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Unauthorising popular music heritage: outline of a critical framework

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The purpose of this paper is to set out a critical and analytical framework with which to explore the ways in which popular music heritage in the UK (or in England more specifically) is variously understood, discussed, critiqued, practised or performed. Developed as part of a large-scale European project examining popular music, cultural heritage and cultural memory, our analysis is based on qualitative studies of popular music heritage discourses that reflect a broad cross section of sectors, institutions and industries. Adapting Smith's concept of authorised heritage discourse, we propose a three-way analytical framework that theoretically and methodologically foregrounds those practices and processes of authorisation that variously ascribe music heritage discourses with value, legitimacy and social and cultural capital. Focusing our discussion on the example of music heritage plaques, we identify three categories of heritage discourse: (1) official authorised popular music heritage, (2) self-authorised popular music heritage and (3) unauthorised popular music heritage. The arguments developed in the final section of the paper in relation to *unauthorised* music heritage are presented as a critical point of orientation – heritage-as-praxis – that works in dialectical opposition to authorised heritage, or what we have more loosely termed 'big H' heritage.

Keywords: popular music; cultural heritage; plaques; praxis; official; intangible heritage; anti-heritage; English Heritage; Heritage Foundation

Introduction

In March 2012, a plaque was installed on a property in London's Heddon Street by the Crown Estate, which runs a £7 billion property portfolio on behalf of the Queen and the public estate. Its black colour distinguished it from the blue or green plaque schemes run by English Heritage and Westminster Council, and engraved across it in white were the words 'Ziggy Stardust 1972' to show that it marked the site where 40 years previously David Bowie had been photographed for the cover of his album *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars*. According to Britain's *Daily Mail* newspaper, it was one of only three plaques in the country awarded to a fictional character, the others awarded to the detective Sherlock Holmes (at 221b Baker Street, London) and the explorer Lara Croft (a block of flats in Derby).¹ A representative from the Crown Estate explained to *The Times*: 'This

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will be for the foreseeable future a one-off. It needs to be. We don't want to litter the place with plaques, that would demean what we are trying to do'.² Yet, despite this description of the plaque as a 'one-off', it was one of a proliferation of popular music plaques that have been erected in the UK and elsewhere in recent years. Of course, what might count as 'popular music heritage' extends far beyond the erection of heritage plaques. These are merely one part of a multi-faceted music heritage discourse in the UK and beyond but are nevertheless insightful in so far as they illustrate the ways in which music heritage increasingly encompasses a range of practices that are not reducible to 'the music itself' but linked to the wider social, cultural and economic processes surrounding the production and consumption of popular music histories and music heritage canons.

In western modernity, music has been commonly thought of as a bounded object, product, text or thing with a fixed and definable essence, as suggested by the notion of 'the music itself'. Yet as Born emphasises, music is never singular but always a multiplicity, and it exists only in and through its multiple and changing mediations. There is, thus, no musical object or text that stands outside mediation (Born 2010, pp. 87–88). Contributing to this process of mediation are heritage practices such as the construction of music exhibitions and museums, monuments and tours, collections and archives, books and films.³ Material places and artefacts are, thus, an important aspect of popular music heritage and our concern is with heritage practices that relate these material sites to musicians and musical sounds and performances. In the UK heritage plaques have increasingly been used in this way, marking places where musicians lived or died, places in which music was made or, as with the Ziggy Stardust plaque, people and places imagined through music. These plaques represent different and often competing interests and, thus, provide a fascinating focus for research into the politics of music, memory and place whilst also prompting debates about musical value that have been so central to popular music studies.

In this regard, in the UK at least, where the number of music heritage plaques is growing all the time and where heritage and the heritage industries are particularly well-entrenched features of the cultural and economic landscape, the example of plaques brings with it the recognition that the central issue in popular music heritage is not music *per se* but the constellation of heritage practices that attach themselves to – and extract social, symbolic and economic capital from – popular cultural forms such as music.

Taking, then, as its main point of focus the case of commemorative plaque schemes, this paper sets out a critical and analytical framework through which to explore popular music heritage in the UK (and in England more specifically) and the ways in which it is practised, discussed and understood. In England, popular music has been increasingly categorised as 'heritage' by individuals, groups and institutions operating across a broad range of sectors,⁴ yet according to Lowenthal, 'heritage today all but defies definition' (1996, p. 94), and Roberts (this volume) points to some of the difficulties involved, such as the close intertwining of heritage with memory, nostalgia and tradition; the tautological notion of 'cultural heritage' (Ashworth *et al.* 2007, p. 7); and the perplexing distinction between 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage. Much like the term 'culture', the concept of 'heritage' marshals a jumble of overlapping, disparate and at times contradictory meanings and a burgeoning array of perspectives that frustrate attempts to pin it down. Moreover, whilst expanding scholarly research on cultural heritage and constructions of the

popular music past has produced rich and insightful studies (such as those cited in this paper) there is as yet little connection between the two bodies of scholarship and the notion of popular music as heritage is still relatively undertheorised.

The paper explores popular music heritage by drawing on qualitative research conducted for the first phase of an international collaborative project entitled 'Popular Music Heritage, Cultural Memory and Cultural Identity' (POPID).⁵ The research involved interviewing representatives from the music and media industries and tourism and heritage sector in order to examine histories of English popular music created through films, books, exhibitions and plaques, and to build a picture of English popular music heritage. The second phase of the project, which is at the time of writing only just about to begin, will involve research on audiences and *their* musical memories in order to explore how popular music contributes to a broader sense of place, history and identity in England. These two research phases could be conceptualised in terms of a contrast between a heritage that is 'official' or top-down and one that is 'unofficial' and bottom-up. Yet, this is a somewhat rigid binarism, and one that could misleadingly imply a hierarchy of power and authenticity, such as a pejoratively official 'canon' that threatens to overwrite or hegemonise what might be perceived in contrast as the organically homespun authority of vernacular memory. Instead, we aim to provide a more nuanced discussion of popular music heritage that does not assess its perceived authenticity or status but conceptualises it as a social and cultural process and considers how it is practised or 'performed' in specific situations and contexts, often for different ends. Scholars, such as Harvey (2008, p. 19) and Smith (2006, p. 34), have likewise studied the various meanings and uses of cultural heritage and how they are socially, spatially and temporally enacted, and, as such, constantly remade and negotiated. Smith, for example, challenges the notion of heritage as something that has intrinsic value, arguing instead that 'understanding [that] what heritage *is* and *does* may be defined by the discourses we work within' (2006, p. 54, emphasis in original). She illustrates this by focusing on what she describes as an authorised heritage discourse (AHD), and our paper builds upon and adapts this by highlighting three categories of discourse about popular music as heritage that we have so far identified through our research in England: *officially authorised*, *self-authorised* and *unauthorised*.

The paper's three sections describe each of these categories in turn and provide, through this typology, a critical framework for analysing the various ways in which popular music heritage is not simply practised but also authorised and ascribed with value, legitimacy and social and cultural capital. From the outset, however, it is important to stress that our categorisation of popular music into three types of discourse is analytic rather than ontological, and the analytical focus is on the weight of authority attached to them. It is, thus, on the recognition and validation of heritage status and how 'particular representations of the past ... *embody an intentionality* – social, political, institutional and so on – that promotes or authorises their entry [in the public domain]' (Wood 1999, p. 2, in Kansteinher 2002, p. 188, emphasis added). As the discussion will show, the three categories are fluid, shifting and closely interrelated, and the distinction between them is ambiguous and blurred. The paper argues, however, that attending to these categories and the interplay between them enables an approach to popular music heritage that moves beyond familiar binary divisions (such as official/unofficial) in order to explore its dynamics as a situated, relational practice involving various, often contested negotiations of the musical past. Lastly, although we have called this paper 'Unauthorising Popular

Music Heritage’, the bulk of our analysis is in fact concerned with *authorised* popular music heritage. The arguments we have developed in relation to unauthorised music heritage are presented as a critical point of orientation – *heritage-as-praxis* – that works in dialectical opposition to authorised heritage, or what we have more loosely termed ‘big H’ Heritage.

Official authorised popular music heritage

Heritage can be officially authorised in a number of different ways. In the UK, for example, government bodies may categorise a building as ‘heritage’ by including it on an official register or awarding it a commemorative plaque. This gives it a special status and may have moral and legal implications, increasing its value and importance and making it worth protecting and placing under formal protection. For Smith, such practices illustrate an AHD, a set of western ideas that is supported by elite social groups and official organisations and policies, and, therefore, has power and influence. Drawing on examples from the UK, the USA and Australia, she shows how this AHD represents a ‘canon’ in that it produces and reproduces ideas about what is worth being classified and promoted as heritage and where its value lies. She illustrates not only some of the practices involved but the ways in which this discourse is responded to and struggles over who controls it and how. Other scholars have likewise highlighted the dissonant character of cultural heritage: how it attracts differing and often conflicting perspectives and interpretations and raises questions about cultural value and diversity, social power and inclusion (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, Hall 2005).

The various plaque schemes authorised by UK central and local government bodies, which commonly involve the erection of plaques marking sites connected to writers, composers, scientists, philanthropists and so on, can be described as an act of consecration that illustrates notions of cultural, social and artistic value and separates the great from the good, imposing discrete distinctions and producing ‘discontinuity out of continuity’ (Bourdieu 1991, Allen and Lincoln 2004, pp. 873–874). Increasingly, it is an act influenced by economic factors and the use of plaques for place marketing purposes is linked to the development of tourism and heritage industries in cities and regions. The introduction of plaques commemorating popular musicians is a relatively recent development and the discussion below illustrates this by using the blue plaque scheme of English Heritage as an example of an official heritage discourse, and shows how the case of Keith Moon highlights some of the tensions and ambiguities involved.

Blue plaques and the case of Keith Moon

The UK Government Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) includes heritage and tourism amongst its portfolio of activities, and works alongside English Heritage, the government’s statutory advisor on the historic environment, to manage and conserve ‘the physical legacy of thousands of years of human activity in [England], in the form of buildings, monuments, sites and landscapes’.⁶ Although our attempts to interview the Minister for Tourism and Heritage proved unsuccessful, in their reply to our request, the DCMS stated that ‘[the ministers] of course recognise the important role and vibrant contribution of popular music to UK tourism and heritage’, drawing our attention to English Heritage’s Blue Plaque

scheme, and citing the example of the zebra crossing at Abbey Road (immortalised on the cover of the Beatles album of the same name) as a 'listed building' that has a strong connection with popular music (in 2010, the crossing was given Grade II listed status following advice from English Heritage).

What is clear from the DCMS's reply is that, from an official heritage standpoint, what counts as 'popular music heritage' extends only to tangible sites or buildings, such as Mendips, John Lennon's childhood home in Liverpool or the Abbey Road crossing in London. In a BBC news report about the Abbey Road listing, a spokesperson from English Heritage explained that listings reflect sites of architectural or historic interest, or in this case, a site that 'has got cultural interest in spades'.⁷ However, as with the Cavern Club in Liverpool, the Abbey Road crossing is not the original and is sited in a different location. Functioning as a form of what Dean MacCannell has termed 'staged authenticity' (1976), and as a pilgrimage site (the hallowed ground upon which the Fab Four once trod), its cultural heritage status is, therefore, as much attached to the *idea* the crossing represents as an intangible cultural icon (an image from an album cover) as it is to an actual 'authentic' site, the materiality of which is conserved and protected for posterity. Similar observations can be made for the gates to the site of the former Strawberry Field Salvation Army Children's Home in Liverpool. To prevent damage by the constant stream of Beatle's tourists seeking out the location that inspired John Lennon's 1967 song 'Strawberry Fields Forever', the original gates were replaced with replicas which allow for 'an authentic experience'⁸ without the attendant risk of damage to the authentic object. Such examples point to sustainability through simulation, and the consumption of a tangible heritage *site* but also of an intangible heritage *experience*.

While it may indeed be the case that the Abbey Road crossing or Mendips exude cultural interest 'in spades', in terms of 'marking' (MacCannell 1976) popular music heritage sites (whether by blue plaques or by awarding listed status), the examples raise questions as to the criteria used for the evaluation of heritage status, and why some sites are deemed worthy and others not. Many sites linked to popular music histories are, of course, of interest culturally. So what makes one stand out as an official heritage monument and another merely as a site of general or vernacular cultural interest? If Abbey Road, then why not also Waterloo Bridge, the location where The Kinks' Ray Davies was inspired to write his iconic hymn to London, 'Waterloo Sunset?' What about the tree in Barnes in south-west London where Marc Bolan died in a car accident in 1977? It has long been a place of pilgrimage for Bolan fans, and is certainly a marked site as a 'rock shrine', but by what measure is it possible to gauge whether it has more 'cultural interest' than just those handful of Beatles-related sites that are afforded 'official' heritage status? What about historically important venues or festival sites, such as the 100 Club in London, the crucible of punk in the 1970s or the site of the original Isle of Wight Music Festival? Do not they also have cultural interest in spades?

A good place to begin to address these questions is to consider the role (or 'place') of popular music in heritage initiatives such as English Heritage's blue plaque scheme. At the time of writing, there are only three English Heritage plaques honouring the life and work of popular musicians, two of which are for John Lennon (the one at Mendips, installed in 2000 and now managed by the National Trust and another at the Montagu Square flat in London that was Lennon's home for a few months in 1968), the third for Jimi Hendrix at the house in Mayfair where

he lived in the late 1960s. English Heritage outlines a number of criteria used for the evaluation of names suggested for commemorative blue plaques. These include the requirements that: ‘there shall be reasonable grounds for believing that the subjects are regarded as eminent by a majority of members of their own profession or calling’; ‘they shall have made some important positive contribution to human welfare or happiness’; ‘they shall have had such exceptional and outstanding personalities that the well-informed passer-by immediately recognises their names’; and that, ‘[w]ithout exception proposals for the commemoration of famous people shall not be considered until they have been dead for 20 years or until the centenary of birth, whichever is the earlier’ (see English Heritage 2010, p. 144).

Alongside the published criteria, there are also other factors that have bearing on the evaluation process and indicate a certain ambivalence surrounding the honouring of rock and pop musicians. According to a member of English Heritage’s Blue Plaques Team we interviewed, the controversial (and in many ways landmark) decision to award Jimi Hendrix a commemorative plaque prompted many members of English Heritage to resign in protest believing that figures such as Hendrix – seen as ‘ephemeral’ in terms of their cultural significance and of dubious moral character (particularly with reference to drug taking⁹) – were not the sort of people who the organisation should be seen to be honouring as heritage icons.¹⁰ The issue of ephemerality, addressed in part by the 20-year dead rule and considered not to apply in the case of Hendrix, is nevertheless cited by our interviewee as one of the foremost reasons why so few popular musicians have been awarded official heritage status. The factor that swung it for Hendrix, and which marked him out as something other than ‘just some pop star’, was his likely appeal ‘to a certain kind of classically trained person on the virtuoso level’, which is cited as the probable reason why Hendrix was the first pop musician to get through (the plaque was erected in 1997). In other words, it was his legacy as a musician of considerable artistic merit and innovation that made him eligible, rather than his status as an important cultural icon in post-war popular music history; an indication, perhaps, of leanings towards a Leavisite approach to culture as serious and high-brow, catered to the tastes of the educated and discerning listener rather than the vagaries and mass appeal of (pejoratively) popular forms of cultural consumption.

That it is the proficiency and skills of the musician as a performing artist rather than questions of character, personality or cultural iconicity that are brought to bear on the evaluation process is well illustrated by the case of the Who drummer Keith Moon, who died in 1978. The English Heritage position is that, as a rock drummer, Moon needs to be measured against his contemporaries, and our interviewee cited Led Zeppelin’s John Bonham (also deceased) as an obvious example. He explained that for the Blue Plaques Team, the questions the case of Moon’s nomination raises are: ‘Is he the most significant drummer of that era?’, adding, ‘Would we commemorate the most significant drummer anyway?’; ‘Has enough time elapsed to determine how much of an original he was?’; ‘How much of his fame is actually connected with the hell-raising [i.e. Moon’s reputation as the wild man of rock]?’ As with all of the plaque nominations, the final judgement as to whether Moon was deemed worthy of honouring lay with the Blue Plaques Panel which is made up of distinguished figures from the arts and academia, such as Stephen Fry, Christopher Frayling, the historians David Cannadine and David Starkey or the former poet laureate Andrew Motion. The view of the panel was that the case had not been sufficiently proved, so, after consideration, the application was eventually rejected.

Frayling, who was on the panel that met to consider the Moon application, remarked that in order to properly assess whether he was a great drummer ‘you’d have to wait until Ringo Starr is dead and [Phil] Collins is dead ... We decided that bad behaviour and overdosing on various substances wasn’t a sufficient qualification to get a blue plaque’.¹¹ The idea that the plaque might commemorate the cultural legacy of Moon the character rather than Moon the drummer, or, as with Hendrix, that it might be seen to be inappropriate to honour someone with a reputation for drug use, was the justification for the application to be rejected. Moreover, for English Heritage, the fact that many of Moon’s contemporaries are still living further complicates the matter, perhaps bringing with it the expectation that they too (or rather their surviving descendants) can look forward to the unveiling of heritage plaques in their honour. Considered by the representative from English Heritage to be a ‘cut above’, the Who drummer, John Lennon, unlike Moon, was also ‘a writer as well as a player’. He was, thus, seen as a more appropriate musician to honour, although the rationale behind the distinction, while broadly in accordance with the published selection criteria, is upon closer inspection in many respects quite arbitrary and subject to the personal judgements and prejudices of those panel members that happened to be assessing the application on the occasion in question.

The contradictions and general ambiguities surrounding the criteria for honouring figures from popular culture history would doubtless be readily acknowledged by many at English Heritage. Sensitivities to a perceived charge of elitism in terms of who and what English Heritage consider worthy of cultural heritage status, and a push amongst some within the organisation to embrace more popular and vernacular cultural forms, can in part be gauged by considering how the term ‘cultural heritage’ is applied and understood more generally. In response to this question, our interviewee replied:

I would certainly define it broadly. As far as I’m concerned, it needs to be a lot more than palaces and stately homes; I would go on that side of that particular argument ... [Cultural heritage is] everything really. It’s got to include popular culture as well as high culture and it’s important to strike a balance, otherwise you are just leaving a lot of people [and their stories] out of it. And, of course, what one generation considers to be popular culture/mass culture suddenly becomes high culture for the next – it develops in the way it is considered, and that is very hard to call as well.

As well as highlighting the difficulties in determining where and how to draw the boundaries between eligible and ineligible forms of cultural heritage, the response makes clear that what the term actually means in practice is contested and partial, and that, at an individual rather than institutional level, what might count as ‘culturally significant’ forms of popular music heritage are not necessarily those that are reflected in official AHDs; in this case, the English Heritage blue plaques scheme. Given these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that representatives of English Heritage welcomed the emergence of rival ‘unofficial’ heritage plaque initiatives explained in the following section of the paper.

Self-authorised popular music heritage

If government-sponsored bodies, such as English Heritage, are examples of *official authorised popular music heritage*, then should the countless other discourses of popular music history and heritage that populate the landscapes of everyday cultural

consumption be understood as in some way less or *unofficial*? The *authorising* power of the music and media industries is no less official in terms of ascribing a certain legitimacy and status to popular music texts, artefacts or sites as heritage icons. This may involve promoting through the mass media ‘official’ lists and canons of revered artists and albums, iconic events and festivals¹² or the staple mythologies of popular music journalism. It may also involve the launch of ‘heritage rock’ magazines such as *Mojo*, *Uncut*, or *Classic Rock*; the release of lavishly re-packaged box-set editions of classic albums; the production and broadcast of nostalgic music documentaries and so on. Popular music heritage may likewise be promoted by musicians, audiences, entrepreneurs and organisations who participate in particular musical cultures. Becker (1982) illustrates how notions of value and achievement are established and reinforced through art ‘worlds’ and the social and ideological conventions that distinguish them, and this is evident in the construction of popular music as ‘heritage’ within local genre-based music scenes, whether it involves ‘do-it-yourself (DIY) heritage’ initiatives such as the revival of the 1960s Canterbury Sound (Bennett 2004) or the celebration of country music as Liverpool heritage (Cohen 2007). In addition to this, popular music heritage may be promoted by the tourism industries and as part of commercial place-marketing initiatives, as illustrated by maps of popular music heritage sites such as England Rocks!, developed by the UK’s national tourism body Visit Britain in 2007 (Cohen and Roberts forthcoming).

Developed alongside their official counterparts, many DIY, localised or vernacular popular music heritage discourses can be described as self – rather than officially authorised, although again it is important to emphasise the ambiguity of these categories. No matter how much authority is assumed through processes of self-validation, claims to (or solicitations of) some form of official status may invariably play an important role in terms of marketing and publicity, or ensuring the sustainability and development of the heritage initiative or resource in question. Official and self-authorised discourses may, thus, be closely interrelated and reaffirm or contradict one another. As we discuss below, there may also be efforts to ascribe self-authorised heritage with a more officially authorised heritage status.

‘Unofficial’ plaques and democratised heritage

From the perspective of English Heritage, the difficulties and controversies attached to bestowing official heritage status on popular musicians are to a certain extent circumvented by tacitly endorsing the authority of rival plaques schemes and, in the process, effectively franchising out the evaluation and awarding of popular music heritage plaques to other organisations whose selection criteria are far less stringent. In this respect, in addition to overseeing its own blue plaque scheme, the remit of English Heritage now extends to providing an advisory role to other commemorative plaques schemes, such as that developed by the charity the Heritage Foundation which in 2009 unveiled its own plaque to Moon.

Aside from the more obvious absence of official government endorsement, not to mention the kind of gilt-edged symbolic capital that marks out bodies, such as English Heritage as prestigious public institutions, the main distinction between its and the Heritage Foundation’s plaque scheme is that the latter is an example of *self-authorised* popular music heritage. Whereas English Heritage’s role is to evaluate heritage plaque nominations made by members of the public (Freddie Mercury,

having died more than 20 years ago, is likely to be the next popular musician officially honoured), the Heritage Foundation's plaque scheme operates on a more informal and culturally inclusive basis. From its initiation in 1991 (as The Dead Comics Society, later to become Comic Heritage¹³), the Heritage Foundation has mainly developed from the interests and background of its chairman and co-founder David Graham. Graham, a retired marketing consultant, has drawn effectively on his previous professional skills to establish a plaque scheme designed to raise both greater awareness of the contribution and legacy of British entertainers as well as the profile of (and donations for) the charities which the organisation supports (such as the Royal Air Force Bomber Command Memorial Fund Appeal). The plaques commemorate figures from the world of show business and entertainment and are commissioned either directly by Graham and the Foundation or by friends or fans of the celebrity in question (a plaque unveiled to the ska singer Laurel Aitken, who lived in a council block in Leicester, resulted from a recommendation by the singer's widow). Unlike English Heritage, the Foundation applies no formal eligibility criteria other than that the recipient must be deceased (although there have been exceptions to this ruling too, as with the plaque erected in 2008 to the Bee Gees which was unveiled by former Bee Gee himself, Robin Gibb, who, until several months before his death from cancer in May 2012, was the president of the Heritage Foundation). In most instances, the minimum requirements are merely that a name has been put forward.

As *self*-authorised markers of heritage status, the only real obstacles to overcome in terms of authorising a plaque are bureaucratic and financial: e.g. gaining, where necessary, approval from local authorities to permanently erect the plaque; or attracting corporate sponsorship to cover the costs of the unveiling (which are typically attended by celebrities and local or national media). Authority is exercised through the intentionality of the individual(s) – whether friends, family members, fans, etc. – who propose the award. It is self-validating in so far as it is not subject to the official approval of a legitimising institution or panel of experts and peers. The publicity generated by debate surrounding the Keith Moon plaque (rejected by English Heritage and subsequently awarded by the Heritage Foundation¹⁴) helped confer the impression of a democratising or inclusive idea of cultural heritage which placed emphasis not so much on the legacy of the musician as professional or virtuoso artist as on his character and personality as a cultural icon.¹⁵ For Graham, Moon's reputation as a drummer is only part of the story:

[He was a] Raving nutter! But what a nutter. What a drummer. What a character. We remember him and pay tribute to him, a) because he was a drummer for the Who, b) because he was such a character and c) because of the public's perception of him as a drummer, a person and a member of the Who. It is all those things rolled into one. He was one of the great characters of music.

When asked to comment on English Heritage's more narrow eligibility criteria with regard to plaque nominations, Graham replied:

You've got to look at plaques in such a way as to say to yourself: this person deserves a plaque not just because they were top of their profession, whether it was a singer or a sportsman, but maybe because of what they contributed to the fans, to the followers, in terms of charisma and general entertainment, or the fact that they were so loved. Because that's another criteria.

However, looked upon as another criteria, the extent to which a musician was loved by his or her fans is an extraordinarily difficult factor to measure. By definition, a popular musician or artist who commands a devoted and loyal fan base is inevitably held with some degree of affection, hence popular culture, by dint of its popularity, automatically becomes popular heritage. Taken to its logical extremes, it is possible to envision a scenario whereby this more ‘democratised’ or free-for-all model of popular music heritage eclipses the very culture to which it seeks to pay tribute: heritage culture (or cultural heritage) as a self-sustaining and self-consuming industry: pop indeed eating itself. The material analogue to this future vision of a mass heritage pandemic is the spectacle of commemorative plaques breaking out like pustules on the facade of every other building. To the extent that anyone can, in effect, commission and erect a plaque, this is not an altogether inconceivable scenario, as throughout England many local councils, charitable organisations, businesses and trade associations continue to establish their own commemorative plaque schemes.¹⁶ Viewed against this somewhat variegated backdrop, English Heritage’s insistence on a more formal and rigorous approach to questions of eligibility undoubtedly enhances the perceived ‘heritage value’ of an award received under this official (i.e. state authorised) blue plaques scheme as compared to the others.

One obvious mechanism by which to lend more weight and authority to self-authorised music heritage initiatives is to seek the endorsement of celebrities and public figures. In the case of the Heritage Foundation, the appointment of the aforementioned Robin Gibb and former BBC Radio One disc jockey Mike Read as the president and vice-president, respectively, has enabled the charity to significantly enhance its public profile (former presidents have included the prog rock luminaries Rick Wakeman and Phil Collins). The ability to call upon celebrity members, patrons and trustees from the world of show business to attend charity events or plaque unveiling ceremonies lends additional support to the activities of the organisation and bolsters the heritage status of the performer being honoured.

Similarly, for the charity Music Heritage UK which, according to its website, ‘exists to promote, protect and preserve the UK’s musical heritage’,¹⁷ the appointment of celebrity ‘ambassadors’ helps to raise its profile and establish vital contacts in the music and cultural industries. As with the Heritage Foundation, Music Heritage UK represents the activities of a single individual, in this case, chief executive and founder James Ketchell, who, like Graham, is a popular music fan convinced that the UK’s popular music heritage has not been sufficiently recognised. Much younger than Graham, Ketchell, a professional in the charity sector, nevertheless shares with the Heritage Foundation chairman a recognition of the contribution of popular music histories to the UK’s national cultural heritage demonstrating the extent to which the values and practices of ‘heritage’ are not age-specific but extend at least part way across the social spectrum (although in other respects music heritage remains an overwhelmingly white and male preoccupation). As with many self-authorised music heritage discourses, it is as much the personal musical heritage and history of individuals, such as Graham and Ketchell, that is being memorialised as that which is claimed on behalf of a wider group or nation.

As well as seeking the endorsement of celebrities or ambassadors, the ability to attract public funding (in the form of grants from the Arts Council, for example, or support from the Heritage Lottery Fund), or claim charitable status, can further boost the professional image of a self-authorised heritage initiative and blur the distinction between ideas of official and ‘unofficial’. If, for example, a ‘DIY heritage’

initiative, such as an online music archive or website (Music Heritage UK being but one of many), is successful in securing funding or drawn into collaboration with researchers and academics in the higher education sector, by what measure, and to what extent could it be (re)classified as an ‘official’ heritage discourse? Does this enable those involved to legitimately claim *more* authority than if it was the product of entirely self-resourced DIY endeavours? These questions, while of some import, have less bearing than those which seek to address not what specific music heritage discourses may represent in terms of their perceived authenticity or official merit, but what it is they in fact do: the instrumentality and performativity of music heritage as a social and cultural practice.

One thing that Ketchell from Music Heritage UK aims to do, for example, is award heritage (and charitable) status to historically significant music venues to help them not only achieve greater recognition but make them more secure and sustainable:

One of the things we hopefully want to develop over time is helping music venues come up with alternative models. This is all very vague at the moment, but there is no reason why you cannot become a charity or a social enterprise. So, a) that helps with cutting your costs, but b) you are able to use it to *bank on that heritage* a lot more and then c) you are able to perhaps, I don’t know, train a sound engineer or a lighting engineer, or use it for rehearsal spaces, that kind of thing, so you are helping young musicians. So, I think the charitable model could be quite good for lots of these venues.

In this sense, heritage becomes an asset in the absence of (officially sanctioned) listed status but also a strategic tool for preserving a building’s social, cultural and economic value, and enabling its continued use for music-making and the music industries. In the wake of New Labour’s enthusiastic embrace of culture- and heritage-led regeneration strategies, and no less reconcilable to the Conservative-led Coalition Government’s pronouncements on the so-called ‘Big Society’, in policy terms, the idea of heritage here is one that appears wilfully on-message. It does not so much represent the (in)tangible legacy of a historical past and a collective sense of place, identity and cultural memory. Instead, it connotes an inheritance analogous to that presided over by the executor of a family estate, and in this regard reinforces an idea of heritage as both compliant with and shaped by the language and discursive values of neoliberal economics.

If music heritage as a conspicuously *charitable* set of practices and motivations goes some way towards instilling a sense of official sanction there remains nothing, beyond the good intentions and dedication of those that volunteer their time and resources to establish such initiatives, that necessarily prevents self-authorising music heritage discourses from serving as vehicles by which more self-serving interests and values might equally be exploited. Without listed status, for example, there is nothing that guarantees that a heritage venue would not at some point in the future be gutted, redeveloped and transformed into, for example, luxury apartments, as was the case with the Hacienda club in Manchester. And who is to say that is not a more appropriate or economically viable cultural legacy? The preservation of a venue that kindles fond and nostalgic cultural memories for some might seem, to others, as further evidence of an inexorable shift towards the museumification of culture and everyday life that critics of the ‘heritage industry’, such as Hewison, highlighted back in the 1980s in the nascent years of the neoliberal experiment. In terms of bricks and mortar – the material sites of musical

memory – the ‘preservation’ of cultural heritage is only meaningfully realised by recourse to the official mechanisms put in place by policy-makers and heritage bodies such as English Heritage. By way of illustration, the decision in January 2012 by the Minister for Tourism and Heritage, John Penrose, to reject an application by English Heritage to officially make the 100 Club in London a grade II listed historic building (one of the reasons he gave was that it would not be in tune with the spirit of punk) means that whatever nostalgic value or cultural resonance musicians and audiences might attach to the club, the ‘bankable’ value of its heritage is considerably outweighed by the site’s commercial appeal for investors and developers (the venue is located in Oxford Street in the heart of London’s West End).¹⁸

Ketchell from Music Heritage UK strongly condemned the government’s decision to reject the 100 Club bid.¹⁹ Responding to the question as to what the term ‘cultural heritage’ might mean, he acknowledges the difficulties in nailing down a precise definition, noting simply, ‘I would describe it as our shared memories, on a quite broad scale’. Commenting on the interplay between the tangible and intangible properties of heritage and memory, he goes on to stress the importance of *place* (as reflected in the charity’s emphasis on music venues) and *experience*:

The memories you have of a particular time or place – at a music festival or concert venue – then that is the place where those memories happened [...] When you go back to somewhere where you have got strong memories, they always come flooding back. And then, if that place is not there anymore, then it is a lot more difficult to have those memories [...]; the essential thing is about the experience, and those experiences happen in places.

Nora has noted that, ‘Memory attaches itself to sites [*lieux de mémoire*], whereas history attaches itself to events’ (1989, p. 22). The importance of sites of memory in music heritage discourses, as the above comments clearly demonstrate, is not so much on marking events (e.g. ‘this is where the Sex Pistols played their first gig’) as providing a *performative space* in which experiential memories can be rehearsed, acknowledged and re-embodied (‘this is what *I remember* from going to punk gigs at the 100 Club in the 1970s’, or ‘*this* is where the Sex Pistols played’); or, as ersatz nostalgia – described by Appadurai as ‘nostalgia without lived experience or collective historical memory’ (1996, p. 78; see also Boym 2001, p. 38), a space where inherited memories can be enacted and embodied (‘this is what *I imagine* seeing punk bands at this venue must have been like’).

One of the chief functions of self-authorising music heritage practices is, therefore, to furnish a means by which to give substance to the ritual and performative dimensions of cultural memory: the site of popular music heritage as an (in)tangible place of pilgrimage. The growing popularity of and interest in music tours and heritage trails, commemorative plaques and music-related *lieux de mémoire* reflects this desire to map and materialise popular music histories and to give validation to the experiential, affective and embodied contours of musical memory. This heritage impulse has not been lost on tourist marketing agencies, such as Visit Britain, who have sought to tap the emotional geographies of popular music culture in the UK as a promotional tool for stimulating niche forms of cultural tourism (Cohen and Roberts forthcoming). Self-authorising heritage can also function as an effective marketing device capitalising on the nostalgic appeal of music heritage sites to deliver specific instrumental objectives. For David Graham, for example, it not only

helps to afford more official recognition to England's rich and, as he would argue, underacknowledged cultural and musical heritage, initiatives such as the heritage plaque scheme also function as a means to market the activities of the Heritage Foundation itself so as to generate publicity and (more crucially) income for the charitable causes the Foundation supports.

Similarly, the Heritage Award scheme of Performing Right Society (PRS) for Music (an organisation, formerly known as the PRS, that collects and distributes royalties on behalf of its UK members) likewise functions as a marketing tool for the organisation and a vehicle for publicising and rationalising its role as part of the wider creative industries. Established in 2009, the scheme was set up, as the Head of PR Barney Hooper explains, 'to highlight who we are, how we represent writers, [...] to recognise some of our most prolific, high profile, successful members and place it in a context of where they began. [...] We have a rich heritage in this country of great writers, composers and also performers, and we wanted to recognise that and we brainstormed and came up with the idea of finding *the* place that a well-known band or group or singer-songwriter first performed: the performance birth place'. To date only a handful of heritage plaques have been erected under the scheme, but plans are to extend this, the latest being a plaque for the band James at the Hacienda Apartments in Manchester. The unveiling of these plaques attracts media interest and the attendance and endorsement of celebrities as well as a web presence and coverage in PRS's own quarterly publication *M*.²⁰ 'Without doubt', Hooper remarked,

[the marketing potential] is a huge consideration. [...] It connects us in peoples' minds with music, with our members, with the music that they will recognise, remember and love, and there's a reason people can follow that career and create that music, and it boils down to copyright law and the rights that protects their creative works.

One final point worth considering here concerns the ambiguous placement of the PRS for Music Heritage Award Scheme as an official or self-authorised music heritage discourse. It is ambiguous only inasmuch as, in terms of the important legal and financial role it plays in the UK music industry, PRS bears all the attributes of an official organisation, yet in its capacity as a music heritage awarding body, it is very much a self-authorising initiative. Again, as with other plaque schemes, what is striking is the seemingly arbitrary nature of the names selected: Blur, Dire Straits, Jethro Tull, Squeeze, Elton John, Snow Patrol, Status Quo and UB40, the uniting factor being the white, male and rock-oriented profile of these particular artists and groups. When we interviewed PRS, Hooper also showed us a plaque the organisation had made for Spandau Ballet, who they were in discussion with as a possible future recipient of the award. The criteria for selection are cited as 'availability', and 'willingness to engage', and although they stress an endeavour to be as broad as possible, Hooper also acknowledges a need for PRS to widen out the scheme to encompass a more diverse portfolio of artists and genres. In keeping with the other self-authorising heritage discourses we have discussed in this paper, PRS for Music's choice of artists also strongly reflects the personal tastes and music heritage of the individual employees who set up and manage the plaque scheme. Hooper, for example, notes:

[Music heritage is about] your formative years isn't it? I was a teenager in the '90s, so: Brit Pop and Indie Music; and obviously I was very keen to do Blur (as a huge Blur fan) as our first Heritage Award. I don't know whether I swayed it ...

Unauthorised popular music heritage

The shift towards *self-authorized* popular music heritage demonstrated by the examples in the previous section may be read, on the one hand, as a growing democratisation of music heritage production and consumption and a tacit circumvention of 'official' bureaucracies of cultural heritage management. On the other hand, however, it represents a problematization of the idea of heritage as the recognition of a national cultural legacy or as a symbolic affirmation of collective structures of cultural memory and identity. But then, in terms of popular music culture, is English Heritage necessarily anymore representative of 'English heritage' (whatever, in practice, that might actually mean) than the more democratising clamour of individual music heritage practices? Moreover, as a historicising framework by which individuals and groups negotiate the relationship between contemporary music cultures and those rooted in the past, just how relevant is Heritage anyway? If music heritage has its official and self-authorized variants, then can we identify a third that does not demand authorisation and could, therefore, be described as

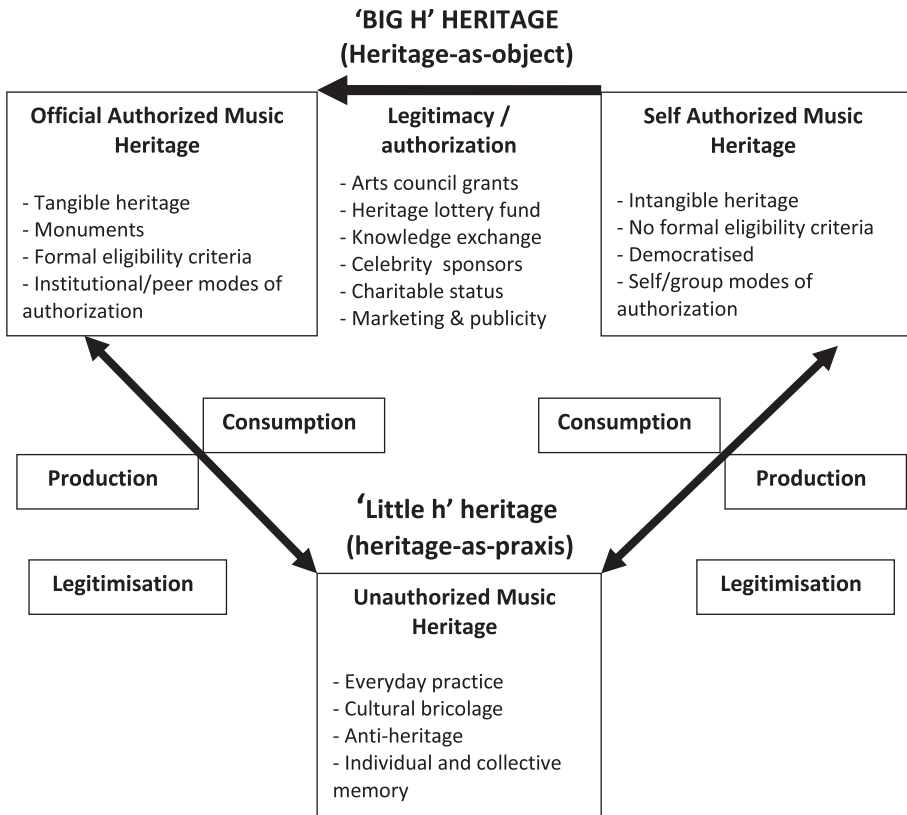


Figure 1. (Un)authorising popular music heritage: critical and analytical framework.

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‘unauthorised’, and if so, then does this not effectively excise ‘heritage’ from the equation altogether? These are questions we address in this final section, which focuses on vernacular memory and heritage-as-praxis (Figure 1).

Anti-plaques and heritage-as-praxis

In 2011, graffiti, doodles and paintings discovered on the wall of a Soho flat formerly occupied by Sex Pistol John Lydon were likened, in terms of their archaeological significance, to the Upper Palaeolithic cave paintings found in Lascaux in southern France. Providing ‘a unique insight into the origins of the 1970s musical movement’, the graffiti, according to archaeologists John Schofield and Paul Graves-Brown, is ‘a direct and powerful representation of a radical and dramatic movement of rebellion’. Whatever one’s views as to the scholarly merit that can or should be attributed to this early punk-era discovery, what appears a good deal more noteworthy is the archaeologists’ negation of the idea that the graffiti in some way constitutes ‘heritage’. Recoiling from the suggestion that the site should be marked by a blue plaque (as this ‘would not be in the spirit of punk’; a line, as we have seen, that would be echoed by the Minister for Tourism and Heritage in relation to the 100 Club in January 2012), for Schofield and Graves-Brown it is the ‘anti-heritage’ value of the graffiti that warrants attention. Deliberately going against the grain of the values and conventions of ‘official’ UK heritage management,²¹ they assert:

We feel justified in sticking our tongues out at the heritage establishment and suggesting that punk’s iconoclasm provides the context for conservation decision-making. This is an important site, historically and archaeologically, for the material and evidence it contains. But should we retain it for the benefit of this and future generations? In our view, with anti-heritage, different rules apply.²²

The idea of *anti-heritage* presented here is interesting in that it stems from an instinctual and avowedly political desire to provoke and challenge; to subvert – through a process of tactical *détournement* well in keeping with the situationist spirit of punk – the dominant meanings and ideological assumptions that underwrite what is typically understood as Heritage.

But the example is also instructive in nudging more forcefully the question as to whether heritage is a productive framework, critically and historiographically, to address the legacy of specific popular music histories. Feargal Sharkey, ex-member of the post-punk band The Undertones and, in a more recent incarnation, chief executive of UK Music, a lobbying organisation on behalf the UK music industry, pinpoints both the ambivalent value of heritage to the music industry as well as the wider historical context in which discussions of music heritage are more productively situated. ‘If it’s heritage’, he suggests, ‘it seems to go back a long way’. For Sharkey, the idea of ‘popular music heritage’ relates strongly to issues of migration, diaspora and the musical routes and transnational musicscapes that have had such a formative influence on how particular UK music cultures and genres have historically evolved. Citing his own traditional Irish background as an example, he also relates heritage to ideas of tradition and indigenous cultural origins. He historicises the current obsession with all things heritage, attributing it to the desire of a post-war baby boom generation to revisit and question the environment in which it grew

up: the influence of American music and artists on 1950s and 60s popular culture; the social, cultural and intellectual revolutions of the era; the opening up of the education system and so on. Viewed against this broader sociocultural backdrop, music heritage is rooted in a particular historical moment; a time of dramatic change and transition of immense significance to those who were a part of this first wave; this first great flourish of post-war popular culture.

Beyond that, for Sharkey, the question of how to reconcile the idea of heritage with the wider commercial imperatives of the music industry highlights the more difficult task of relating what he sees as a progressive, largely youth-driven culture of popular music creativity and consumption with a backward-looking, nostalgic and often reactionary discourse of Heritage. Striving to foster an environment where a vibrant and the cutting edge UK music culture can thrive, Sharkey's concerns lie more with nurturing and supporting the next Tinie Tempah or Adele, not raking over the relics of a dead musical past. As far as he is concerned, most young people could not care less about the legacy of a bunch of 'old farts' like Led Zeppelin or whether there is a Beatles Heritage map or tour on offer. Heritage, by this reckoning, is anti-culture. 'Anti-heritage', by corollary, augurs a more progressive form of cultural engagement: musical history and legacy valued – whether pedagogically, socially, culturally or politically – *despite* not as a result of Heritage. This critical distinction hinges on the degree to which what might actually be meant by popular music heritage in any given context represents the enactment of a musical praxis that is rooted in the sociality and culture of everyday life, or a rarefied object or spectacle that is more about the *heritagisation* of cultural practice (Roberts, this volume) than the performativity and discursivity of heritage-as-praxis. While there is not the space to explore this much broader question in any level of depth here, it is worth considering for a moment the example of the British Library Sound Archive which holds one of the largest and most extensive collections of popular music in the world. Andy Linehan, popular music curator at the archive, gave this response to the question as to whether the term 'cultural heritage' was meaningful to him in terms of his work as a popular music curator:

For want of a better word, yeah. I'm wary of the heritage [of popular music] just being the Beatles. And one can understand why that might be the case. [...] And that's why I don't like the term heritage if you see what I mean. [...] What I'm concerned with is the cultural heritage of British music; our brief is to collect everything and reflect everything that went on. [...] I like the idea that we [the Sound Archive] have collected over the years all the kind of musical influences that have filtered through to what's happening now and you can go back and trace the path, and you can make you own ... you work out your own way of doing it [...]; build your own picture. And so I kind of see it as ... you can come here and construct your history and your heritage, if you like. We hopefully are providing the building blocks for you to construct your [own] ideas. The notion of heritage is generally 'the usual suspects' and we are a lot more than that I think is what I try to get across.

If one were tasked to come up with an idea of musical heritage as an engaged, discursive, practice-oriented, creative and self-articulative form of cultural *bricolage*, it is hard to think of a better description than the one Linehan offers here. Although in terms of raising awareness of the British Library's activities and widening the access to and the appeal of its collections to the general public, Linehan accepts that the 'usual suspects' model of heritage does have its place (and thus has instru-

mental value), the processual idea of heritage-as-praxis to which he otherwise subscribes is one that demands neither authorisation (self or official), museumification, nor tangible memorialisation (the unveiling of a plaque or monument, for example; the totemic act that ‘officially’ marks many authorised forms of popular music heritage). Perhaps a distinction between ‘little h’ heritage and ‘big H’ Heritage is apposite here. ‘Little h’ heritage does not draw attention to itself; indeed, for the most part it gets by without even an awareness that it *is* heritage. Abstracted from practice – from spatio-temporal grounding in the everyday – heritage-as-praxis transmutes to heritage-as-object. Yet, as Crang observes, ‘There is no Heritage-qua-object ‘out there’, heritage exists only in the ways it is enacted’ (1994, p. 351). Processes of authorisation – of validating music heritage as heritage – constitute, therefore, a reification of music culture and history inasmuch as it is reduced to a seemingly immutable object, the significance of which owes as much, if not more, to the ‘bell jar’ (Hewison 1987, p. 144) in which it is contained as any innate cultural value that authorises its heritagisation in the first place.

The difficulties in negotiating the tension between ‘little h’ heritage and ‘big H’ heritage, or between heritage-as-object and heritage-as-praxis, are well observed by the black music historian and founder member of British reggae band Steel Pulse, Mykaell Riley. Exploring the possibilities of curating an exhibition of UK black music history at the Museum of London, Riley argues that it is incumbent on the historian or curator to reflect and pay heed to the contingent positionality that shapes specific narratives of popular music heritage and the subjectivities of those who have a stake in these narratives and histories. Echoing Andy Linehan’s note of caution with regard to the ‘usual suspects’, Riley stresses the need to challenge dominant narratives and the uncritical regurgitation of facts that are circulated as part of official discourses of popular music heritage, and to acknowledge and reflect the ways in narratives shift depending on place, context, time and who you are asking. Historiographically and curatorially, therefore, the process of mapping black music histories that Riley advocates, whether figuratively or in cartographic terms, reflects a living, dynamic understanding of cultural heritage that is topographically and chronotopically expressive of pathways and routes of musical influence. In other words: heritage-as-praxis. Again, this chimes with Linehan’s emphasis on tracing musical pathways and finding your own way: building your own ‘map’ of music heritage. For Riley, as with Linehan, music heritage is less about the past than on the ways in which the past informs what is happening now, in the present:

Heritage, to me, is partly what you’ve inherited. Whether that’s consciously or subconsciously. And it’s partly legacy. [...] But at the same time *it’s what informs you going forward*. [...] In terms of black music in the UK heritage is increasingly about establishing that which has gone before. Just to say ‘look it did happen!’. [...] So heritage to me is about recognising that this did exist, it did have a major *contribution to what is now*. And actually collating that and bringing it back into vision, because it’s simply not there.

Conclusion: unauthorising popular music heritage

As we have seen, whether the erection of a commemorative plaque to, for instance, the Who’s former drummer represents an ‘official’ or ‘unofficial’ marker of popular music heritage proves not especially useful in terms of understanding how heritage

functions and performs as part of specific popular music discourses in England. If seen only in terms of representing a populist or unofficial corrective to the official ‘snub’ of the English Heritage panel, then wider questions surrounding the performativity and intentionality of popular music heritage remain critically overlooked. Similarly, whether the erection of a plaque on a building owned by the Queen in order to pay tribute to the location where a 1970s album cover was photographed (and a musician’s fictional alter-ego once stood) represents a ‘tangible’ or ‘intangible’ form of popular music heritage is arguably of less significance than the question as to why it is there at all. Which is not to suggest that it *should not* be there necessarily (although a convincing argument could doubtless be made in this respect) but rather to shift critical attention towards a) the processes by which it is *authorised* as a marker of musical heritage; b) what this authority brings with it in terms of what it is the plaque ‘does’: i.e. how it performs and enacts in the social world; and c) how this official or self-authorised discourse of music heritage (and the distinction is by no means clear cut or fixed) might influence, inform or interrelate with other types of music heritage practice, whether authorised or unauthorised, big H Heritage or little h heritage, heritage-as-object or heritage-as-praxis.

Commenting on the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland Ohio, Tim Strickland, former creative director of the ill-fated National Centre for Popular Music in Sheffield (NCPM), suggests that the museum would not be anything without the annual awards ceremony. As well as casting a sideways glance at the fate of British popular music museums – the NCPM (1999–2000) and the British Music Experience (2000–present) – Strickland’s comments highlight the extent to which *authorised* music heritage discourses are almost always dependent on key symbolic events as self-legitimising forms of focused gathering, or as mechanisms for capitalising on the media spectacle and publicity they generate. Award ceremonies, charity events, trade fares and plaque unveiling ceremonies; the performativity of heritage is predicated on the bureaucratic, institutional and commercial frameworks that authorise it and mark it out as an object in itself. ‘Big H’ Heritage is, therefore, conspicuous heritage; heritage that draws attention to itself in order to exercise an instrumental function.

However, while authorised discourses of popular music heritage make claims to collective ideas of tradition, provenance and a shared cultural legacy to be celebrated and duly acknowledged, the extent to which these work to shape ideas of nationhood, collective memory, place, locality and identity – the metonymic capital upon which the cultural economy of the tourism and heritage industry is functionally dependent – is difficult to reliably determine in the absence of analyses drawn from audience-based qualitative research into the ways popular music heritage is consumed, negotiated and performed in practice. This methodological approach forms the basis of the second stage of our POPID research. Despite the authorising claims of the music heritage industry (whether official or self authorised) just how meaningful authorised popular music heritage discourses are in terms of how individuals’ celebrate and curate their own musical memories, or exactly how they might inform or relate to personal ideas of heritage, memory and identity is by no means self-evident. As we have argued, working alongside, or in some cases in opposition to, authorised forms of popular music Heritage there exist a set of heritage practices that can provisionally be described as ‘unauthorised’ but which are in all other respects not really conceived of as ‘heritage’ at all. That is, they reflect processes of engagement with musical pasts that draw on as well as contribute to

both established and emergent educational or archival resources, and which appropriate that which went before as precursors to innovation and creativity not merely as emblems and relics of a memorialised past. If these discursive and practice-oriented understandings to music heritage praxis are indicative of the ways in which audiences and musicians might more routinely engage with popular music histories, then arguably it is not so much to the concept of 'Heritage' (big or little h) that productively lends itself to ongoing analysis and debate in this area but the altogether more diffuse theoretical terrain that encompasses the fields of personal and cultural memory. Ethnographic work on music and memory currently being conducted amongst audiences in the UK and its partner POPID countries will illuminate more clearly and more intimately the relationship between popular music cultures of the past and those of the present.

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Notes

1. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2112047/Here-landed-Starman-Plaque-marks-London-street-David-Bowies-Ziggy-Stardust-touched-down.html#ixzz1vXsBKsPf> [accessed May 2012].
2. <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/plaque-to-mark-spot-in-london-where-ziggy-stardust-aka-david-bowie-fell-to-earth/story-fnb64oi6-1226293331843> [accessed May 2012].
3. Gibson and Connell 2005, Cohen 2007, 2012, Frost 2008.
4. In the UK, the dominance of heritage and AHDs positions music histories in England within a national discursive context that is markedly different to that operative in other European countries (see other contributions to this volume).
5. The research is funded by HERA and developed in collaboration with project partners based at Erasmus University in Rotterdam, the University of Ljubljana and Mediact in

- Vienna: http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/english/hera_popid/. See also related Australian-based project: <http://musicmemoriesproject.blogspot.co.uk/p/our-project.html>.
6. www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/historic_environment/ [accessed 21 December 2011].
 7. 'Beatles' Abbey Road zebra crossing given listed status', BBC, 22 December 2010: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-12059385 [accessed 21 December 2011].
 8. 'Beatles' Strawberry Field gates removed', *The Guardian*, 10 May 2011: www.guardian.co.uk/music/2011/may/10/beatles-strawberry-fields-gates-removed [accessed 21 December 2011].
 9. As the interviewee pointed out, an obvious response to those who charged the organisation with 'putting up plaques to a drug-taker' was to remind them that the plaque that first launched the blue plaques scheme (in 1867) was to the romantic poet Lord Byron, who famously indulged in the drug laudanum.
 10. Dissenting voices within English Heritage were highlighted in a BBC2 documentary about the plaque entitled 'Picture This' and broadcast on 5 June 1999 (see Cohen 2007)
 11. 'The Who's Keith Moon to be honoured with 'blue plaque'', *The Guardian*, 2 February 2009: www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/feb/02/who-keith-moon-blue-plaque [accessed 14 April 2011].
 12. As noted by Regev (2006, p. 2), for example, Anglo-American rock and pop is a major ingredient in the canon of popular music, whilst Appen and Doehring (2006) illustrate the canonisation of white, male rock through lists of the 100 greatest albums of all time compiled by music journalists. See also Schmutz (2005).
 13. As well as Comic Heritage, the Heritage Foundation now encompasses Musical Heritage, Sports Heritage and Films and Television Heritage. See www.theheritagefoundation.info/aboutus [accessed 23 March 2011].
 14. The plaque was unveiled in March 2009 at the site of the Marquee Club in Soho, where The Who often performed in the 1960s.
 15. 'Keith Moon gets plaque at last despite English Heritage snub', *The Independent* on Sunday, 1 February 2009: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/keith-moon-gets-plaque-at-last-despite-english-heritage-snob-1522532.html [accessed 6 January 2012].
 16. For example, in a report published by Birmingham City Council in 2012, a proposal for a plaque scheme and related tourist trail were put forward by authors of a report exploring popular music heritage in the city. By way of precedent, the report cites the examples of Liverpool, Coventry, Rochdale and Bristol as the other UK cities that have also erected plaques honouring popular musicians (see Birmingham City Council 2012, p. 27–28).
 17. www.musicheritageuk.org/about.html [accessed 6 January 2012].
 18. 'London's 100 Club fails in bid to become a listed building', NME, 9 January 2012: www.nme.com/news/various-artists/61327 [accessed 11 January 2012].
 19. See www.musicheritageuk.org/media/100-club-listed-status-denied.html [accessed 11 January 2012].
 20. www.prsformusic.com/creators/news/Pages/HeritageAward.aspx; www.prsformusic.com/creators/news/mmazine/Pages/default.aspx [accessed 11 January 2012].
 21. Schofield was in fact working for English Heritage's characterisation team at the time. Accordingly, this example also highlights the ways in which official, self-authorised and unauthorised heritage can co-exist and intersect within a single 'official' organisation.
 22. www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2064199/Sex-Pistols-graffiti-studied-archaeologists-important-caves-Lascaux-southern-France.html?ito=feeds-newsx [accessed 21 November 2011].

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