self-regulation (perceived behavioural control and low self-control)
 - Moral disengagement (morality, immorality, and neutralization)

- See also Fleming, Watson, Patouris, Bartholomew and Zizzo (2017)

Overall conclusions



- Explored wide-reaching ramifications of music piracy, including impact on live music sector and influence on how we now listen to music
- Now have solid findings from meta-analyses to work from
- Current research question dominating thinking: ‘The implications of having unlimited access to music’
- Sights have shifted from industry bodies – so why not academics too?

Concluding remarks

- In his (recommended) book 'How Music Works', Talking Heads' frontman David Byrne (2012, p. 136) explains how:

A century of technological innovation and the digitization of music has inadvertently had the effect of emphasizing its social function. Not only do we still give friends copies of music that excites us, but increasingly we have come to value the social aspect of a live performance more than we used to

Thanks



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