Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory

Andy Bennett and Ian Rogers

Pop Music, Culture and Identity

Pop Music, Culture and Identity

Series Editors

Steve Clark
Graduate School Humanities and Sociology
University of Tokyo
Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tristanne Connolly
Department of English
St Jerome's University
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

Jason Whittaker
School of English & Journalism
University of Lincoln
Lincoln, Lincolnshire, United Kingdom

Pop music lasts. A form all too often assumed to be transient, commercial and mass-cultural has proved itself durable, tenacious and continually evolving. As such, it has become a crucial component in defining various forms of identity (individual and collective) as influenced by nation, class, gender and historical period. Pop Music, Culture and Identity investigates how this enhanced status shapes the iconography of celebrity, provides an ever-expanding archive for generational memory and accelerates the impact of new technologies on performing, packaging and global marketing. The series gives particular emphasis to interdisciplinary approaches that go beyond musicology and seeks to validate the informed testimony of the fan alongside academic methodologies.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14537

Andy Bennett • Ian Rogers

Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory

palgrave
macmillan

Andy Bennett
Gold Coast Campus
Griffith University,
School of Humanities
Gold Coast Campus
Brisbane, Australia

Ian Rogers
Media and Communication
RMIT University Media and
Communication
Melbourne, Australia

Pop Music, Culture and Identity
ISBN 978-1-137-40203-5 ISBN 978-1-137-40204-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016956495

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
The registered company is The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW,
United Kingdom

This book is for Monika, Daniel, Clare and Ginger.

Acknowledgements

The research for this book was funded through an Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Project award (DP1092910). We are grateful to the ARC for supporting our work. The material presented in the book is centrally reliant on interview material collected across seven Australian cities between 2011 and 2014. We express our sincere thanks to all the people who so generously gave of their time to be interviewed and who provided much insight regarding the importance of cultural memory for our understanding of music scenes. We would also like to express our thanks for the ongoing support of the Griffith Centre for Social and Cultural Research (formerly the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research) during the life of the project. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the love and support of our families, to whom this book is dedicated.

Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Scenes and Memory

Since the early 1990s, the concept of scene has gathered critical momentum as a means of studying the intersection of music and everyday life. A centrally important feature of scene theory has been its rejection of purely structural accounts of musical taste and a move away from associated conceptual frameworks such as 'subculture' and 'community'. In its conceptual transgression, scene has also contributed to the recasting of collective musical participation as something that can transcend the physical parameters of space and place to take on more affective and trans-local qualities (Straw 1991; Bennett and Peterson 2004). Similarly, with the emergence and increasing sophistication of digital media, there has been a growing acknowledgement in academic work on scenes of the potential for 'virtual' forms of scene activity, either as distinctive practices or interlaced with more traditional forms of face-to-face interaction (Bennett 2002; Lee and Peterson 2004). The focus on scenes in the present has ultimately led to a broadening of the scenes perspective to consider the historical and trans-temporal dimensions of music scenes. Important points of departure here have been emergent literatures on music and ageing (see, for example, Bennett 2013) and music and heritage (see, for example, Cohen et al. 2015). Between them, these literatures have illustrated the extent to which the popular music culture of the last 60 years has shaped generational identity and memory.

The focus on memory in academic scholarship has its own long and established tradition, including work that examines memory as a collec-

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_1

tive and socially embedded entity (Olick and Robbins 1998; Roediger and Wertsch 2008). In more recent times, such interest in the collective properties of memory has been granted a significantly expanded presence through the emergence of what is now referred to as 'cultural memory' studies (see Erll and Nünning 2008). Rooted in a concern with textual and audio-visual representations of the recent and popular past, cultural memory studies has begun to map the ways in which such representations serve to shape broader, everyday understandings of how national and global historical legacies shape cultural identities in the present. A critical shift in this respect, and one that gives the past a more 'popular' and omnipresent quality, is its highly mediated nature. Through their continuous pattern of encounter with mediations of the past – be these filmic, televisual, musical or 'virtual' – individuals in contemporary society are perpetually in the process of remembering, and in the reflexive organization and articulation of their memories, in the present. The contributions of cultural memory studies to interpretations of contemporary cultural life can thus be aligned with the 'cultural turn', which places emphasis on the reconceptualization of culture as a dynamic terrain of everyday life co-produced through the tensions between structure and agency (Chaney 1994; see also Chap. 2). From the point of view of cultural memory theorists, the production of cultural memory emerges from a complex interplay between individuals and the everyday consumption of objects, images and texts that serve to present ideas about the past and its bearing on the present.

The purpose of this book is to engage in an initial attempt to bring together elements of scene theory and cultural memory studies in order to offer a new way of thinking about and theorizing music scenes as cultural spaces in which the past and present remain aesthetically linked. The central premise of this book is that, through utilizing more recently introduced concepts such as cultural memory and emotional geography (Davidson et al. 2007) in research on music scenes, we can facilitate a deeper understanding of the significance of scenes as cultural spaces of collective participation and belonging. Scene activity, we argue, may take a variety of forms, from regular attendance at gigs through to more individualized modes of listening to music in both public and private space, through the collection and archiving of live footage and other artefacts, to the organization of small-scale concerts in unofficial DIY (do-it-yourself) venue spaces. What often links such diverse practices together, however, is an affective sense of oneself as a part of something that is alive – both in a physical and temporal sense – and woven into the cultural landscape.

This sense of belonging may manifest itself in both tangible and intangible (almost entirely affective) ways, but retains critical currency as a means through which the personal taste biographies of the many become clustered around those nodal points of collective musical life that denote scenes.

The findings of the book are based on extensive interviews with people involved in music at all levels – as fans, musicians, writers, producers, promoters, or various combinations of these things – across seven Australian cities: Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Hobart, Melbourne, Perth and Sydney. Overall, a total of 89 people between the ages of 18 and 70 were interviewed: 66 males and 23 females. For the most part, the interviewees had either been born in Australia or had spent a significant part of their lives there. Similarly, although most of the interviewees were, at the time of interview, residents of the above-named cities, a number had moved there from smaller regional towns across Australia. While the stories that our interviewees tell are obviously grounded in their experience of music scenes based in Australian cities, many of the broader themes and issues upon which the interviews touched have a broader and more universal currency. As such, what we relate here – both in terms of the personal accounts of interviewees and our analysis of these accounts – is applicable to many other music scenes and music scene participants elsewhere in the world. The empirical research informing this book was funded by an Australian Research Council grant, and the empirical data were collected between 2011 and 2014. The research received ethical clearance from Griffith University (where the project was based) and was conducted in accordance with the policies and procedures established by Griffith University's Research Ethics and Integrity Team and the Office for Research.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I (Chaps. 2 and 3) establishes the conceptual parameters of the book, while Part II (Chaps. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) offers a series of five themed empirical case studies.

In Chap. 2, we present an overview of the existing work on the concept of scene. Unsurprisingly, perhaps – given its pivotal role in establishing scene as a conceptual framework in academic research on popular music – considerable space in Chap. 2 is devoted to Straw's (1991) pioneering article 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change' (originally published in the journal *Cultural Studies*). Although this article has been cited widely over the years, we argue that most of the attention has been given to Straw's spatial conceptualization of scene, while his concept of articulation has received less attention and scrutiny than it has deserved. In taking up

this matter, we suggest that, in the context of a study such as our own, where scene is being discussed largely as an object of memory, emotion and affect, the notion of articulation is critically important to our understanding of the collective dynamics of scene and scene association. In the remainder of Chap. 2, we consider work on scenes that appeared after Straw's original account was published and explore how this draws on the ideas presented in Straw's article to expand our understanding of and capacity to conceptualize scene as connoting forms of collective musical practice.

Chapter 3 extends our argument regarding the need for greater attention to the role of articulation in music scenes. Core to the discussion presented in this chapter is the suggestion that an engagement with issues of memory, emotion and affect is a necessary innovation in research on music scenes. Our reasoning in making this assertion is that current renderings of scene, which are more squarely focused on the spatial dynamics of scenes and/or their positing as, or within, nodes of cultural production, offer only a limited understanding of music scenes as cultural spaces that tie people together in meaningful relationships. Indeed, we suggest that, in order to fully understand the importance of scenes in this respect, we need to regard them as dynamic entities existing over time and serving as a means by which individuals build and articulate shared investments in music, both spatially and temporally. As part of the conceptual innovation that we propose in scene theory, we utilize cultural memory as a means of achieving a new emphasis on the spatio-temporal qualities of scene. As part of this process, we argue for a refinement of the cultural memory approach that assigns back to the individual a greater level of agency in forging musical meanings – one that accounts for the nuances and specificities of place, and the influence of these on individual and collective memory.

Chapter 4 turns its attention to an issue that is fundamentally at the heart of all accounts of music, memory and association with music scenes: the acquisition of musical taste. In interviewing our participants, the complex, shifting and contingent qualities of taste were acknowledged as an inevitable underpinning of taste biographies. Through posing questions that allowed for the exploration of the origins of taste biographies in this way, the accounts offered by interviews provided a graphic illustration of the intricate weaving between musical taste, memory and emotion. Although the musical tastes of many of our interviewees had shifted, or at least broadened, over the years, their earliest recollection of hearing

music – typically that listened to by parents or older siblings – provided a basis for their evolving understanding of music as a barometer of emotional attachment, biographical development and personal reflection. As the comments of our interviewees show, taste stories remain important for individuals as they articulate their support for particular artists, particular genres of music and their concomitant association with particular scenes, both as past and present entities.

Chapter 5 focuses on the theme of the spaces of music consumption. As previously noted, it is our contention that, through redefining scenes as entities that are both spatial and temporal, inscribed with memory and emotion and affect, we are able to recast scenes as multispatialized. This chapter therefore moves beyond a straightforward analysis of scenes as clustered around clubs and venues (although these are certainly a dimension of what we focus on here) to engage with other, less commonly acknowledged and, at some level, less tangible spaces of scene engagement. Thus, in this chapter, we also consider how other hard infrastructure (Stahl 2004) aspects of scenes, notably venues and local record stores, serve as important (and in some cases iconic) markers of scenes, both in the past and the present. Indeed, one salient feature of the accounts provided by interviewees, in this chapter, is the way in which their sense of scene and its location in space is often presented as a back-and-forth narrative in which the venues, clubs, record shops and other meeting places of yesterday continue to inform a sense of scene in the present. In this sense, memory traces provide an important key to the emotional mapping that people bring to bear when negotiating cities in flux, where the spaces and places of musical encounters are in a constant state of decline and rebirth. The final section of this chapter takes another step into uncharted territories of scene theory by considering how musical participation in the private space of the home offers possibilities for more affective and intangible articulations of scene association, akin to those described by Bennett (2013) in his account of affective scene membership.

Chapter 6 offers an in-depth account of two instances of music production in Brisbane, the capital of the state of Queensland and Australia's third-largest city. In keeping with the exploratory nature of this book, we take the view that music production, the spaces within which this takes place and its connection to scene can assume a multifarious character. In the first of the two case studies presented in this chapter, we consider an example of a local scene member with a broad and primarily DIY portfolio of activities, including studio production work, promotion and sound-

mixing. This approach to music production, including the use of one's own home as base for operations to save on costs, is becoming increasingly commonplace in what Smith and Maughan (1998) have referred to as the contemporary post-Fordist music industry. As this chapter illustrates, in addition to providing infrastructure for the perpetuation of scene activity, this DIY ethos and approach are also spreading outwards to inform the ways in which scenes are being documented and archived. The second case study examines a scene member's attempts to record and preserve live music performances in Brisbane's alternative and independent music scenes using hand-held recording equipment.

Chapter 7 focuses on the topic of cultural archiving and retrieval, and examines this as a localized form of DIY practice spanning both the pre- and post-digital era. With the emergence of the internet and later innovations associated with Web 2.0, such as Facebook, the possibilities for virtual connection between participants have become more apparent. As this chapter illustrates, however, the foundations for such forms of communal activity were already established in the pre-digital age in the form of fan club publications and other forms of fan merchandise. Similarly, the compiling of scrapbooks and, within the realm of the more 'serious' music fan, mix-tapes (see Jansen 2009) were other popular forms of pre-digital fan activity that also exhibited qualities akin to those of the contemporary DIY digital archivist and participant. The continuity between such pre- and post-digital forms of archiving activity is clearly articulated in the accounts of our interviewees. One salient distinction between the then and now of DIY archiving activities, and one that has been facilitated through the emergence of digital social media, is the speed, ease and visibility with which members of music scenes engage with other scene members around Australia and in other parts of the world. As this chapter illustrates, the presence of archiving practices in the digital realm thus contributes to forms of scene articulation that are both local and trans-local.

Chapter 8 concludes our exploration of music scenes and memory with a look at the significance of centre–periphery discourses and how their extension over time builds particular notions of scene identity. The chapter begins with a study of Perth, the capital of Western Australia, colloquially referred to as the world's most remote city. As our discussion reveals, Perth's reputation for geographical remoteness has, over the years, generated highly potent discourses regarding the grit and resilience of the local Perth music scene, and the authenticity and sincerity of the city's homegrown music. We also consider the significance of centre–periphery

discourses in regional and remote spaces, where an experience of deficit can fuel a fascination for musics that seem to reach out from the centre and draw listeners in. It is no coincidence that several accounts offered in this chapter are from people who grew up in peripheral spaces, and whose early memories of listening to particular forms of music – notably indie, alternative and metal – became part of their inspiration to migrate to larger urban centres and the musical and broader cultural scenes that exist there. In the final part of this chapter, we explore the significance of the DIY music venue and how it both responds to the increasing regulation of urban night-time economies while at the same time providing emotive connections to earlier, pre-regulatory incarnations of city spaces that are deemed to have been more open to and embracing of musical diversity.

Acknowledgement The full title of this project was 'Popular Music and Cultural Memory: Localized Popular Music Histories and Their Significance for National Music Industries'. It was funded under the Australian Research Council's (ARC) Discovery Project scheme for three years (2010–12, DP1092910). Chief Investigators on the project were Project Leader Professor Andy Bennett (Griffith University), Associate Professor Shane Homan (Monash University), Associate Professor Sarah Baker (Griffith University) and Dr Peter Doyle (Macquarie University). The Research Fellow on the project was Dr Alison Huber (Griffith University) and additional support was provided by Research Associate Dr Ian Rogers (formerly based at Griffith University during his work on the project and now at RMIT).

PART I

Concepts

CHAPTER 2

Scene 'Theory': History, Usage and Influence

Introduction

In 1991, the journal *Cultural Studies* published a special issue dedicated to the discussion of popular music. Coedited by two Canadian academics – John Shepherd and Will Straw – the issue collected proceedings taken from a conference titled 'The Music Industry in a Changing World'. Hosted by Carleton University's Centre of Research on Culture and Society (Ottawa, Canada), where Shepherd and Straw were stationed, the conference was premised on two sets of events: the conclusion of a free trade agreement between Canada and the USA in 1988; and recent political changes occurring in Eastern Europe that devalued 'socialism's currency in the public mind' (Shepherd 1991, p. 251). Anticipating 'the creation of a grander and more powerful European market' (p. 251) and accompanied by the 'absorption' of popular music into 'the more extended and powerful structures of the entertainment business' (p. 252), this special issue of *Cultural Studies* depicted a time of uncertainty within Western music industries and audiences. This uncertainty was felt acutely – indeed, the mood was so prevalent that even the approaching disruption of online music distribution could be glimpsed on the horizon:

> Of significance within these complex shifts and realignments are the rapidly changing music technologies which allow musicians greater determination over the immediate circumstances of music's production, and a greater degree of autonomy in relation to other musicians and the industries. (Shepherd 1991, p. 252)

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_2

As such, the collected writings found in *Cultural Studies* see a variety of scholars struggle with issues of change and upheaval. This 'changing world' was one marked by the dissolution and loosening of international borders and markets, as well as the broadening of musical genres within and around them. Large ideological institutions and well-guarded positions within the culture of popular music appeared to be in transition. During this epochal moment, popular music scholars were challenged to survey what felt like a new landscape, and if a unifying theme appears throughout the special issue of *Cultural Studies*, it is centred around the interrelation of popular music and space, the orthodoxies of which – in many different variations of each term – were now under considerable strain. In short, the cultural boundaries of popular music were widening, taking into account a globalized and networked music culture.

While Shepherd's introduction in *Cultural Studies* (1991) is an illuminating context-setting work, it is the contribution made by his coeditor, Will Straw, that zeroes in on notions of scene and cultural space. Straw's contribution to the issue is a revised version of his paper from the conference. In the decades since publication, Straw's writing here has become a touchstone for many subsequent popular music researchers. His article, 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music' (1991), is cited by many as key to the academic formalization of the term 'scene', moving the phrase from the journalistic and colloquial usage discussed in the introductory section of this book to its present-day usage as an influential scholarly concept and theoretical framework. Straw's paper offered numerous ideas and concepts – coordinates almost – by which the field of popular music studies has since interrogated music practice within various sites and spaces. This was especially so with the advent of online digital media, a phenomena that atomized traditional and linear ideas of geographically fixed music communities; in this context, Straw's paper provided a way forward. It was, historically speaking, a well-timed paper. To date, it has been cited over 600 times (Google Scholar 2016), and the 'music scene' remains one of the key scholarly concepts utilized in the study of popular music.

As subsequent sections of this chapter will reveal, the canonization of Straw's paper presents cultural research and popular music studies with an interesting legacy. By looking through the finer details of the paper in hindsight, one can now see how particular ideas within Straw's article have proven more influential than others. His work in the *Cultural Studies* special issue now reads as provisional. The paper contains almost as much

provocation as it does thesis. Yet its subsequent usage has tended to draw on particular concepts and ignored others. One specific concept – that of 'cultural space' – has found a type of dominance, providing an alluring means of theoretical abstraction for many music and cultural researchers, working as we do in a time of immense dislocation, abundant data and media transmission. Yet another of Straw's ideas – that of 'articulation' – is seldom called upon in scholarly writing on popular music. Articulation plays a sizeable role in the remainder of this book, as we strive to investigate how music scenes are articulated via various processes of cultural memory.

For now, we aim to map out the history of scene's scholarly usage. We pay special attention to the often overlooked parts of Straw's initial commentary and consider alternatives and diversions from scholarly research both before and after Straw's initial publication. The remainder of this book is another such alternative. In drawing together the theorization of cultural memory with scene's sense of cultural articulation and cross-pollination, we strive to document the continued usage of scene while attempting to draw out some of the ways and means by which it continues to fascinate both researchers and fans.

'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change'

The concept of scene contained within Straw's paper is often shorthanded as a distinctly post-subcultural idea. Scene is pitched as what comes after the 'classic' subculture theories of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (see Hall and Jefferson 1976; Hebdige 1979; Willis 1978) and now plays a central part of the revision of this work. Starting in the mid-1970s, cultural studies understandings of popular music were dominated by work on subculture. The CCCS aimed to generate dialogue concerning post-war 'youth culture', specifically reintroducing class as a major topic of inquiry. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson's (1976) edited collection *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* and Dick Hebdige's (1979) analysis of punk in *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* introduced subculture as a means to read the youth culture of the period. These studies and other post-CCCS works (Mungham and Pearson 1976; Willis 1978) drew on the Marxist notions of class-based power. Their work utilized Louis Althusser's (1969, 1971) understanding of ideology in addition to Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony. The CCCS interrogated subcultural activ-

ity as a form of youth resistance. Accordingly, the case studies taken up by theorists – 'spectacular' youth movements such as the early punks (Hebdige 1979), mods (Hebdige 1976), teddy boys (Jefferson 1976) and skinheads (Clarke 1976) – posed these movements as style-based empowerment projects. They aimed to create new social identities and reclaim cultural space for youth within a dislocating parent culture. The CCCS situated subcultures as 'pockets of working class resistance' to the mundanity of the daily lives of these youth (Bennett 2004a). The work focused on notions of symbolic creativity, often expressed through dress, which ultimately provided an 'imaginary' solution to problems such as boredom, unemployment and cultural subordination, 'which at the concrete material level remain unsolved' (Clarke 1976). While later and concurrent studies (Bennett 2002; McRobbie and Garber 1976; Thornton 1995) contested many of the theoretical assumptions made by the CCCS subcultural theorists, their work remains 'a revered, yet critical benchmark against which to mark out and assess subsequent developments' (Muggleton and Weinzierl 2003). In large part, this is the major theorization of popular music against which scene provides a contrast.

While the CCCS subcultures research was contested at the time of Straw's 1991 publication, the concept of a 'post-subcultural' theory was still far from readily accepted. Years of conjecture about the legitimacy and soundness of subcultural theory had loosened the foundations of this field, but in 1991 its future dismantling was still far from a *fait accompli*. Instead, Straw begins his essay with a tentative review of what had come before, focusing on subculture theory's emphasis on communities and historical lineage:

> The long-standing concern of popular-music scholars with the disruption and fragmentation of cultural communities has often masked – in part through its nobility of purpose – the investment in imaginary unities which underlies it. (p. 369)

In Straw's view, 'notions of cultural totality' persisted in subcultural theory's take on geography and lineage (p. 369). These notions of totality allowed claims of cultural uniformity to be layered over particular music sites and populations. Straw suggests that the way forward is to focus not on how location and musical purpose are explicitly bound together but rather on how the same processes that articulate music's purpose in a particular place can also be noted in migratory or trans-local communities.

In taking totality to task, Straw draws a significant amount of influence from American literary theorist Edward Said (1990). Straw reapplies elements of Said's broad-reaching paper on the politics of representation in non-European literature, 'Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations'. These references are clearly stated: Said provides the 'system of articulation' mentioned in Straw's title. Particularly influential is the way Said writes of a world increasingly reliant on a system of articulation that others and simplifies the non-European experience. When Said writes of 'the world system map, articulating and producing culture, economics and political power', while also actively developing 'an institutionalized tendency to produce out-of-scale transnational images' (p. 8), he draws attention to just how obscuring and dangerous these generalizations are. In his conclusion, Said demands that scholars pay close attention to the 'complex and uneven topography' of the world.

It is here that one can see the beginnings of Straw's adoption of the scene concept. Both Said and Straw eulogize the value of research concepts that allow a broader, more secular vision of the world – a world that is far more complicated than the sum of static representations of the people who reside within geographic or discursive or sovereign borders. When applied to popular music and its ideological purpose, the conceptual apparatus of subculture appears clearly deficient by contrast. Subculture theory fails to make the account of this broader narrative that Straw and Said request. Straw writes:

> Basing a politics of local or Canadian music on the search for musical forms whose relationship to musical communities is that of a long-term and evolving expressivity will lead us to overlook ways in which the making and remaking of alliances between communities are the crucial political processes within popular music. (p. 370)

This move towards studying the 'making and remaking of alliances' is a far more flexible approach, allowing a greater diversity of subjects into popular music research. Additionally, this must have felt like a particularly apt way forward for researchers located in a world so marked by upheaval and transit, where significant changes were rapidly approaching or occurring, be they born of the post-colonial landscape Said described or the new, more globalized music industries. In short, what Straw saw in scene was a way to marry all of these ideals and ideas to the study of music.

To get to 'scene' specifically as a terminology, Straw borrowed from another conference attendee, Barry Shank, an American studies aca-

demic. Shank's original paper has not been retained, but he published similar work on the rock music scene in Austin, Texas, a few years later (see Shank 1994). The concept of scene that Straw borrows and adapts from Shank immediately provokes notions of space, positioning scene within then contemporary scholarly discourse surrounding the 'spatial turn' of the social sciences.[1] Straw pitches scene as a type of capture area or set of pathways – a circuit – as opposed to a community, with its connotations of stability and heritage. In contrasting scene with community in his terms of analysis, Straw provides a widely circulated definition of the music scene:

> A musical scene, in contrast, is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization. (p. 373)

The central pillar of Straw's argument regarding scene and community concerns purpose. For Straw, communities derive purpose (a reason for practice) from the affective interaction between contemporary musical activity and a contextualizing heritage (p. 373). The scene 'works' to 'produce a sense of community' (p. 373). In Straw's view, this sense of community is an ideological by-product of the scene, not the other way around. It is not something that organically grows out of the history of a place; instead, the scene is viewed as the space within and processes by which certain music activity occurs and makes itself known.

If scene displaces community as the form of music's articulation, this begs the question of what logic operates within scenes, especially in consideration of change and development. Straw doesn't so much answer this directly as point to three prior uses of the term 'logic'. These can be summarized as:

1 *Boundaries:* This refers to Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) 'field' theory, whereby particular aesthetic preferences (valorization) and approaches to absorbing change act together to create the boundaries of a field.

2 *Time:* Straw notes that 'Different cultural spaces are marked by the sorts of temporalities to be found within them – by the prominence of activities of canonization, or by the values accruing to novelty and currency, longevity and 'timelessness' (p. 374). The operational logic of a specific music scene is partially occupied with how value is aligned with the passing of time.

3 *Circumstantial moves:* Straw draws his third 'logic' from Michel de Certeau (1990). Citing examples such as music style and trend-related backlashes, and the 'failed and successful attempts at redirection', Straw points out the influence of prestige, status and the fluid nature of social and cultural relations within music and practice. Within scenes, there is an internal logic – perceived or otherwise – by which subjects strive for success.

Of the three logics outlined, this last one is approached by Straw with the most caution. He writes of being fearful of too much reliance being placed on narrativizing circumstantial moves, whereby the researcher could fall prey to privileging the influence of individuals, or unproblematically reporting on social relations. Taken together, these three logics have proven themselves a fluid and provocative pathway into research for numerous scholars since. As discussed later in the chapter, one can see many of these logics at work in the subsequent scene-related ethnographies and case studies described, despite the tendency for later researchers to gloss over or assume the theoretical issues devised, suggested and referred to in Straw's original text.

The remainder of Straw's paper is spent applying the concept of scene to two case studies: alternative rock and dance music. An in-depth summary is not directly relevant, but in brief, Straw looks to American alternative rock and dance music as a testing ground for his thesis. From alternative rock, Straw follows a line of inquiry surrounding connoisseurship, the localization of various pluralist tendencies in rock culture and the assertion that alternative rock lacks collective forward momentum (pp. 377–9). In the final section of the paper, alternative rock's localized and pluralist culture is contrasted with the culture of dance music, which Straw describes as far more culturally inscribed by geographic categorizations that rise and fall and could be described as a trans-local process of focus and dissemination. He writes:

> One effect of these sorts of movement is that coexisting regional and local styles within dance music are almost always at different stages within their cycles of rising and declining influence. A comfortable, stable international diversity may rarely be observed. (p. 381)

The dance music scene acts to bind together disparate practice trans-locally by constantly adopting new regionalized ideas and using them as a means to 'move forward'. The 'work' that a dance scene performs is

> to prevent the fractures and lines of difference which run through the culture of metropolitan dance music from either fragmenting that culture into autonomous, parallel traditions, or producing a final unity which will permanently paper over those lines. (p. 382)

An important point to make here is that, working from a cultural studies background (in a then more traditional sense of the term), Straw is applying some neat theoretical observations that later, ethnographically informed work served to contest. Researchers such as Sara Cohen (1991), Barry Shank (1994) and Andy Bennett (2004a) found that the 'cracks' weren't always so well papered over, and that locality and discourse could create fragmentation and rupture in scenes. This perspective is investigated in the later, more empirical chapters in this book. For Straw, though, these case studies reiterate a thesis: the politics of popular music belongs to neither subcultural resistance nor solely within the operation of music industries (p. 384). Highlighting the continued importance of gender and race, Straw positions popular music as a means to study the active role music plays in social difference. This role, within a scene, is presupposed by institutions and sites, and is further shaped by broader notions of place and social stratification. In essence, the scene is a means by which to interrogate the 'conditions of possibility' upon which popular music functions, steering clear of the need for communal, social and political cohesion.

The Concept of Scene in Action

Straw's paper is not a piece of field research. The case studies employed by Straw – alternative rock and dance music – are broad genre classifications. Rock and dance are institutions within popular music that map across hundreds of subgenres and a huge variety of social experience and practice. This is a telling aspect of Straw's work here: it takes a broad-brush approach to popular music and culture, drawing primarily on theory and rhetoric, and aiming less for empiricism than scholarly provocation and summary. The case studies taken up are demonstrative of this, utilizing quite figurative, close-to-hand material. As genre signifiers, rock and dance music are familiar to many people, and Straw's use of them is primarily in aid of arguing his concept.

Straw's case studies provided an ideal starting point for future work. As Geoff Stahl (2004, p. 52) points out, it is 'scene's elasticity [that] enables a more nuanced analysis'. Its arrival in popular music studies ushered in sub-

sequent consideration of a huge catalogue of previously undocumented music. Yet, within the diverse array of scenes considered or contrasted can be found noticeable trends in the type of work conducted, if not the subject. The ensuing research, following Straw, has tended towards empirical fieldwork, drawing on various research methodologies but privileging ethnography (namely interviews and participant observation) and augmented by analysis of a wide range of mediated texts often centring around music journalism and criticism, history writing, policy documentation and promotional materials. Scene research does, in this regard, continue the research methodologies – if not the approach – of subcultural theory, and essentially remains interested in privileging participant voices in fieldwork. The remainder of this chapter will review and map out many of the applications of scene within subsequent research on popular music. The following can never be considered a complete survey of the field – it is a large terrain of overlapping projects, much as Straw and the other early advocates envisioned – and where possible, we have strived to work chronologically through the key projects.

First, the study of what would constitute a scene pre-dates Straw's formalization of the term. In his paper, Straw does not cite prior popular music studies work (with the exception of that of Barry Shank) as a forerunner to his concept. Yet a pre-history of scene has become especially noticeable in subsequent field-based empiricism around the scene concept; the work that follows seldom takes Straw alone as a starting point, instead drawing off a number of earlier research projects in addition to the scene concept.

The most prominent of these earlier or contemporaneous lines of inquiry is the study of post-war music-making and contemporary musicians. This field has a relatively short, and fragmented, history within popular music studies, sociology and cultural studies. Here, Ruth Finnegan's (1989) pioneering work on musicians, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*, is an oft-cited influence and precursor to scene, as is Sara Cohen's (1991) *Rock in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making*. Both are detailed ethnographies, probing the overlap between all manner of social roleplaying and activity, and both reveal diversities, hybrids and social difference within their respective sites of study. In reviewing this work, Simon Frith (1992) notes this, positioning the value of this research in terms very similar to Straw's, stating that both Finnegan and Cohen reveal the inner workings of music practice, which is, 'like any other social activity … shaped (and distorted) by the inequalities of class, gender and racial

power' (p. 177). Frith also comfortably uses the term 'scene' at various points to describe the settings involved here. Finnegan's book is a very self-contained depiction of Milton Keynes, as Frith points out:

> there is more that could be said about the relationship between the local music scene and wider music scenes; but the worlds Finnegan is describing are not transitory. Most of the groups she describes will go on making music locally, making music that won't change much. (p. 185)

Yet Finnegan's study has a seldom-credited breadth to it, one that acknowledges other aspects of the scene concept. She does not focus her research on narrow slivers of music practice in the town; instead, her chaptered case studies draw together and contrast a range of musical activity (classical music, folk, musical theatre, jazz, pop, rock and country) all within the spatial coordinates of Milton Keynes, with a helpful map included. Additionally, Finnegan's concluding recommendations are seldom compared with Straw's concept, but in 1989 Finnegan posed one of the more considered attempts at describing the logic of a scene's music practice:

> In their regular music making local musicians and their associates are dominated not by mathematically rational principles but by socially recognised and recurrent practices: the weekly, seasonal or yearly cycles set by and in the habitual musical pathways they jointly share with others ...
>
> One way of looking at people's musical activities is therefore to see them as taking place along a series of pathways which provide familiar directions for both personal choices and collective actions. Such pathways form one important – often unstated – framework for people's participation in urban life, something overlapping with, but more permanent and structured than, the personal networks in which individuals also participate. They form broad routes set out, as it were, across and through the city. They tend to be invisible to others, but for those who follow them they constitute a clearly laid thoroughfare both for their activities and relationships and for the meaningful structuring of their actions in space and time. (p. 323)

The reliance on a communal pathway here is not a neat fit for scene, but a great many of Finnegan's other concerns are shared: there are the notions of social transit, hybridity ('something overlapping'), temporality and cultural space. With chapters on place and infrastructure, and how these

components interact with music practice, Finnegan's book plays a foundational, if occasionally overlooked, role in scene research.

Sara Cohen's (1991) *Rock in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making* is also instructive as a precursor to scene. Her study of Liverpool presents a precise and finely detailed look at music practice happening within a metropolitan city. Focusing primarily on the plight of two aspiring rock bands, Cohen's ethnography takes the reader into the often-obscured spaces of rock practice: the rehearsal room, the tour van and the close social circle of the band and their friends and partners. Cohen's work reveals a great deal about the social and cultural experience of a very specific time, place and clique, and in doing so she demonstrates a key facet of scene-related scholarly work: the porous nature of aspiration, identity and meaning found in music-making. Cohen's musicians do not aspire only to careers and hobbies in her work; these individuals and groups look to music for far more socially inscribed and multifaceted deliverance from everyday mundanity. Cohen writes:

> A band could provide a means of escape where fantasies were indulged but it could also play an important cultural and social role, providing an outlet for creativity and a means by which friendships were made and maintained. Basically, most people were in bands for these social and cultural factors. They enjoyed it. They loved playing, performing, and socialising ... (1991, p. 3)

This setting described by Cohen is more spatial terrain than music community. In the years since these works were published, popular music research has assumed many of the findings contained in Finnegan and Cohen's work. Finnegan moved the research focus from professional to amateur, sweeping all manner of unnoticed DIY-styled music-making into academic view, while Cohen's granular study of motivation and lived experience similarly introduced a broader, more personal account of the 'social factors' of musicianship. Combined, the two projects effectively widened the scope of popular music research and further dislodged the scholarly penchant for dealing with music as a media text. Instead, in these projects, music could be clearly seen as a type of mobile and mobilizing social currency. The means of obtaining these findings were not as prescriptive as the Birmingham subcultural studies, drawing much more heavily on first-hand observation, participation and what David Muggleton (2000, p. 59) terms the 'indigenous meanings' of respondents, the 'subjective

viewpoints of the youth subculturalists themselves' (p. 13). Scene scholarship furthers this research agenda, placing even greater emphasis on the mobilities of purpose and currency documented by Finnegan and Cohen, and much of the work that follows that of Straw shares the inquisitive and elucidatory tone of this scholarly writing.

This interest in ethnography – specifically looking into how music's varying practices and currencies circulate around a city music scene – is even more vividly captured in Barry Shank's (1994) *Dissonant Identities: The Rock'n'Roll Scene in Austin, Texas*. With research interviews dating back to the late 1980s, Shank's project was already in progress when Straw published 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change', and the paper cites Shank's notion of scene as both suggestive and useful. In the preface to *Dissonant Identities*, Shank offers both a definition of scene and points to what he considers to be its attendant methodological complexity:

> Growing out of a complex set of contradictory and historically constructed factors, "the Austin music scene" indicates a constellation of divergent interests and forces, and the effort to depict it requires both an attention to empirical detail and an expansive theoretical framework. (1994, p. x)

Shank uses a wide variety of elucidatory textures and theoretical tools in his study of Austin. Focusing often on identity-making, he reaches primarily for Lacanian psychoanalysis, but also includes Freud, as well as theory taken from film and postmodernism. Yet these forays into theorizations of identity-formation comprise a relatively small portion of Shank's book. On the page, *Dissonant Identities* is far more concerned with the telling of histories and the relaying of participant voices. It is a nuanced and personal report from the field, one that seldom makes bold claims. Instead, Shank makes every attempt to invest his writing with a sense of local diversity, from the specifics of various sweaty nightspots through to broader notions of city branding, commercial industry and historical narrative.

It is important to note that Shank does not cite Straw in *Dissonant Identities*, despite its subsequent date of publication. Instead, the contents of Shank's work can be seen as both the origin of Straw's paper and the first book-length examination made with scene in mind. For the most part, the two pieces of work are theoretically compatible, if not pieces of a whole addressing both local and broader challenges inherent in the study of popular music at the time.

This is not a view shared by British cultural scholar David Hesmondhalgh. In 'Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above', Hesmondhalgh (2005, p. 28) highlights what he sees as a 'marked contrast' between many elements of Straw and Shank's respective approaches, primarily concerning the role played by community within the notion of scene: 'Straw seems to be advocating scene as a word that questions the notion of local community that Shank celebrates, and which Straw associates specifically with the rock genre'.

Throughout, Hesmondhalgh's critique reads as intentionally polemical, heading off what he perceives as less-than-rigorous use of the scene concept at popular music conferences; this is reportedly research on specific towns and cities described as scene research yet – in Hesmondhalgh's opinion – offering little by way of acknowledgement for the complexities inherent in Straw and Shank's work (p. 29).

This is a difficult criticism to address here, as Hesmondhalgh does not specifically cite examples of the work he finds overly simplistic. Further to this, his article argues against macro-concepts like scene and neotribe more generally, preferring instead the use of an 'eclectic array of theoretical tools' (p. 32), such as genre, articulation and select elements of subcultural theory. While rhetorically persuasive, Hesmondhalgh's account of scene refuses the obvious synergies between Straw and Shank a little too keenly. He writes of Shank's notion of a 'stable community' as being at odds with Straw, but community is far from excluded from the latter's account of scene and, as noted, despite the historical narratives of *Dissonant Identities*, Shank's description of the Austin music scene is not a linear and determining account of community without complexity.

Similarly, while Shank's book does not veer into Bourdieusian analysis, it does incorporate the temporalities and circumstantial moves Straw mentions – if not by name – and also contains an extended examination of the logic driving change within Austin. In all, Shank's work is much more invested in hybridity and trans-localism than Hesmondhalgh gives him credit for. Yet, a decade later, this remains an important moment in the study of scene. The objections presented by Hesmondhalgh foreground the future of scene research in the latter half of the 1990s and beyond. The projects that came after Shank and Straw arrived from varied sites, by way of varied intent. In the testing and abstraction of Straw's theoretical ideas, following the example provided by Shank, scene research produced a large and diverse body of work concerning music and place.

The Rise and Rise of Scene Research

In 1993, the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) met in Stockton, California, for the association's biannual international conference. In the introduction to the conference proceedings, outgoing IASPM Chair Simon Frith paints a vivid picture of the event:

> It's rash to summarise a meeting as diverse as Stockton in terms of trends but here goes: – the long domination of IASPM (sociology division) by subcultural theory is over. The central concept now (a fruitfully muddled one) is scene. This is both a more dynamic notion than subculture (scenes continually change shape, people move in and out of them, etc.) and a more complex one … its most fruitful implications are geographical. Scene is a concept which puts place (rather than structure) at the centre of musical argument, and at Stockton opened up new sorts of cross-national comparisons and understandings of how contemporary 'global' popular music works … (1993, p. iii)

Frith's analysis of scene, taken from examples of its early application, predicts what lay ahead in popular music studies. This 'fruitfully muddled' concept provided layers of theoretical complexity to researchers. As such, it is the ability of scene to locate and describe musical places within scholarly research that has proven enduring. Frith seems to see the concept's potential in 1993, as he rightly alludes to one of the most valuable elements of scene: its ability to provoke work from new and underresearched locations, bringing all manner of inquiry and locale together under the same conceptual banner. As scene took root in the later years of the 1990s, each new piece of quality research could be viewed as a component of popular music's increasingly visible global circuitry, with scene standing in as macro-concept, gathering together a similarly macro-collection of data and findings.

It is difficult to map this large-scale research circuitry, and considering scene's post-structuralist impulse, it does not conform well to historical or linear narration. Instead, what we intend to offer here is a summary of the major coordinates cited in the last two decades of scene scholarship. These could provisionally be read as the themes or gathering trends within scene and popular music research. These coordinates are not at all discrete, but on viewing the history of scene's citation (particularly that of Straw 1991; Shanks 1994), one can chart central, repeated concerns and, following them, groupings of research projects that meaningfully suggest the terrain opened up by scene. These coordinates are provided in Andy Bennett and

Richard Peterson's (2004) collection *Music Scenes: Local, Trans-local and Virtual*. They are

- local scenes
- trans-local scenes, and
- virtual scenes.

Bennett and Peterson's three types of scene are given fairly porous descriptions in the introduction to their book. Local scenes are those that more often correspond with popular journalistic notions of the scene: music places 'clustered around a specific geographic focus' (p. 6). The local scene is very much the province of Barry Shank (1994). Trans-local scenes tend to broaden out from local scenes, and include a variety of 'widely scattered local scenes drawn into regular communication around a distinctive form of music or lifestyle' (p. 6). With the trans-local, we are often focused on Will Straw's more sweeping approach, charting broader genre-based movements, sounds, careers and ideology. Finally, virtual scenes incorporate the study of scenes created with little or no physical interaction. Predominantly a product of online digital culture, virtual scenes both draw in isolated individuals and create their own virtual terrains of meaning and practice. Again, these coordinates are not prescribed entities. Their use here is primarily as a means for discussing the literature contained in the field in an organized and comprehendible way.

Local Scenes

To date, the study of scenes has been dominated by the study of local scenes. Straw's (1991) paper may have provided the working definition of scene, but much of the subsequent work that followed favoured Shank's (1994) ethnographic approach and, to a greater or lesser degree, the ethnographic tone of his writing. While Straw's definition of scene as a 'cultural space' has been enduring and oft-cited, there is far less emphasis placed on the trans-local processes described and explored in the latter half of his article. This was especially evident during scene's first decade of use, where scene research focused primarily on specific notions of the local and the city.

The first wave of scene-related articles can be read as attempts to interrogate local instances of Straw's two broader case studies: alternative rock and the Canadian music industry. Twenty years on, Straw's take on alternative rock appears a little skewed by historical circumstance. His

prediction that the alternate strata of rock culture would rarely be accompanied by the claims of 'a trajectory of movement' (p. 375) proved a little premature. The 1991 boom in Seattle grunge was almost entirely wrapped up in these claims, and its popularity can be seen as a type of 'collective redirection' of mainstream rock music in the USA. Back then, grunge and alternative rock were positioned as a reaction to the commercializing impulses of the music industry, as led by glam-metal. The 'heartland' of grunge was Seattle, but its popularity also highlighted a subsequent number of geographically dispersed local scenes with their own alternative rock scenes. Quite suddenly, the internationally networked circuitry of alternative rock music created by fans and hobbyists in the 1980s underground found outlets in the centre of commercial rock music. From these openings, capital and attention flowed back to all sorts of local scenes, rendering many of them far more visible to the public and researcher alike.[2] The localness and social momentum of rock music was, for a brief time, a popular and powerful narrative once again. Many of the local rock scenes, boosted and bolstered by the Seattle grunge explosion, were documented in early scene research. Predating *Dissonant Identities* by a year, Holly Kruse (1993) studied a particularly vibrant college indie-rock scene in Champaign, Illinois; Donna Gaines (1994) and William Tsitsos (1999) followed with work on the cultural mechanics of similarly ascendant hard-core punk scenes in New York and San Francisco's Bay Area, respectively. Kruse's (2003) subsequent book-length examination of indie in San Francisco, Illinois and Georgia remains one of the key texts on both scene and alternative rock in North America.

The second theme of early scene work centres on Canada's changing music industries. Further exposed to an 'increased market concentration of multinational record companies, greater integration of major labels with international multi-media and entertainment conglomerates', and the 'long economic recession', the Canadian music industries faced a difficult and introspective period during the late 1980s and 1990s (Grenier 1993, p. 209). Following suit with Straw – and indeed the Carleton University conference discussed above – Canadian academics took to studying the local iterations of these broader issues of capital, governance and cultural porosity. Line Grenier (1993) studied Quebec, finding clear correlations with Straw's sense of scene: '[T]here no longer exists a single centre from which guidelines for establishing the boundaries of popular music's terrain are derived just as there is no longer a clear unambiguous set of criteria for defining Quebecois music' (p. 222).

Likewise, Geoff Stahl (2001, 2004) researched the way Montreal, as a spatially defined urban experience, interacted with and affected the tone and politics of the city's indie music scene. Stahl's (2004) chapter in Bennett and Kahn-Harris's edited collection *After Subculture* is particularly instructive on the concept of scene. A student of Straw, Stahl's approach to scene is assured, blending an ongoing interest in various localized forms of politics (aesthetics, governance, media representation) with research on how these politics interact with the specific spatial coordinates of various cities. The framing of his research often focuses on the currency of cool and cultural capital – something that scene's 'elasticity' as a concept enables via its expanded frame of consideration. He riffs on this elasticity at length:

> The different socio-spatial connotations of scene – its allusions to flexibility and transience, of temporary, ad hoc and strategic associations, a cultural space notable as much for its restricted as well as its porous sociality, its connotations of flux and flow, movement and mutability – suggest that the significance of musical life might be better seen as occurring at the juncture of spatial relations and social praxis. In other words, a diversity of conditions should be considered and examined that are constituted and inflected as much by local circumstance as they are by trans-local demands and desires (2004, p. 53).

For Stahl, the concept of scene is a provocation that yields better research when considering the musical practice happening within a city. As a case study for scene's attempt to grapple with the local, the changing shape of Canadian music proved an effective and provocative setting.

More recently, work on local music scenes has expanded this research foci significantly. In *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal & Virtual*, Bennett and Peterson (2004) chart the start of this turn-of-century reemphasis within music research by collecting chapters that further distance scene from its already tenuous relationship with music history and community (p. 7). By 2004, the online distribution of both legal and illegal music sound files had developed much of its present-day maturity, and *Music Scenes* reflects this, firmly positioning the local scene as an articulation of 'music appropriated via global flows and networks' but enacted locally (p. 7). *Music Scenes* follows this up with chapters on varied activity, including American rave (Spring 2004) and karaoke (Drew 2004), London salsa (Urquia 2004) and Chicago blues (Grazian 2004). In the decade since,

scene research has focused on increasingly disparate local instances and has continued to find scholarly publication, providing a broader, more nuanced sense of global activity.

There is one final iteration of local music scene research that bears mention. In recent years, scene has been a central part of research conducted around live music venues, be these commercial spaces or DIY ad hoc arrangements. The notion of a 'cultural space' is an effective one when applied to live performance sites; these rooms often act as microcosms of cultural space, intersected as they are by varying desires – the creativity and career aspiration of musicians, the policy dictates of governance, the profit-maximizing views of industry, the emotional labour of staff and so on – all the while populated by individuals searching for transgression and ritual. Venues abound in *Dissonant Identities* (Shank 1994) and subsequent researchers have utilized Straw and/or Shank to describe and analyse myriad performance spaces. These studies include a look at pub rock in Sydney (Homan 2000, 2008a, 2008b), Serbian nightclub The Academy (Todorovic and Bakir 2005), the Oxford Tavern in Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia (Gallan 2012) and the repurposed houses and industrial sites of Philadelphia (Grazian 2013). The results of this work are varied, the only unifying thesis being that live performance is a fluid – and, often, ingeniously adaptive – part of everyday life, accommodating itself within vastly different geographic and cultural contexts. The use of the concept here reveals the social transit that recreates these spaces from ordinary urban materials: rooms with public address systems and bars. Within scene research, the mythology of 'the local venue' is often repealed, much like the local scenes around them.

Trans-local Scenes

If the study of local scenes tends towards Shank and his on-the-ground empirical approach, research on trans-local music activity more often recalls the breadth and texture of Straw, particularly his case studies from 'Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change' (1991). However, few subsequent academics strive for, or can accommodate, Straw's broad strokes approach. In the literature that followed, the consideration of the trans-local often arrives out of the study of the local. As outlined in the previous section, the local – as a subject of research – was often topical, precisely because it was perceived as threatened or contested by global shifts in governance, technology and industry. But in the 1990s, popular

music scholarship began to tease out the ways in which the local was implicated in wider trans-local networks.

One of the earliest considerations of the trans-local was embedded in Holly Kruse's work on Champaign, Illinois (1993). She writes:

> when we see the social and economic relationships that link one locality to another and that ultimately place all individuals involved in relation to an organised national and transnational entertainment industry, we realize the importance of understanding how, as Jody Berland states [1992, p. 47], cultural technologies and their accompanying structures move entertainment 'from a particular space to a non-particular space (p. 38).

The citation of Berland is instructive of scene's shared impetus. The trans-local iteration of scene remains especially attentive to the issues of topography and flow found in other parts of humanities research at the time. As the consumer internet rapidly evolved into a larger and larger part of human communication, trans-local projects became a means by which to study both the changing context of the local and the everyday activity of music workers and audiences who were increasingly reaching beyond the traditional boundaries of geographic location, more and more without hesitation or obstacle.

As the 1990s progressed and the scene concept expanded, a number of academics began to chart the trans-local more seriously. To begin, this itself was a project that ran somewhat counter to scene's more colloquial usage. As Connell and Gibson (2003, p. 95) point out, isolation and disconnectedness are archetypal attributes described in media reports of music scenes. To describe the trans-local, music scholars purposefully strived to move past place/sound homologies and well past notions of 'pre-capitalist "craft" production values' often associated with disconnected music places (p. 96). This was a remodelling of the music scene as a set of places and spaces far more layered and overlapping. The study of trans-localism rapidly became the study of music scenes within broader music scenes. At present, almost all scenes could accurately be described as trans-local in some way, so tracing the development of the trans-local iteration of scene is a difficult task.

A clear and early case study is the recent scholarly work published on electronic dance music, much of which arrived with a near-default trans-local tone. Particular place-based music cultures or genres were examined, but the frequent 'extractive' nature of this music came loaded with

clear examples of trans-local sharing, collaboration and understanding. In 1997, for example, David Laing noted in 'Rock Anxieties and New Music Networks' that the 'European dance movement itself is also at one level the product of complex mobilities of musical forms in the present era' (1997, p. 129). In his chapter, Laing outlines how dance musicians perform a range of liminal processes, whereby they compact or disregard music histories, traverse different genres, transition from cultural peripheries to centres (or vice versa) and take cues from trans-Atlantic movements. Similarly, the research that followed Sarah Thornton's (1995) *Club Cultures* often relied on place-specific ethnographies, but as a whole spoke to an amassed body of work detailing electronic music's fluid, trans-local profile (see Malbon 1999 in particular). Electronic dance music scenes were clearly scenes within scenes.

More traditional or analogous music scenes were also found to be trans-local in practice. A pointedly trans-local project is Keith Kahn-Harris's early research into extreme metal. '"Roots"? The Relationship between the Global and the Local within the Extreme Metal Scene' (Kahn-Harris 2000) examines the various contexts of Brazilian death metal band Sepultura throughout their career. Yet within this paper lies one of the first sustained examinations of trans-localism, wherein Kahn-Harris looks to scene as a means to track both the overlapping macro and the micro of a music culture:

> In a similar way, a 'scenic methodology' re-contextualises musical texts, institutions and practices within the social spaces in which they are enmeshed. It provides an alternative both to atomising forms of research that ignore wider contexts of music production and consumption, and to forms of research that overdetermine those contexts in 'subcultural' frameworks. The concept allows us to build ideal types in the search for models for a global musical culture. The theoretical and methodological moves involved in developing the concept of the scene can thus provide new ways of thinking about globalisation and music. (p. 27)

His look at how a single extreme metal band interacted with a range of local, trans-local and global processes throughout the course of its career provides an excellent example of how the fluidity of music scenes is by no means confined to the cutting edge, the digital or the electronic. Subsequent work on trans-localism either unearthed or reconsidered other music scenes, with similar results: Alan O'Connor (2002) docu-

mented trans-local punk infrastructure; Paul Hodkinson (2004a, 2004b) studied the mobile articulation processes of Goths; Kristen Schilt (2004) tracked the trans-local communication of riot-grrrls and Tara Brabazon's (2005) edited collection on Perth (Australia) carried the suggestive title *Liverpool of the South Seas*, clearly positioning the city as a music sector with 'as many relationships with Manchester, Sheffield, Seattle, Bristol and Austin as Sydney' (p. 3). More recently, Jodie Taylor (2012) has looked specifically at queer music scenes in Australia, Germany and England, citing the trans-local concept as fitting not only for its dedication to fluid geographic boundaries but also for its ability to accommodate illusive, divergent and mobile queer aesthetics. Lastly, in recent years academia has pursued research surrounding a noticeably trans-local product: the contemporary music festival. Dowd et al. (2004) examined the design and implementation of three US festivals, finding them useful studies of local and trans-local processes. Likewise, Joanne Cummings (2008) examined how design and implementation impacted the branding strategies of Australian indie festivals.

The trans-local concept is the most open and fluid discussed thus far and, in a very real sense, it best describes the contemporary music landscape – especially its partial, and often conditional, extension into the virtual domain. While trans-localism is in no way married to the online digital space – as Kruse (2010) notes, pre-internet music scenes had their own technologies of trans-localism – the fast, fluid and convergent nature of the digital space created new opportunities for music scenes (p. 626).

Virtual Scenes

The formalization of the term 'virtual scene' is generally cited back to Bennett and Peterson's *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual* (2004).[3] Coming early in the millennium as it did, the relevant portions of *Music Scenes* (Part III) are provisional in their attempt to explore the virtual scene concept. Arriving on the cusp of the internet's growing and noticeable interactivity – short-handed as Web 2.0 – *Music Scenes* not only utilizes case studies of older online technologies (listservs and static pages),[4] but also provides careful analysis and multiple entry points for expanded research. Steve Lee and Richard Peterson's (2004) chapter on P2 (an 'alt.country' email list) and Andy Bennett's (2004b) study of the 'Canterbury sound' websites both mine newfound music spaces for signs of unique or revitalized interaction. Both chapters allude to the ability

of the internet to adjust or interact with the narrative of music for participants, expanding concrete local and trans-local realities into organized data – something often seen to diminish physical and temporal constraints. What is pursued in both chapters is a sense that the virtual space may disrupt and/or expand the all-important trajectories of music scenes. As the 'constellation of divergent interests and forces' (Shank 1994) began to encompass a range of new online practices, and new iterations of older practices, the scope of virtual scene proved immense. The work that followed *Music Scenes* progressed the concept but, as a whole, the virtual scene is still a relative unknown. It is a map of rapidly changing pathways on which its subjects interact to varying degrees, subject to all the versioning and innovation of online technologies.

For the most part, virtual scenes have not been studied in isolation. Much like the reformulation of the local scene as fluid (more a geographically bounded iteration of trans-local processes), virtual music scenes are extensions rather than exceptions. Futrell et al. (2006) examine this in their fascinating (and at times risky) work on the American white power music scene. Taking the tripartite approach of *Music Scenes*, Futrell, Simi and Gottschalk have included a section on virtual scenes, finding them ideally suited to the white power music scene's propagandist outlook. Their description of these virtual environments is widely applicable: these were virtual spaces that allowed a dimension of active and vicarious participation that

> makes even solitary experiences, such as listening to songs, surfing music Web pages, or reading 'zines a part of participating in the scene's broad collective experience. As we discuss in more detail in the following, embracing the Aryan music aesthetic in these ways can help members experience the ambient moods and tones that nourish their sense of belonging and identification with the collective 'we' of the movement music scene. (p. 286)

This is the virtual scene as an overlay on local and trans-local processes, a concept developed further in Chap. 7 of this book. Tellingly, the scholars who have approached virtual scenes since have tended to study the liminal areas between local/trans-local iterations and the virtual spaces that service – and bear relation to – activity offline. For example, the study of online interactions within the straightedge punk scene by J. Patrick Williams (2006; see also Williams and Copes 2005) take this approach. Williams and coauthor Heith Copes have researched the boundaries and

identities within a straightedge message board, specifically the limits to which this subculture can exist online without its point of origin (hardcore punk scenes, offline) and the authenticating nature of this relationship to the offline world. In these studies, this authenticity relation is contested within virtual scenes (Williams and Copes 2005, p. 194), perhaps hinting at the full potential of an entirely virtual scene in the future, albeit one that is as yet undiscovered.

Conclusion

The study of music scenes is expansive and broad. Looking at the citations gathering around scene – specifically those working off Straw (1991), Shank (1994) and Bennett and Petersen (2004) – two key themes are apparent, repeated over and over. First, the music scene is a progression forward from the more rigid concept of a music subculture. The history of how subculture has diminished in academic standing is so frequently repeated in scholarly writing that it has not been included in detail here. This is a book about the growing assuredness of the scene concept. The researchers discussed in this chapter vary in their approaches to the concept but, taken as a whole, scene's usefulness is undeniable. Over time, a marked sense of confidence is displayed. Jodie Taylor (2012), as one example, is particularly strident on the concept's utility:

> In the context of queerness, I have outlined the shortcomings of subcultural theory and proposed that the scene perspective effectively enables interpretive work attuned to the multilayered, shifting and fragmented modes of cultural production and consumption with which queer people engage. Where a subculture is locked into an oppositional binary relationship to a parent culture, scene acknowledges the more flexible relationship that queer assumes in relation to multiple cultural expressions. Where subculture suggests stylistic cohesion, scene can accommodate the vast stylistic permutations of queer. Where subculture is suggestive of socio-economic homology, scene acknowledges that membership cuts across multiple socio-economic indicators. Where subculture places its emphasis on performances of youth subjectivities, scene can accommodate the queer temporality of post-youth scene activity. Where the epistemology of subculture highlights the distance between the theorist and subject, scene encourages empirical approaches based around reflexive ethnographic studies of everyday cultural forms that are far more conducive to the less clear-cut distinction between the queer cultural worker and queer cultural archivist. (p. 154)

Within popular music studies at present, scene is the predominant lens through which cultural music research of an empirical or field-based nature is performed. Much of this is a direct result of the concept's porous and layered traits. Scene is never neat, but it does map over a great deal of the meaning-making, identity-making, creative practice, collaborative cultures and varied communities (ad hoc or otherwise) commonly found in close association with – or directly formed alongside – popular music.

The second theme noted in our review of the literature is more meta and abstracted. In the writing of this book, we reviewed as much of the relevant literature as possible. What soon developed was a sense of scene as a collective, large-scale mapping exercise. More than anything else, scene's primary use has been to map out new and illusive spaces previously undocumented and seldom considered by the academy. This topographic feel and aesthetic can be read off work that focuses solely on the concept itself, but it is present in work that glides past lengthy theoretical discussion of scene into fieldwork case studies and examinations of other theory or practice. There is an aesthetic tendency found among scene scholars that our work is indiscrete. As mentioned, in the doing of scene studies, the work tends towards trans-local processes, layering and overlap, whereby the field as a whole can be viewed as a type of mass patchwork of comparative study, building towards a topography or circuitry of articulation. The key, underpinning notion of the scene is to allow more activity into view; however, also central is the sense that individuals and the people within scenes matter, and that they convey this value to each other with music, no matter the specifics of their geographic, political or demographic locations. This is the prefacing notion that has allowed scene to flourish and entrench itself, despite a radically shifting global and virtual setting.

In the next chapter, we aim to marry this holistic scene concept to similar movements in the relevant fields of cultural memory and emotional geography. We argue that in terms of understanding the relationship between music scenes and participants, much of the existing popular music scene literature tends to avoid one key aspect of scene: its predominant past-tense and memory-based nature. Nascent music scenes may be emergent and ongoing, but their articulation in the present is based on past events, ideas and histories. There is a noticeable gap between the literature concerning music ethnography and the growing body of work on cultural memory and emotional geography. In the next chapter, we will bridge this gap, situating the study of memory as a primary concern for any scholar looking into scene.

Acknowledgements We'd like to take this opportunity to apologize to any researchers we have excluded. This field of research is diverse and spread across multiple disciplinary and interdisciplinary concerns. We've strived as best as we could to articulate the key steps in the evolution of the scene concept within popular music studies, focusing more on work that aimed to either forward, question or utilize the concept as the primary theoretical basis of the study. Further to this, we completely acknowledge our own bias and subjectivities here. No writing of history is without this, strive as we all might to avoid it. Our work here is, put simply, the best story we could tell, in the most succinct fashion possible. We welcome and encourage any alternative account and consider this book neither definitive nor complete.

Notes

1. Wherein the significance given to space, place and mapping was given a much higher priority within cultural research conducted during the late twentieth century.
2. For example, the noisy and idiosyncratic swagger of Melbourne's rock scene was particularly well served by grunge and alternative rock's popularity.
3. There are other precursors: an earlier piece by Bennett (2002) in *Media Culture and Society* and Marjorie Kibby's (2000) *Home on the Page* in the journal *Popular Music*.
4. Curiously, the 'Virtual Scenes' section of *Music Scenes* (2004) contains a chapter (Hodgkinson 2004) on post-rock fanzines, exploring more postmodern, placeless nature of the genre as a move past localism and translocalism.

CHAPTER 3

Music, Memory, Space and Place

Popular music has long been understood as a cultural form that is closely intertwined with issues of identity, affect and belonging. Some of the earliest examples of academic writing on popular music (see, for example, Laing 1969; Melly 1970) map these qualities of popular music in terms of the spectacular youth cultures with which they have been associated. In later work, consideration of popular music's cultural significance has been broadened beyond youth to engage with the everyday meanings of music for a wider demographic, extending to people in middle age and later life (Bennett 2013; Cavicchi 1998; DeNora 2000; Kotarba 2002). Similarly, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, new perspectives on the cultural study of popular music have begun to emerge, inspired by what could be termed the 'memory boom' in popular music production, performance and consumption. This conceptual development reflects and responds to an ever-increasing trend in everyday life whereby popular music is celebrated not merely in terms of its connections with the socio-political and cultural 'here and now', but also in terms of its cultural legacy – its shaping of particular attitudes, understandings and socio-aesthetic sensibilities over time. Within this, it is also acknowledged that popular music is strongly linked to forms of generational affect. Indeed, as some more recent examples of popular music research illustrate, for many who became rockers, hippies, punks, and so on, during their youth, this has become a lifetime project, with aspects of their acquired 'youth' cultural sensibilities continuing to inform their lifestyles into middle age and beyond (see, for

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_3

example, Bennett 2013; Bennett and Hodkinson 2012). Such a trend has also had a notable impact on the music industry in the form of what could be referred to as 'heritage' marketing (Bennett 2009), which encompasses a broad ambit of activities ranging from live performance to the reissue of recorded music, film, television and print media content, a proliferation of internet sites and the availability of numerous forms of popular music memorabilia (often through niche outlets such as The Beatles Shop in The Beatles' home city of Liverpool in the north-west of England).

If popular music has become an object of memory in this way, then parallel developments can be seen in other forms of media and popular culture that have supported people's investment in popular music over the years. Indeed, it is now widely held that, due to the ways in which successive generations since the 1950s have existed in what are essentially mediatized (Stevenson 1995) and consumer-centred (Miles 2000) societies, media and popular cultural forms now constitute a critical bedrock in everyday life, informing everyday socio-cultural sensibilities and influencing in fundamental ways how individuals understand themselves as 'cultural beings' over time (see, for example, Chaney 2002). In recent years, cultural memory has become a key concept in our understanding of how individuals construct everyday social reality and the socio-cultural narratives that underpin this. According to Bal (1999: vii), 'the term cultural memory signifies the way that memory can be understood as a *cultural* phenomenon as well as an individual or social one'. Huyssen (2000) extends this argument, suggesting that key to understanding memory as a 'cultural' process is the way in which the past is continually reproduced and re-presented in the present. Memory, then, is something that individuals can collectively 'work on' to produce a particular representation of the past that accords both with their preferred perception of the latter and their collective understanding of how particular cultural circumstances in the past have helped to shape the present. Huyssen emphasizes the significance of cultural resources, notably objects, images and texts, as critical drivers for the production and articulation of cultural memory. Furthermore, according to Nora (1989), the significance of space and place – that is, physical and tangible locations inhabited by individuals – can also have a considerable bearing on the ways in which cultural memories are produced and applied as meaning-makers in everyday life. Drawing on these central tenets of cultural memory theory, this chapter considers how popular music, as a key cultural artefact in contemporary late-modern society, has become inscribed with symbolic meanings that link the popu-

lar past with the present. It is argued that a potent manifestation of this process can be observed in the context of local popular music scenes where collectively acquired, locally specific musical memoryscapes feed into and inform shared understandings of those same spaces and places of musical production, performance and consumption in the present.

Popular Music and Cultural Memory

As indicated above, the emergence of what has come to be referred to as 'cultural memory' studies is inherently connected with the 'memory boom' of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Huyssen 1995, 2003). This, in turn, is closely associated with the wide-scale and intense process of mediatization, which, since the 1950s, has characterized developed nations, and increasingly developing nations, across the world (Stevenson 1995). While the impact of such mediatization has long been understood in terms of its influence on the relationship between the 'local' and 'global' (Lull 1995), and on spatial and temporal relations (Couldry and McCarthy 2004), it is only in recent times that academic theorists and researchers have begun to reflect on how long-term absorption in such mediatized environments is playing a significant role in informing individuals' personal and collective understandings of themselves over time. Indeed, a salient point emerging from cultural memory scholarship is that personal memory typically is situated within the broader memoryscapes that are argued to have emerged as individuals have increasingly come to situate their own individual memories within pools of collective experience that are produced through common patterns of cultural consumption – for example, in relation to music, television, film, fashion, and so on. In this sense, to speak of cultural memory is to acknowledge that such a process of collective memory-making is made possible through the common cultural resources that are available to individuals via the process of cultural globalization (of which mediatization is an integral element) and the ways in which this has served to ground common lifestyle sensibilities and aesthetic preferences. Indeed, according to van Dijck (2006), the very essence of cultural memory is inseparable from what she terms 'mediated memories'. In suggesting this, van Dijck is not in any way implying that audiences are being duped into a crude reception of prefabricated memories. Rather, what is unfolding here is a highly intertextual process whereby the audience selectively channels and rearticulates specific objects, images and texts as being representative of a shared past.

At many levels, the concept of cultural memory corresponds well with the way by which popular music has operated as a cultural form during the latter half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. The cultural impact of generationally acclaimed artists, from Elvis Presley and The Beatles onwards, is inseparable from their status as mediatized objects. Indeed, as Shumway (1992) and Ehrenreich et al. (1992) observe, television has typically been a first point of contact between popular music artists and their audience. This was of particular significance during the 1950s and early 1960s, when the broadening reach of television made a major contribution to the global cultural impact of popular music and its importance as 'youth' music. Television's role in this respect was crucially supported by cinema, with the early rock'n'roll films, such as Frank Tashlin's (1956) *The Girl Can't Help It*, helping to spread the appeal of emerging rock'n'roll artists among young audiences. Such films also paved the way for the more ambitious projects of directors such as Richard Lester, who worked on the first two Beatles films, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help* (1965).

Through the mediums of television, film and mass-marketed recorded music, from the mid-1950s onwards a wide range of popular music artists have earned large-scale success, not only in economic terms but also as cultural spokespeople for successive generations, by dint of the way that their images, songs and performances have been captured and disseminated by these global media forms. Moreover, some of what are now commonly regarded as the most culturally significant moments of contemporary popular music history have achieved an added dimension of iconicity due to the way in which they have been captured through the lens of the camera and subsequently disseminated as films, documentaries and lately as variously reedited versions on internet platforms. The original Woodstock festival of August 1969 is a classic case. Although at the high point of the festival an audience of some 600,000 was estimated to be in attendance (Young and Lang 1979), the broader perception of Woodstock as a centrepiece of the hippie counterculture was achieved largely through Michael Wadleigh's three-and-a-half-hour documentary film of the event. While *Woodstock: The Movie* obviously presented a significantly edited version of Woodstock, its cinema release in March 1970 introduced a new, global audience to the Woodstock experience, simultaneously bringing a wider level of potency to the discourse of the 'Woodstock nation' (Bell 1999; Bennett 2004a). At the same time, the film installed an intensified level of mythologization around the event as audiences read new mean-

ings into Woodstock and its significance as a symbol of the late 1960s counterculture, its music and its ideology (Street 2004). Indeed, over the years, *Woodstock: The Movie* has become a prime artefact in the production of what could be seen as the 'received memory' of Woodstock as new generations of viewers, who were not even born when the original Woodstock festival took place, have drawn on the film as one of a series of texts through which to understand and interpret the counterculture and its musical soundtrack.

The cultural significance of popular music as a collective, generational experience has also been central to fictional filmic depictions such as *Blackboard Jungle* (dir. Richard Brooks, 1955), *Quadrophenia* (dir. Franc Roddam, 1979), *Dazed and Confused* (dir. Richard Linklater 1993) and *Velvet Goldmine* (dir. Todd Haynes, 1998). Indeed, with the exception of *Blackboard Jungle*, a film that is contemporaneous in terms of its year of release with the period of time it depicts, each of the other films listed above presents a retrospective study of a particular popular music and youth cultural era – specifically 1960s mod, 1970s hard rock and early 1970s glam. The success of each these films, made between 15 and 25 years after the specific eras they portray, is itself a telling indication of the ways in which popular music and its associated cultural practices of style and taste become articulated as forms of cultural memory. While *Quadrophenia*, *Dazed and Confused* and *Velvet Goldmine* all achieved mainstream success, they have also all acquired cult status, undoubtedly attributable in part to their strong generational appeal as films that depict a sense of youth cultural heritage to specific audiences. But the link between popular music, media and cultural memory is by no means limited to the more visually spectacular aspects of popular music performance and consumption. Rather, it is the case that broader tracts of musical life are now a focus of the memory boom too. As early as the mid-1980s, the music industry began to capitalize on the ageing baby boomers' desire for new products based around their established, generationally inscribed musical tastes. The first development in the roll-out of this global retro-marketing campaign came during the mid- to late 1980s with the CD reissue of existing vinyl albums, a trend that also saw the production of special anniversary editions of particular 'classic albums' such as The Beatles' *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967) and Pink Floyd's (1973) *Dark Side of the Moon*. This period also saw the launch of niche print media products such as *Mojo* and *Classic Rock* (Bennett 2009), with each of these magazines being aimed at a more affluent baby boomer audience and fea-

turing significant retrospective content on iconic baby boomer artists such as The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and Bob Dylan.

A different slant on the re-presentation of popular music history and its link to cultural memory emerged with the launch in the late 1990s of the *Classic Albums* UK television series. Drawing on a stable of artists and albums that had already been established as 'worthy' of focus through successive years of critical acclaim in 'quality' music publications such as *Rolling Stone* and *Billboard*, *Classic Albums* presented a series of behind-the-scenes takes on the conceptualization, production and critical reception of albums such as Cream's *Disraeli Gears* (1967), the Jimi Hendrix Experience's *Electric Ladyland* (1968), Queen's *A Night at the Opera* (1975), the Sex Pistols' *Never Mind the Bollocks* (1977) and Nirvana's *Never Mind* (1991). In relation to the notion of cultural memory, the *Classic Albums* concept is significant in the way that it reinforces for audience members their sense that a collection of cultural objects – in this case, a canonical and culturally reconsecrated (Schmutz 2005) collection of vinyl albums (and their CD reissues) – have critical currency both as works of art and symbols of cultural authenticity. In other words, the critical endorsement of an album as a classic work simultaneously validates audience members' shared memories of the album, the era in which it was released and their generational attachment to that era (Bennett and Baker 2010). The appeal of the *Classic Albums* concept can be seen in the way that it has led to a range of spin-off projects, notably overseas variations of the programme, such as *Classic Australian Albums* and 'classic albums' live, where whole albums are performed on stage by specially selected groups of musicians whose musical skill, choice of instrumentation and associated equipment are such that they are collectively able to reproduce an exact, or near-exact, copy of a specific album in a live context (Bennett 2009). No doubt inspired by the evident demand among audiences for the live performance of their favourite albums in their entirety, an increasing number of original artists are now adopting this format as well. A notable example of this was the decision in 2009 of Californian art-rock duo Sparks to play a series of 21 concerts in London, with each concert being devoted to a live performance of one of their (at that point) 21 studio albums. Similarly, on its 2011 Time Machine tour, Canadian rock band Rush featured the whole of its 1981 album *Moving Pictures* (containing such on-stage favourites as 'Tom Sawyer', 'The Red Barchetta' and 'YYZ') to mark the 30th anniversary of its release.

What these and other examples of retrospectively orientated music mediation crucially illustrate is the currency of the cultural memory perspective for our understanding of the ways in which popular music, like other cultural artefacts, functions over time to create particular forms of affect, underscored by discourses of generationally focused belonging. In this context, popular music artists, song texts and various examples of associated material culture become inscribed with forms of collective emotional and aesthetic meaning with a built-in longevity. This aligns with DeNora's (2000) notion of music as a part of what she terms a 'technology of the self', integral to the way the self is able to (re)produce itself over time:

> Reliving experience through music … insofar as it is experienced as an identification with or of 'the past', is part of the work of producing oneself as a coherent being over time, part of producing a retrospection that is in turn a projection into the future, a cuing in how to proceed. (2000, p. 66)

As noted earlier, other forms of popular culture may operate in a similar way, serving as a vessel for the inscription of memory. Obvious examples here might be particular television series that have a capacity to draw mass audiences who inscribe them with common meanings based on generational connectedness or other forms of shared emotion and affect. A notable example of this is seen in the work of Holdsworth (2011), which considers how the mass appeal of a wide range of television genres from family history shows such as *Who Do You Think You Are?* to 'nostalgia series' such as the time-hopping detective show *Life on Mars* are grounded in their capacity to evoke memory and remembrance. According to Frith (1987), however, what tends to separate popular music from other forms of popular culture in terms of the capacity to hold and evoke memories is the feeling of 'ownership' that audiences attach to it. Thus, Frith observes, audiences attach such strong feelings of association to music that they often feel it is a part of them, inseparable from their identities and their everyday lives: 'We absorb songs into our own lives and rhythms into our own bodies; they have a looseness of reference that makes them immediately accessible' (1987, p. 139). There is, in this sense, a highly personal level of felt connection with music; yet van Dijck (2006) argues that such personal connection is often closely bound up with the more collective social dynamics of music listening and appreciation. Indeed, according to van Dijck, it is typically the case that in coming to personally embrace an

artist, a genre, an album, and so on, an individual understands this first and foremost as part of a wider collective experience:

> People nourish emotional and tangible connections to songs before entrusting them to their personal (mental and material) reservoirs, but they also need to share musical preferences with others before songs become part of a collective repertoire that, in turn, provides new resources for personal engagement with recorded music. (2006, p. 358)

A similar point is made by Green (2015), who applies the term 'peak experience' to account for the way by which tastes in particular music artists and genres are often acquired through particularly intense experiences – often at live music concerts and festivals – that subsequently fuel potent feelings of belonging and collective memory among music fans. Thus, as Green observes:

> As meaning is mediated by feeling, the meanings mediated by the strongest feelings may be the ones that persist. Peak music experiences can therefore provide concrete insight into the question of how encounters with music can affect people in enduring ways. (2015, p. 340)

While van Dijck and Green are concerned primarily with the importance of musical texts, a broader range of artefacts may align with live and recorded music as a means by which individuals inscribe music with collective memory and notions of peak music experience. The most common of these artefacts include things such as vinyl albums, CDs and DVDs, but the assemblage of personal-collective engagement with musical artefacts also encompasses things such as the collecting of vintage electric guitars (Ryan and Peterson 2001) and other aspects of musical technology such as amplifiers, and even stage props and mixing consoles. In the same way, personally owned mementos such as autographed copies of photographs and album covers or an artist's reply to a fan letter play their part in articulating collectively shared cultural memories, as demonstrated when such items go on display in exhibitions or are sold at auction (Leonard 2007).

Other forms of personally acquired memorabilia, such as tour t-shirts and ticket stubs, are also acquiring increasing importance as popular music-related artefacts in which cultural memories are inscribed (see Chap. 7 in this book; see also Bennett and Rogers 2016a). The range and diversity of popular music-related artefacts used to facilitate the articula-

tion of cultural memory at a personal and collective level is, then, seen to be highly diverse. Common across all of these artefacts, however, is the way in which their status as music-related objects, images and texts renders them inscribable with biographical meaning and significance.

In this sense, there are clear resonances with Chaney's (1996) theorization of lifestyle, and, in particular, his notion of lifestyle as comprising a series of 'sites' and 'strategies' created through the inscription of cultural artefacts with symbolic meaning. Although lifestyle, at one level, connotes a personal form of connection with a cultural artefact, according to Chaney this can also connote an inherently social form of being involving the assemblage of particular cultural artefacts and their specific encoding as conspicuous props for the staging of collective identities. Such identities are thus organized around the understanding and discursive positioning of artefacts as long-term articulators of a cultural self and the positioning of that self within a particular set of lifestyle politics shared by a wider social group.

Returning to the specific example of popular music-consumption practices, due to the increasingly multigenerational nature of such practices, the concept of lifestyle takes on an added level of significance as a means of demarcating particular temporally situated meanings as these coalesce around popular music artefacts. Indeed, generationally demarcated popular music audiences now regularly attach as much importance to a particular era in the history of a given popular music genre – for example, rock, punk, rap or dance (typically the era in which they became interested in, and followers of, that genre) – as they do to the music, imagery and cultural practices associated with a genre overall. In this context, a musical artefact becomes a key means of preserving and promoting an attachment to music at both a personal and collective level. Thus, a replica of an original Woodstock poster framed on the living room wall of an ageing baby boomer, or a 55-year-old heavy metal fan wearing a t-shirt from the 1980 UK Castle Donnington rock festival (the first year in which the festival was staged), functions to articulate not merely a personal form of musical taste but also a generational attachment to rock and heavy metal as understood through a shared understanding of the significance of particular past events.

Through such common everyday processes of appropriation and representation of popular music's past, cultural memory functions as an important situating strategy for ageing music audiences. Indeed, in this way cultural memory serves, as observed earlier in relation to DeNora's

(2000) notion of a 'technology of self', in the provision of an important means of life-mapping – that is to say, a means by which individuals understand how their selves in the past link with their selves in the present. Pertinent examples of this are seen in Bennett's (2006) study of ageing punks in the UK and Strong's (2011) work on ageing grunge fans in Australia and the USA. In both studies, the respondents provide accounts that demonstrate the extent to which common, generationally informed understandings of specific music artists and musical texts in turn provide these individuals with common understandings of and experiential narratives through which to articulate how they have aged, not only physically and socially but also culturally and temporally. According to Strong, through the medium of music and related forms of popular culture, 'We are given an ability to reshape and revisit our memories in a way that means it is less likely that the past will be incongruent with our current identity and circumstances' (2011, p. 62).

Music, Memory and Temporality

As this chapter has begun to explore, in functioning as a barometer for temporality the significance of popular music is also closely bound up with its connection to memory and ageing. Frith (1987) argues that popular music has an essentially 'built-in' capacity to evoke memories of the past and a sense of time passing, and that this quality manifests itself at the very point when a new song enters the public realm. Similarly, the work of DeNora (2000) illustrates how listeners will often use particular songs in quite introspective ways, and invariably as a means of recalling particular 'defining' moments in their life biographies. Building on DeNora's approach, Istvandity (2014) demonstrates this tendency among individuals from a broad demographic, ranging from early adulthood to later life. For Istvandity, the everyday use and inscription of music in individual memory working in this way results in the assemblage of a particular repertoire of songs and music in what she refers to (p. 83) as a 'lifetime soundtrack':

> a lifetime soundtrack is based in the contextualised experiences of each individual, and as such is unique to them alone; the creation of that soundtrack, however, typically involves interaction with others, whether the activity is participatory, such as singing, or comprises only listening.

The individual and collective qualities of the lifetime soundtrack are critically pertinent in the context of the current discussion, because they pro-

vide a basis for better understanding the everyday importance of popular music as a means through which individuals can both locate themselves in time and chart their biographical development over time. This is a process that can be read as simultaneously informing the individual's sense of temporality in both a micro- and a macro-sense. Thus, on the one hand, long-term investment in a particular artist, a body of work located in a genre such as rock or punk, or even merely a loose collection of songs is often linked to a personal history. An obvious material illustration of this is seen with the production of 'mix-tapes', a practice that began in the pre-digital age of music listening but has since extended to digital formats, whereby individuals prepare and exchange compilations of music edited onto a single cassette tape accompanied by notes explaining the personal meanings of the featured music (Jansen 2009).

But the qualities of the lifetime soundtrack are not entirely confined to such introspective forms of memory work. On the contrary, the formulation of the lifetime soundtrack denotes one of the more potent ways in which individual and collective uses of music are inextricably linked. For example, the realization of a punk identity will almost certainly involve a personal dimension linked to feelings of alienation or dissatisfaction with an experienced status quo – which may extend, for example, to home life, school, the experience of working in a job, and so on. However, it will also inevitably encompass a more collective dimension, which is often linked to a particular generational understanding of punk as chiming with a shared attitude of dissatisfaction towards more macro-aspects of everyday life and the socio-political developments that underpin this in a particular time and place. When framed retrospectively, such generationally inscribed understandings of music's currency as a 'timepiece' (Kotarba 2002) can also invoke a sense of musical genres marking off significant parts of collective life histories. Thus popular terms such as ''60s rock', ''70s disco' and ''80s synth pop' often come to be read as defining collective and shared moments in time, with the songs associated with these and other genres being used as generational memory maps and ways by which ageing members of these generations mark their collective transitions from the past to the present.

As Bennett (2013) argues, the fact that many of the generational rock and pop icons who helped to inspire some of the defining moments of late twentieth-century popular music history have continued to record and perform well into middle age is also an important factor in helping ageing music fans maintain a temporal link from the past to the present. Indeed,

a significant number of post-war popular music artists, from Bob Dylan, Paul McCartney and The Rolling Stones, through Kiss, Ozzy Osbourne and Alice Cooper, to Kraftwerk, Iggy Pop and John Lydon, have literally *grown up* with their audiences. Indeed, as Bennett (2013, p. 25) observes, if such artists have served as important generational spokespeople in the past, then they continue to perform this role in the present through providing examples of how the mind and body can age while retaining elements of an anti-hegemonic identity that many deem to be a significant element of their cultural being:

> As members of [the baby boomer] generation search for cultural resources and role models through which to construct and articulate their ageing identities … such artists provide and promote a series of critical indicators and visual/aesthetic points of reference as to the construction and presentation of ageing baby-boomer identities.

The fact that the careers and musical repertoire of these and other artists have often spanned a period of between 40 and 50 years gives them a potent power to serve as a memory bridge for audiences between their lives as young adults, in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, and their lives in the present. This collective link with the past is not hinged on feelings of nostalgia and yearnings for a 'lost youth'. It is rather the case that individuals understand themselves as having creative agency over time to work on and reflexively develop their ageing selves. This is again potently illustrated in Bennett's (2006, 2013) work on music and ageing, whereby many of those interviewed professed to have undergone a significant process of social, cultural and philosophical transformation as they progressed from youth, through early adulthood to middle age. One of the salient characteristics of this is the maturation and refinement over the life-course of those ideas, values and lifestyle practices acquired during youth, with reference to a common and consistent lifetime soundtrack grounded in, for example, 1960s political rock or 1970s punk.

Music, Memory, Space and Place

> For much of the time, popular music's relationship to the local has rather less to do with its being a local 'product' than with the way in which commercially available musical products are appropriated and reworked within the context of a given locality. Thus, what becomes important here is a

> consideration of the way in which patterns of music consumption in particular urban and rural locations are simultaneously *products* of the local and *creators* of particular forms of local knowledge and the sensibilities to which such knowledge gives rise. (Bennett 2000, p. 60)

As the themes and issues thus far discussed in this chapter have served to illustrate, existing cultural memory perspectives offer an important point of departure in terms of how we can begin to understand popular music's everyday significance in a more long-term sense. When viewed as an aspect of mediated memory, popular music presents as a highly palpable vehicle through which individuals are able to culturally anchor themselves within specific clusters of taste, acquire lifestyles and identities, and subsequently reproduce these over time. That said, in terms of its current repertoire of approaches, cultural memory theory appears to be less than adequately sensitive to the more micro-social contours of everyday life as these relate to the nuanced socio-cultural circumstances that emanate from the material conditions of space and place. As such, there is arguably an ever-present danger of overstating the power of media technologies to engender cultural memory in a way that pays no particular attention to the role played by locality in the simultaneous co-production of cultural memory. Indeed, the regular conflation of the terms 'mediated memory' and 'cultural memory' are arguably quite problematic in this respect, with the term 'mediated memory' suggesting that while the latter may be received and de-encoded in a contingent and interactive fashion, this nevertheless works at a level that obfuscates the nuancing influence of space and place.

Indeed, the implicit contention is that mediated memory in some way creates common tapestries of collective memory that operate above and beyond the vernacular resources that exist within the contours of local socio-economic and cultural landscapes, and that may play a significant part in determining how cultural memories are established, grounded and collectively articulated to provide what Grossberg (1992) terms 'mattering maps'. Such a position is also potentially problematic in that it suggests that the cultural memory literature, as it currently stands, is more focused on texts than on the audiences for such texts. In addressing such issues of deficit in the cultural memory approach, there would seem to be a case for broadening and rethinking its scope as an effective means of understanding the *diversification* of ways in which the past is remembered and re-presented in everyday cultural contexts. Thus, rather than responding to mediated texts in ways that align with more generally represented and

'official' understandings of their cultural significance, late-modern individuals may find within the realms of textual mediation multiple frames of reference through which to organize and rehearse their own, more locally informed memories of the past.

Such a way of reframing mediated memory as an impetus for the articulation of more localized articulations of cultural memory is given further grounding if the concept of cultural memory is positioned within contemporary debates regarding shifting perceptions of what we actually mean by 'culture' and the relationship of culture with everyday life. According to Chaney (2002), a centrally defining characteristic of culture in late modernity is its increasingly fragmented nature. In this sense, Chaney is not referring to a waning of culture as the basis for practice and articulation of collective social life and its replacement by a series of free-floating signs and signifiers, as is typically denoted in postmodern theory (see, for example, Lash 1990), nor is he alluding to the process of individualization that underscores Beck's (1992) concept of risk and uncertainty. Rather, Chaney is seeking to argue that the traditional institutions that once predominantly shaped social life, such as class, gender, race, religion, education and community, are now challenged by new forms of cultural authority – including music, fashion, tourism, television, and the internet – that serve as frames of reference for how people construct and articulate individual and collective identities. As such, pathways to the formation of cultural identities utilized by contemporary individuals are becoming increasingly diverse, and are no longer exclusively tied to traditional communities and their associated ways of life. That said, critical aspects of locality – space, place, dialect and associated forms of local knowledge – remain integral to collective forms of cultural practice. In this sense, contemporary local cultural identities can be said to be assemblages of both global influences and what Williams (1965) terms residual influences. Such contemporary shifts in the nature and definition of 'culture' also have significant implications for our understanding of 'cultural memory'. Thus, while the process of mediatization, together with the increasing centrality of consumerism and what are now referred to as the 'cultural industries' (Power and Scott 2004), has been a defining feature of everyday life since at least the middle of the twentieth century, this cannot be assumed to have redefined the characteristics and parameters of culture in any wholesale sense of the word. On the contrary, while the concept of culture in a contemporary sense is certainly inseparable from a range of globally available objects, images and texts, at the same time it remains a contingent and highly

complex array of common everyday and locally distinctive practices. It follows, then, that cultural memory, like cultural identity, is co-produced by both global and a local factors. Thus, if the impetus for cultural memories is a series of mediatized images and mass-produced cultural commodities, their inscription with everyday meaning and significance is also a distinctly localized process.

Relating the above point specifically to popular music, there has already been a substantial body of work that, in examining importance of music at a socio-cultural level, suggests that much of the meaning individuals inscribe in popular music texts is informed by everyday circumstances as these are experienced at a highly particularized and local level. An early acknowledgement of the importance of popular music's intersection with the local is seen in Cohen's (1991) study of the music scene in the city of Liverpool in north-west England. A critical element of importance in Cohen's study, and one that has had a high degree of influence on subsequent studies of popular music and locality, is her detailed account of the socio-historical circumstances that underpin the contemporary musicscapes of Liverpool. Thus, as Cohen illustrates, in addition to the obvious influence of The Beatles on the more recent musical life of the city, Liverpool has a particularly rich musical history stretching much further back in time and strongly linked to its importance as a port city. This aspect of Liverpool's history has meant that it has long been a nodal point for a diverse range of people and associated cultural influences, a quality that also extends to music, which has been a constant and ever-evolving feature of Liverpool's urban soundscape for many years. According to Cohen, these aspects of Liverpool's musical past are also ingrained in the music of the present, in that musical activity is regarded very much as an integral aspect of everyday life in the city. Overlaying this is a keen sense among local musicians of their attachment to place through bonds of community that are expressed in a variety of local sensibilities, such as accent, characteristic forms of expression, sense of humour and a particular understanding of everyday life underscored by Liverpool's socio-economic situation, including high levels of unemployment.

A further study that has proved to be important in establishing the links between popular music, locality and everyday life is Shank's (1994) *Dissonant Identities*. Shank extends Cohen's micro-social focus on the relationship between musical meaning and everyday experience in a study of different music scenes in the city of Austin, Texas. In a similar vein to Cohen, Shank considers how the local environment of Austin provides a

particular space for the evolution of musical styles and sensibilities that simultaneously draw on trans-local influences while at the same time embodying a set of values and cultural aesthetics that display a distinctively local resonance. A particularly telling example of this is Shank's depiction of the Austin punk scene, which became critically opposed to the conservative values of the dominant Texan society and the cultural and political conservatism in the USA more broadly. Furthermore, Shank's work is also an early example of engagement with the way collective memory work around popular music is often inextricably bound up with the specific temporal and spatial characteristics of locality.

In studying Austin's local punk scene, Shank discovered that much of the early inspiration for this scene was taken from a performance by iconic British punk band The Sex Pistols at Randy's Rodeo, a nightclub in the city of San Antonio, on 8 January 1978, during their now legendary tour of the southern USA. The Sex Pistols' manager Malcolm McLaren had deliberately chosen not to book a venue for the tour in Austin, given that punk had already established an audience there and US punk band The Ramones had played in the city on several occasions (Savage 1992).

For McLaren, the point of touring in the south was to perform in front of new and potentially hostile audiences, thus generating more publicity for the Sex Pistols. However, despite the 74-mile (119-kilometre) trip to San Antonio, many local Austin punks were determined to see the Sex Pistols, with that particular show becoming one of the most notorious on the tour when band member Sid Vicious attacked an audience member with his bass guitar in response to a spate of heckling. What is telling in Shank's study, however, is the way this particular show, despite its broader media representation as a more fractious example of band–audience interaction during what was overall a highly volatile tour, had taken on a wholly different resonance for local punks in the crowd. In effect, the show had crystallized in the collective memory of the local Austin punk scene as a galvanizing moment – a call to arms for punks in the region to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by the Sex Pistols on that evening and create their own narrative of punk, one that responded to and critically challenged the things that local punks saw as unjust and corrupt in their own socio-cultural environment. In this and other ways, that particular performance by the Sex Pistols during their first and last tour of the USA was regarded by local punks as a year zero event for the emergence of the Austin punk scene.

Here, then, is a pertinent example of the very concrete links between popular music, locality and cultural memory. While the Sex Pistols were

and remain globally inscribed with iconic importance in the history of punk, the cultural memories established around punk are interwoven with more localized memories. The same can be said of other music artists, genres, songs and their meanings for the audience, as evidenced, for example, in recent European research on dance music such as van der Hoeven's (2014) study of dance music and cultural meaning in the Netherlands and Reitsamer's (2014) work on the creation of rock music heritage in Austria. The complexity of cultural memory as it intertwines with popular music, locality and collective identity in turn poses new questions concerning how we define and understand the significance of the concept of music scene as a space of music production, performance and consumption.

Music Scenes and Memory

As comprehensively documented in Chap. 2, the concept of scene has been widely applied in academic research on aspects of popular music production, performance and consumption for a number of years. As part of its conceptual evolution in academic scholarship, scene has been presented as an alternative to subculture on the basis that it provides a more effective means of mapping local clusters of musical activity and their connection to the broader, trans-local networks that also characterize such activity (Bennett and Peterson 2004; Shank 1994; Straw 1991). Within this adoption and adaptation of the scene concept, there has also been significant and instructive investigation of the 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructures on which the sustainability of music scenes critically depends (see Stahl 2004 and, more recently, Barone 2016).

Less evident in contemporary understandings of music scenes, though, is an engagement with the more emotive and affective elements that individuals invest within them. Bennett (2013) argues that the notion of affect has the potential to significantly broaden our understanding of scene as a form that may at times transcend the physical, and even the virtual, to capture a sense of the more introspective, emotive and intangible ways that individuals feel a sense of belonging through an investment in music in both the past and the present (see also Chap. 5). Such affective qualities of scene association may not only exist across global and trans-local vectors, but may also serve to create bonds of belonging at a more local level. A key aim of the subsequent chapters in this book is to investigate and uncover how such affective and emotive aspects of scene-belonging connect with more tangible and visible qualities in the context of specific

local scenes across Australia. Indeed, as the empirical case studies contained within the remaining chapters serve to illustrate, such qualities are inextricable from the physical spaces and material artefacts upon which individuals also draw in creating and articulating narratives of scene and scene-belonging.

In many respects, a closer focus on such 'intangible' aspects of music scenes and their previous and current cultural significance has hitherto been obfuscated by the critical debate that ensued in the wake of the various *locality* studies of popular music, including those discussed above. For example, in an early criticism of Cohen's (1991) work on the Liverpool music scene, Thornton (1995) suggests that a significant failing of Cohen's study is the presentation of the 'local' as a hermetically sealed bubble of activity. According to Thornton, this results in a form of representation that makes no acknowledgement of the global influences that connect all music scenes and provide the basis for trans-local exchanges between them.

Arguably, however, such a line of criticism misses a critical point. In effect, none of the works focusing on popular music and the local is attempting to claim that the 'local' exists in a space sealed off from the effects of global influences. On the contrary, Cohen (1991), Shank (1994) and others (see, for example, Bennett 2000; Mitchell 1996) acknowledge the interaction of global and local cultural elements, in what Robertson (1995) refers to as a 'glocal' fusion, arguing that the meshing of such global and local influences result in distinctive expressions of musical life that are inherently tied to space and place. In this context, the emotional and affective value that individuals inscribe in popular music are indelibly marked by the other, more immediate, aspects of their everyday lives – and in particular the public and private spaces within which they experience music and make sense of it as something important in their lives. What the studies of Cohen, Shank and others are therefore doing is preparing the ground for a more intense focus on the local as a space in which much of the sense-making in and around popular music takes place. In this way, it is possible to map very palpable connections between the more intangible qualities of a music scene and what a number of theorists are now referring to as 'emotional geographies' of space and place. As Davidson et al. (2007, p. 1) observe, 'emotions are never simply surface phenomena, they are never easy to define or demarcate, and are not very easily observed or mapped although they inform every aspect of our lives'. Building on this observation, they define emotional geography as an approach that

attempts to capture the more intangible and emotive qualities of individuals' personal and collective attachment to space and place, including the strong local ties that often underpin and inform this. Emotional geography is thus said to be defined by a

> concern with the spatiality and temporality of emotions, with the way they coalesce around and within certain places. Indeed, much of the symbolic importance of these places stems from their emotional associations, the feelings they inspire … An emotional geography then, attempts to understand emotion – experientially and conceptually – in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental states. (2007, p. 3)

There is a clear connection between this description of what Davidson, Bondi and Smith et al. consider to be the key tenets of emotional geographies and the broader qualities of a music scene. Although music scenes will inevitably exhibit both trans-local and increasingly 'virtual' characteristics, at the same time they constitute an important example of the socio-spatial mediation of emotion and its function as a means through which individuals understand themselves as social beings grounded in space and place. Although such elements of music scenes and their histories are largely intangible, they bear a significant weight of presence in how scenes are conceptualized at an emotive and affective level and, importantly, in the context of the current discussion, how they are linked to and become important mediums for the articulation of locality and local identity.

To date, the few studies that have hinted at this topic in the context of music scenes research have tended to focus on the experiences and memories of musicians, with a case in point being Harrison's (2010) exploration of the perceived origins of heavy metal music in and around the city of Birmingham in the English West Midlands. Harrison's account draws on interview material from members of formative heavy metal bands Black Sabbath and Judas Priest (both founded in Birmingham in the late 1960s and early 1970s, respectively). All offer a by-now predictable narrative of how the experience of growing up in working-class neighbourhoods of a city that was then in the heartland of England's heavy industrial production base gave rise to an impetus to experiment with the heavy, electric blues music of the late 1960s to produce a thicker, more distorted and, in the case of Black Sabbath, aesthetically darker sound. While such a narrative provides one plausible explanation for the emergence of the heavy

metal sound, it also represents the account of musicians whose memories have been subject to a broader range of experiences, notably transgression from a local scene to the sphere of professional music-making and global success. Similarly, and as alluded to above, this particular narrative of heavy metal is now somewhat predictable, given the way it has cycled through various forms of print and visual media.

This is not to argue that such accounts have no meaning or relevance to our understanding of the emotional and affective work that goes into the construction of music scenes, alongside the more tangible activities upon which such scenes are built and maintained. However, it is important to note that such accounts are merely elements – and more 'populist' elements – of a broader assemblage of emotions, impressions and reflections that collectively fashion how music scenes are understood and (re)presented as significant nodes of collective cultural life. The privileging of such star-narratives thus underplays the more complex composition of local music scenes. Indeed, as Peterson and Bennett (2004, p. 3) argue:

> Work in the scenes perspective focuses on those situations where performers, support facilities, and fans come together to collectively create music for their own enjoyment. In many ways the organization of music scenes contrasts sharply with the multi-national music industry in which a relatively few people create music for mass markets.

Within this affective matrix of 'scene writing' (Bennett 2002), memory represents a pivotal glue that bonds and preserves the notion of scene while at the same time supplying individuals with a critical sense of purpose and belonging. As noted earlier in this chapter, currently this aspect of scenes is perhaps most evident in the emerging body of work on music and ageing, where a sense of scene membership over time is one of the key ways by which individuals are able to anchor themselves and create what they consider to be a cohesive biographical narrative (see, for example, Bennett 2013; Bennett and Hodkinson 2012; Taylor 2010).

An interesting example of this is the Northern Soul scene in the UK. Centred around dance halls in Northern England and the English Midlands, as well as in parts of Scotland and Wales, Northern Soul was both an independent and underground phenomenon in a quite literal sense. Comprising a series of local scenes tied to specific venues, such as The Twisted Wheel in Manchester and the now iconic Wigan Casino, Northern Soul drew on music associated with or inspired by

the Tamla Motown Sound, but rejected the more commercially successful examples of this in favour of records by artists who were less well known, an aesthetic preference that also led to an emphasis in Northern Soul upon records available in limited pressings and as rare imports. Northern Soul also evolved a series of highly distinctive dance styles, with some of the later styles introduced during the mid-1970s paving the way for disco, and also displaying moves similar to those that would be subsequently popularized through breakdancing. Although Northern Soul continues to exist today, the 'golden years' are generally considered to have been during the period between the late 1960s and the mid-1970s.

Significantly, given its low level of visibility throughout this period, there exist very few written or recorded historical documents – indeed, the first filmic depiction of Northern Soul was released as recently as 2014 (Constantine 2014).[1] Thus, as Smith (2012, p. 161) observes, throughout much of its history Northern Soul has been 'kept alive by word of mouth and the continued passion for the music by a relatively small number of existing fans'. This characteristic of the scene has also persisted in more recent times, when Northern Soul has experienced peaks and troughs in terms of popularity and frequency of dedicated events. As such, Northern Soul represents a scene in which the presence of long-term emotional investment and collective cultural memory as a means through which to articulate a sense of scene and a currency of belonging are particularly pronounced. In many ways, it is the shared oral histories of the scene – themselves embedded within and sustained through collective memory – that must provide continuity and consistency in how Northern Soul is aesthetically constructed by fans – this being integral to how the internal dynamics of the scene are understood over time and in relation to shared notions of authenticity.

In a similar fashion, Bennett (2006) and Haenfler (2006) in their respective studies of punk and straightedge, note how ageing members of local scenes assume the role of musical and stylistic 'forebears', using their long-term investment in and knowledge of the scene to exercise a level of guidance and mentorship for newer scene members. Within this, a significant level of memory work is also evident as newer fans' introduction to the scene invariably involves the absorption of an element of received memory. Indeed, returning to the work of Smith, such a trend can also be observed in Northern Soul, where a major aspect of scene regeneration and continuity has been the passing down of knowledge from 'soul

parents' to their children. As Smith (2012, p. 165) observes, 'parental influence is [thus] positioned as a source of youth's cultural knowledge rather than parental musical taste presenting a barrier to intergenerational interaction'.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine the intersection between music, memory, space and place, and to consider how such an intersection enriches our understanding of music scenes as spaces of both physical and affective belonging. A principal point of contention in this chapter has been that existing work on the related concepts of 'cultural' and 'mediated' memory are not adequately sensitive to the role of the local sociocultural environments in which everyday life is experienced, understood and collectively co-produced by individuals. Using existing studies of music and the local as a critical frame of reference, it has been shown how this body of work offers significant insights concerning the role played by local social and cultural influences in the production of musical meaning. The role of the local can be seen in everything from the physical conditions that underpin and inform the way that musical production, performance and consumption are staged and experienced through to the more intangible processes that underpin the creation of symbolic meaning and its inscription in music-related objects, images and texts. Linking this back to the concept of cultural memory, it has been argued that, in order to properly understand the importance of popular music as a medium for the inscription of cultural memory, it is seminally important to acknowledge the ways in which such memory narratives are grounded in the circumstances of particular local, everyday forms of experience.

The discussion then turned to the significance of music scene as a conceptual framework for the investigation of musical life in an everyday context. Building on the comprehensive examination of scene theory and empirical research of particular music scenes presented in Chap. 2, it was posited that an important advance of the scene concept is its reformulation to capture elements of the affective and emotional, including the central role of memory in informing individuals' sense of scene association and belonging.

This discussion is continued and developed in Part II of this book. Drawing on empirical data collected in cities across Australia, the chapters featured in Part II present the first sustained attempt to examine, uncover

and explain the role of cultural memory in the production and maintenance of music scenes. Although the material contained in the chapters focuses on a series of nationally specific examples, the themes and perspectives offered have a transnational relevance and application. Thus, in the following pages, we will endeavour to illustrate the important extent to which popular music scenes, irrespective of their particular national and local context, comprise both tangible and intangible strands that draw together and combine physical and affective modes of being. These modes of being, as will be demonstrated, are critically over-arched by articulations of cultural memory, which serve to link the past and present together against a backdrop of socio-economic and cultural circumstances that are in every instance distinctively nuanced and highly contingent, yet at the same time a common ingredient in the creation and sustainability of music scenes all over the world.

Note

1. *Northern Soul* (dir. Elaine Constantine), starring Eliot James Langridge, Anotnia Thomas and Steve Coogan, was released on 17 October 2014.

PART II

Case Studies

CHAPTER 4

The Origins of Taste and Precursors of Scenes

Introduction

As outlined in Part I, the study of music scenes is focused primarily on cultural space, specifically how this space is recollected by participants and observers. It is always past-tense in some fashion – be it an exploration of older history (topographies of lineage, community, genre, influence, infrastructure) or relatively recent movements or changes (emergences, ongoing projects, outcomes). What scene research strives to do is capture articulation; researchers working with this concept aim to examine interrelation, hybridization, mobility, and so on, all of it to explain music-related action or ideology or occurrence. Yet, for a concept so fluid and elastic, scene definitely tends to suggest spaces of activity with fixed temporalities. In its striving to loosen notions of music participation and community from essentialism, and as it increasingly expands articulation's coordinates out into the virtual and inwards to affect, scene research seldom makes dramatic moves regarding the temporal terms of study. Scene research tends to be of a time and place – a very open place and space, but one situated in 'the recent present', evoked by a range of ethnographic data-collection methodologies. Conceptually, scene encourages a deep but narrow outlook. In scene studies, time is dictated largely by the cultural memories of respondents and participants, and these tend to draw on shorter durations: the rise and fall of a DIY venue space, the enactment of music tourism policy, the popularity of a particular genre, and so on. Scene, for the most part, is measured in years instead of decades.

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_4

This chapter aims to investigate the pre-history of Australian music scenes. In our interviews with 89 participants, we pointedly set out to extend data collection back to the earliest memories available. Our thinking here is that, by going as far back as participants can recall, we will uncover positions and ideologies that presuppose the type of connected and communal articulation mined from typical scene research data. In short, we are searching for the origins of music taste and hypothesizing how these origins dovetail and interrelate with cultural memory. Taste should be read here as the preferential treatment of one set of music-related aesthetics over another. It is, by nature, both 'a multi-faceted and distinctly fluid form of expression' (Bennett 1999, p. 611). It plays a large part in an individual's biographical development, especially in music scenes. Taste can be seen here to drive and gatekeep music scenes; it is the complex of beliefs and values that drives or shapes the material action individuals perform, recall through memory and document via narration and representation. As such, the formation of music scenes is often explained by mapping and narrativizing the taste-based actions of participants. Our purpose here is to study what – if anything – a subject brings to the scene in terms of taste memories, and to explore whether the long arm of historical and circumstantial taste ideologies can be thematized and understood as an active part of scene-making. Can taste memories be described and included within scene research in applicable ways? We believe this longitudinal approach can be productive for researchers, and in this chapter we provide our own attempt to marry long-term cultural memories to recent scene activity in seven Australian cities.

The research methodology utilized in this chapter is in keeping with that used in the remainder of this book, and as discussed in detail in the Introduction. In writing up the results, we drew from across our data set but focused on specific questions from our survey tool. It is important to reiterate that our interviews were somewhat open-ended, yet the majority of findings outlined in this chapter come from prompts regarding earliest music memories, first music consumed, popular music from childhood and films from growing up. We asked these questions at the start of our interviews, and the data we collected paint a broad picture of our respondents as individuals navigating adolescence by all manner of institutionalized and social coordinates. The media are utilized and considered. The family and its spaces – the home, the car, holidays – are hugely influential throughout. Cities and streets are explored. And for our respondents – all of whom were identified for this research because of their ties to vari-

ous scenes – music remains a close-to-hand signifier and reminder. Music proved to be a clear signpost. As a prompt for memory, as a means to narrativize a moment or a mood, music proved potent. Our respondents used music to access diverse parts of their personal biographies. It was a major theme of their lives.

On Taste

The distinctions that individuals, groups and communities make around taste in music is a field of scholarly research in its own right. Early attempts to theorize musical taste typically related the origins of taste to the structural aspects of the social environment. The work of Theodor Adorno (1941) established a basis for such an interpretation of musical taste through the distinction he drew between 'popular' and 'art' music. In the case of popular music, Adorno offered the now famous observation that such music 'hears for the listener', thus requiring no level of acquired listening skill on the part of the audience. This is in stark contrast to art music, for which Adorno argues a required level of appreciation comes only through sustained listening practice. Although it is never explicitly stated in Adorno's work, the tacit implication is that mass-produced popular music is primarily consumed by a largely uneducated mass public, while art music is the purview of an educated, highbrow elite. While subsequent work did not strictly replicate the cultural pessimism evident in Adorno's thesis on popular music, it did nevertheless retain a strong class bias in its interpretation of everyday responses to popular music texts. A pertinent example of this approach is seen in the subcultural theory of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS).

Although the work of the CCCS is more ostensibly focused on the visual aspects of youth subcultural style rather than on the musical dimensions of subculture (Laing 1985), there is a clear assumption evident in the CCCS writing that specific forms of music inform stylistic sensibilities that are in turn inextricably bound up with aesthetic sensibilities rooted in the socio-economic status of particular youth (sub)cultures. This interpretation of musical taste became more strongly punctuated in post-CCCS work, notably Paul Willis's (1978) ethnographic study of biker and hippie culture in early 1970s Britain. The rock'n'roll music of the late 1950s and early 1960s was the music of preference for the working-class bikers. According to Willis, the straightforward musical structure of rock'n'roll, combined with its gritty texture and the straightforward nature of the lyr-

ics, made the music easy to dance to and also resonated strongly with the bikers' working-class sensibility of male camaraderie. Among the middle-class hippies, on the contrary, progressive rock – with its more complex musical structures and abstract lyrics – was preferred. Willis suggests that these qualities of progressive rock corresponded with the more middle-class and educated nature of hippie culture, which equipped them with a capacity to appreciate music that had a more complex and abstract form. The appeal of such qualities in progressive rock was further accentuated through the hippies' use of soft drugs such as marijuana and LSD, which attuned the senses to the more esoteric soundscapes produced by many progressive rock bands of the time. Willis conceptualizes his interpretation of the class-based origins of musical taste for the bikers and hippies using the theory of homology, which he explains represents 'the continuous play between the group and a particular item which produces specific styles, meanings, contents and forms of consciousness' (p. 191).

The impact of homology on the interpretation of musical taste has a significant lineage in popular music research. Successive studies have read the socio-cultural significance of a range of musical genres in terms of their intersection of social sensibilities characteristic of different class groupings. For example, in her formative study of heavy metal culture in North America, Deena Weinstein (1991) identifies a direct correlation between the then male-centric nature of heavy metal music and culture and the collective identity of the young, male blue-collar audience. For Weinstein, the strong messages of male bonding and female exscription that run through heavy metal music and lyrics punctuate the collective social sensibilities of the male heavy metal fan. A similar set of observations is evident in a further study of heavy metal by Breen (1991), who attributes the appeal of heavy metal for working-class audiences to a pre-digested understanding of its musical structures and lyrics, which speak directly to the feelings of frustration and disempowerment experienced by young working-class males.

During the early 1990s, the impact of what came to be known as the 'cultural turn' in social and cultural theory began to influence the ways in which musical taste was conceptualized. In essence, the cultural turn recast culture as something not merely produced by the social structure but as a more dynamic and contested entity produced through the interaction between structure and agency (Chaney 1994). In relation to the study of popular culture, the earliest examples of work influenced by this refined approach include the 'active audience' studies of theorists such

as Fiske (1989) and Ang (1996). Applying principles drawn from Hall's (1973) model of encoding and de-encoding textual meaning, such work began to explore the ways in which popular culture audiences, rather than accepting meaning as 'ready made', reflexively engaged with mediated texts to inscribe their own specific meanings alongside those suggested at the level of production and dissemination. An initial attempt to apply this new understanding of audiences specifically to popular music is seen in Lewis's (1992) important study, 'Who Do You Love? The Dimensions of Musical Taste'. In this study, Lewis (p. 141) offers the observation that:

> the relationship between [musical preferences and social class] is not the clean and neat one that some, perhaps naively, have assumed it to be – especially in our modern, mass-mediated technological society. In such a society, under conditions of relatively high social mobility, greater discretionary income, easy credit, efficient distribution of goods, high diffusion rate of cultural products, conspicuous consumption, and a greater amount of leisure time, the link between social and cultural structures becomes a question, not a given. Rather than assume it to be simply correlative, it is perhaps better to view it as contingent, problematic, variable, and – to a higher degree than we might imagine – subjectively determined.

In developing this argument Lewis uses the concept of taste cultures, originally introduced by Herbert Gans (1967) as a means of more effectively explaining how the musical tastes of individuals are both initially acquired and subsequently articulated as a means to create aesthetic connections with others. In many respects, there are important similarities between Lewis's (1992) study and Straw's (1991) work on scenes (see Chap. 2), in that both Lewis and Straw argue that musical taste cannot merely be explained in terms of a shared class background, as commonly posited by subcultural theorists, but is rather produced by a more complex and interweaving range of aesthetic and lifestyle preferences. In developing his theoretical framework of musical taste cultures, Lewis identifies three main underpinning factors: demographics, aesthetics and politics.

Demographics, suggests Lewis, covers issues such as age, gender, race and locality. He argues that such factors dramatically cut across class in supplying a basis for individual and collective investments in particular genres of music. Aesthetics relates to personal outlook, which may be the result of growing up in a particular place, but may also result from, for example, reading a particular kind of literature, spiritual beliefs, attitudes towards health and well-being, and so on. According to Lewis, such fac-

tors can also be important triggers for determining a taste preference for a particular kind or kinds of music. In this sense, a specific genre of music may be more aesthetically fulfilling than other musical genres, because of its resonance with other acquired sensibilities. The final category explored by Lewis is politics, which connotes a perceived connection for an individual between a particular style of music and the dominant power structure. Thus, for example, whereas a genre such as country music may be understood to support and be bound up with the dominant hegemony, punk and rap may be perceived as assuming a more subversive and oppositional stance. Therefore, argues Lewis, in adopting a preference for a particular kind of music, individuals are able to both assert their own political values and assert themselves in opposition to other musical taste groups.

Lewis's study is pivotally important for our understanding of the social qualities of musical taste, due to the way it deviates from the class-based interpretations of those qualities of taste. Challenging this approach, Lewis regards individuals as having a more agentive and reflexive stake in choosing a particular kind of music or set of musics. Indeed, in making this claim, Lewis regards musical taste as part of a broader assemblage of objects, images and texts that inform a lifestyle aesthetic – lifestyle in this case being a reflexive project of identity whereby individuals align themselves with others through identifying shared patterns of taste and aesthetic preferences. Indeed, according to Lewis's view, even as certain pre-determined and external factors – such as gender, race and locality – are also seen to play a part in the way that individuals acquire musical tastes, which do not function in a deterministic fashion. Rather, they act on individuals at different levels and in different ways, thus producing a plurality of responses to musical genres rather than a uniform or monolithic response.

Less optimistic is the Bourdieusian pursuit of taste and its formation. Here, the sociology of taste has a history of interrogating popular music consumption for signs of cultural capital, particularly the maintenance and protection of boundaries by elites at the expense of subordinated people. In *Distinction* (1984), Pierre Bourdieu positions taste as a type of received capital, whereby the aesthetic preferences of elites are naturalized as valuable and passed on to future generations. In action, this engenders a type of cultural currency that is beyond the grasp of subordinated subjects from the outset. Through this lens, taste becomes a means of distinction, one of the myriad ways in which cultural power is exerted. It remains of interest to the academy because taste is still considered a cultivation or formation

set apart from 'shared school-learned culture' such as literature; music is not an area of cultural consumption that educators have actively tried to democratize, and as such it remains directly informed by significant social institutions such as friendship, the family and ethnicity (Coulangeon and Lemel 2007, p. 94). Viewed through this lens, taste still partially comes to us from the social processes of inheritance. It is discursively framed by what we learn to consider valuable or beautiful, from the people closest to us.

The academic literature pertaining to distinction, music consumption and taste has evolved in recent decades, but still adheres to Bourdieu's field of theory. There is, however, ongoing debate about how the implied distinctions are made. In 1996, work by Richard Peterson and Roger Kern strived to document a rising tendency in consumption and taste, that of the 'highbrow snob' becoming more omnivorous. While there is a cautiously optimistic tone to Peterson and Kern's work (and similar work from the time – see Peterson and Simkus 1992 and work mentioned earlier), the authors state that 'omnivorousness does not imply an indifference to distinctions' (Peterson and Kern 1996, p. 904). Instead, Peterson and his coauthors leave open the suggestion that omnivorous taste may be a new marker of distinction underpinning cultural capital. Subsequent studies debated or complicated these findings: Bryson (1996) examined exclusion instead of preference, finding that 'highly educated people in the United States are more musically tolerant, but not indiscriminately so', mapping specific exclusions to class (p. 895); Van Eijck's (2001) Dutch study appears to support Peterson's and Bryson's findings, whereby high-status groups were more casually omnivorous but still retained clustered patterns of 'favourites'; and Coulangeon and Lemel (2007) found that omnivorousness correlated with the background processes and lived experience of status rather than social tolerance *per se*. All of these studies are resolutely within the discipline of sociology. They all present quite rigorous attempts to quantify results, positioning taste as an extension of institutionalized power.

Threaded throughout both the optimistic and pessimistic cases, there is a sense that taste has become less visibly and noticeably stratified. The workings of society and the taste cultures it produces are not easily identifiable correlations, nor are the distinctions made solely on the basis of musical taste. As such, for our work here, we lean more towards the former optimistic viewpoint of taste as that which is slightly less prescribed and inherited, and more self-constructed and open. In this book, we are

much more focused on scenes as operational logics, processes and concepts. The distinctions in which we are specifically interested are between active scene participants and less active participants – or, indeed, former participants or non-participants. Which is to say, we have not purposefully interrogated our survey pool for signs of status or class. This information can be read off many of the interviews – people provide various markers of their occupational status, their age, their economic class relation, upbringing, race, gender and orientation – but the aims of this project are to study scene participation as a subjective and collective remembering process. We are squarely focused on the logics of how taste interacts with power and influence (and motivation and experience) within music scenes, rather than how that power is distributed in society as a whole, while readily accepting that these spaces are by no means mutually exclusive. Put another way, in this chapter in particular, we are interested more in the processes of formation than we are in the results.

To achieve this, we have divided the remainder of the chapter up into three distinct sections, each drawing from different parts of our data set relating to the prompts outlined earlier. These sections adhere to a linear narrative of sorts: earliest memories, action and contexts. Earliest memories draws on the social, spatial and affective coordinates of the earliest taste memories respondents could recall, as well as any activities associated with them. These memories exist within a range of contexts. For action, we asked respondents to outline their first experiences with active music listening. This section asks how they acted on their recollections in a specific context. Finally, with contexts, we examine a series of questions we gathered contextualizing information about taste-formation. These data pertain to two key determinants of taste queried by popular music scholarship: media use and geographic place.

Within these contexts, drawing on memory, respondents acted. This schema itself has many of the aspects of a music scene. In the stories relayed by respondents, there is a geography of physical spaces intersected by various pathways and alternate trajectories. There are many ways to transit through the cities and suburbs from which our respondents emerged. Then there are a set of hegemonic social institutions (the home, the car, the radio, for example), and within and around them lie instances of creation, co-creation and empowerment. As a series of overlapping cultural spaces, the topography recalled by our interviewees is more open than closed. In memory, their stories become a repository for narrativized cultural assets, prompts and ideology. These memories are not so much a frame for pres-

ent activity as they are elements of biography, building blocks – or settings and characters – for various self-narratives, explanations and, indeed, currency building. What appears in the data is the 'common sense' of personal music biography: that which is assumed to be understood by many but acted on subjectively.

The Earliest Memories of Popular Music

Asking people for their memories is a surprisingly powerful interview tactic. The innate desire many scene participants have to share their story and the enticing, relatively safe, suggestion of a music memory is alluring. As alluded to in the previous chapter, music memories are a means to understand and relate the self. In our case, respondents wanted to talk about the ways in which music had become entwined in their lives. For many, these memories are perceived positively – as happy stories – and as the beginnings of a lifelong engagement, notably to something many of them remain passionately attached. However, this is not to say that music memories lack depth or detail. They may be nostalgic and selective, but they also tend to be revealing. Music memories occupy an unusually expressive power. In the retelling, they are safe, closed, close to hand and quickly recalled, but also rich, often filled with immense detail – sometimes difficult detail – the complexity of which appears to be partially obscured by a proximity to music's raw affect. Take, for example, the following exchange with Elliot from Canberra, and how a simple question quickly turns up a complex answer:

Interviewer I'm just wondering about all these memories of music.
Elliot (Canberra) My dad's from the [United] States. He was in the navy and he passed away when I was three years old, so I lived on US bases until I was three. I've been to Sicily and then the States and in Cairo. So he passed away when I was three. My mum just packed all his stuff into a trunk and we moved back to Young which is about an hour and 45 minutes from here, which is where she grew up. I'm guessing, but I'd say when I was about eight or nine – it was definitely no younger than that – one day, I got into his trunk and inside was a drawer full of cassettes with my father's handwriting on them. That's kind of the first thing that drew me. It was, like obviously I was drawn to this, this is my old man. I didn't know much about him, and so the first couple of tapes were *KISS II* and AC/DC *Back to Black* and I just pulled them out and just listened to

them forever, for months, for years and years and eventually started going through the rest and Rush and Yes and he had a lot of Australian stuff, which is cool, … I'm guessing [that comes] through my mum's connections. The Angels, Midnight Oil records and stuff. So that is definitely my first kind of affinity and what I latched on to. So not necessarily hearing but going into it through my dad and I don't know anything about him and throughout the years it's kind of developed from there I guess. My brother is three years younger than me and I gave those tapes to him and we would listen to it together in our bedrooms. I've never actually told anyone this, except my wife.

Elliot's response is unusual in terms of its gravity, but the structure of this story is representative of many other accounts found in our data set. The basic structure of these stories is that members of a family make sense of a particular context with music. Much like Elliot and his father's tape collection, our respondents viewed their memories as something they could open up and assemble from.

Families are hugely influential here. Of the 89 respondents we queried on their early music memories, 90 per cent provided accounts of family relations. Of the remaining 10 per cent, many alluded to the family home or family routines without naming specific actors or locations. (Respondents who made no mention of families almost always defaulted to narratives surrounding compulsory schooling and friends.) By far the most prominent actors in these stories were parents, but siblings, grandparents and cousins also appeared. The family home tended to be remembered as cultural space – as a type of scene where various actors, media, affects, zones and institutions were brought together. Early music memories are stories about these explanatory details and their affects. These affects were noticeable, borderline spectacular, as families sprang into action (dancing, singing, performing) within the home space. This action was described as a reaction to music, occasionally producing music in some guise. Family members sang, played instruments or worked technology. As described, the family home is a place where music's affect is clearly visible, and where the pleasures of music spark a curiosity and learned behaviour. As our respondents recalled these environments and sensations, they often appeared to journey back through the spaces. The tone of their stories was akin to reportage, whereby affect is married to particular objects, spaces or people.

One of the key themes of the early memories collected is an account of how music moved through the home. Here, radio becomes a recurring

presence. The family household is a contained acoustic space. The technology of the radio is designed for such a space, for transmitting sound within a space or place. While the aesthetic of radio is a personal one, often addressed to individual listeners, the technology itself makes no specific mandate for such listening. It is a broadcasting technology, and our respondents often remembered its presence in the spaces in which they grew up. 'My earliest memory of music,' said Yori of Adelaide, 'is listening to the radio.' She went on to expand on how the radio travelled through the house:

Yori (Adelaide) My mother used to have the radio really loud so she could hear it in the laundry but I would stay in the kitchen so that I could hear it loud. The Beatles' 'She Loves You', came on and I really loved it and my dad got cross and said, 'Oh that's wrong, they shouldn't be saying yeah, yeah, yeah they should be saying yes, yes, yes', and right then and there, even though I was only three years old, I knew Dad's wrong, the radio's right, and it sort of changed the way I viewed the world from then on, that pop music was my guide to life and I trusted the radio and rock'n'roll and thought my parents were a bit stupid.

Yori's story is a mix of specifics and generalities. A specific song and a specific conversation married to her mother's laundry routine. Yori's later involvement in the Adelaide music scene (and other trans-local engagements as a touring musician) is marked by loud punk rock. The anecdote she provides here is an explanation not of music's allure but of specific affective overlaps: physical volume and rebellion, both of which still underpin and explain her participation in the Adelaide music scene decades later. Other respondents noted the presence of the radio and put it to various – albeit similar – uses:

Interviewer So what is one of your earliest memories of popular music?
Lawrence (Perth) Just purely having the radio, because I wasn't allowed to go to discos and that sort of thing. They had the disco at *Five Ways* down at Camberwell. Dad was pretty strict on going out on Saturday nights, and that sort of thing. So I never got to any of those with my mates, but I had the radio, which was more or less a companion …
Warren (Perth) My earliest memories of popular music? The radio seemed to be on at home a lot.

Lance (Adelaide) I remember listening to the radio. You'd ring up and request hits, so I'd sort of ring up and request pop songs of the time, 'Ballroom Blitz' is one I remember quite a lot, which I tried to get on. It played anyway when I was a kid, but you want to actually make things happen.
Donald (Perth) The first lot of music that I listened to was on the radio when my grandfather finished listening to the news, and I was hanging for him to get off so I could get on and listen to whatever the popular music station was playing.

In these responses, we can see some of the roles radio plays as it broadcasts through the house: companion, service, community, an ambient presence. It is often embedded within household routines (it is played at specific times), yet – in the case of Lawrence and respondents like him – it can also serve as a more individual or customizable, if occasionally random, portal into popular music from the outside world. This dichotomy of radio appearing here as an everyday part of the family home, yet providing opportunities for transgression and exploration, is repeated often. The radio was 'just there' but it hinted at so much more. Within the closed cultural space of the family home, the radio transmits in from somewhere else.

This somewhere else can be read as an echo of Greil Marcus's (1975, p. 18) 'something else' – that undeniable evidence that there exists a zone of culture and consumption beyond the mundane and known; in music, this is almost always an alluring prospect and one of popular music's most central entertaining properties – be it novelty or innovation. Our respondents picked up on this. Kelly from Sydney summed it up well: 'I was attracted to find[ing] the stuff that I wasn't allowed to know about.' Another respondent, Scotty, also from Sydney, felt the same way and elaborated:

Scotty (Sydney) Oh where I grew up. Yes I grew up in a very suburban, very safe, very you know, no alarms, no surprises sort of environment and so I had no real sort of incoming signals so it was whatever I picked up through television was as much as I could, so I had that as a negative effect as there was no stimulant. No other stimulant and no other way for me to discover music other than probably through TV or radio so where I grew up there in a physical location, there was nothing at all by way of stimulus.

As Scotty notes, the allure of music transmitted into the house can be compounded by the broader suburban or socio-cultural context. It

can also be intensified further by music's affective dimension: when parents and siblings dance and sing, or perform on instruments – all often spectacular diversions from the routine roles and responsibilities of the household – our respondents noticed. None of our respondents recalled these domestic performances as anguished, awkward or as an act of consolation or as a means to directly confront the mundanities of everyday life; instead, the interplay was much, much more straightforward: parents sang, children followed suit and it felt good. Donald in Perth provided a telling anecdote regarding music-making in the home, specifically of how his mother's piano playing advanced from and receded into the background sound of their household:

Donald (Perth) While I was growing up, if she played, she'd just play and it was just la la la and she'd sing along to herself, and it's just this noise in the background. But when I came to play an instrument and sit down alongside her, I realized hang on, what she's playing is pretty good, and it's not just two-finger piano, it's good stuff. So, that was – that sort of stuff going on in the background of your life has got to have some sort of influence. So, if people came around to our place, I wasn't shy about getting up and having a sing in the lounge room when I was eight or nine or ten years old.

This alliance between joyous, extraordinary affects is often the spark sitting at the core of early music memories. Household situations or spaces where this process is highlighted or can be subjectively worked on offer interesting potentialities. This often colludes with a concept of music arriving into the house from a vast library of public music from outside, or being generated from within but breaking the routines of the house. It is an instructive and early lesson in music's affective power.

Another situation where music is a focus is the family car. If the radio in the home provided opportunities via an ambient presence – a broad and frequent demand for attention – the presence of the radio in the family car was effective in its directness. In the car, respondents reported listening to music in lieu of alternatives. The curation of music by parents in this closed acoustic environment compounded memories, and they were powerful and easily recalled:

Interviewer And what is your earliest memory of music?
Lilly (Sydney) I don't know, I guess it's like listening to music in the car with my parents on the tape, on repeat, all the time.

Sally (Canberra) Well the thing that I keep going back to is waking up … in the back of my mum's car with the radio on.
Ian (Adelaide) Earliest memories definitely driving around in the car with Mum and Dad, and Dad on the Saturday and Mum during the week, and always the radio going, always on like Triple M type rock which, you might not be familiar with Triple M but it's like, okay, so that's where all the rock'n'roll is, like Chisel, AC/DC, that sort of stuff, Springsteen and all that sort of great [music]. They're the earliest memories of it, and my parents were really into that type of rock'n'roll.
William (Adelaide) I have some distinct memories of my dad playing cassettes in the car …

The family car thus presents a direct intersection between music, everyday space and paternal control. Music and curation are highlighted. Family members noticeably act in these scenarios: they make choices, and the results are difficult to ignore. In a tangible way, the proximity of music and its affects are heightened, channelled through a set of tacit and metaphorical relations within the vehicle. Everyone is strapped into a shared, acoustically resonant environment, drawing on the same cultural product for sensory nourishment. Some actors select, curate and control the sound within this space. The remainder listen in what often feels – and is – a cursory everyday experience, but also one that provides a measure of insight into what music is for in the adult world.

While the radio presents a very early incursion into the household, in the case of many respondents, its power and allure are very soon found elsewhere: in the guise of a far more interactive and alluring piece of home technology: consumer music playback devices. People remembered listening to the radio – receiving it – from a very young age. However, the terminology, phrasing and narrativizing of the home stereo – be it a vinyl record player, cassette tape player, CD player or MP3 playback – was very important: all of these devices typically engender stories about personal action. For those who encountered these devices at a young age, the players themselves are the primary attraction, becoming highly fetishized objects. Russell from Adelaide's first memory of music was not the music itself, but the act of playing it:

Interviewer What is one of your earliest memories of popular music?
Russell (Adelaide) Learning to use a record player at a very young age. My dad had a few records and I think I had a couple. I remember having

a *Romper Room* record and a copy of ABBA *Arrival* which I was particularly keen on because it had a helicopter on the cover. I just remember it from when I was very young. I was very keen on learning how to put on the records.

This became another theme, with various respondents interested in the potential of the player and its place in the house before moving into active listening and later the acquisition of their own player or music albums. This interest can manifest early in life (three or four years of age) and by six, for example, Elaine had her own playback device:

Elaine (Sydney) When I was in Year 1, a primary school teacher I had made me a cassette copy of Kylie Minogue's debut album which I played repeatedly on a pink cassette player, much to my parents' horror and [at] about that age as well I started taping the radio and listening back to stuff as well as taping music videos.

As noted, Elaine quickly moved into more active listening and curation with her pink cassette player. It follows that playback equipment presents an enticing possibility to participants from an early age: a means by which to exert – or experiment with – control of household space. Taste in music is an area of consumption typified by notions of deep subjectivity and idiosyncrasy, and one of the earliest markers of this self-determination is the operation of home stereo equipment.

As discussed throughout this book, memories are positioning narratives. When asked about early memories, our respondents positioned themselves in relation to the family home, zeroing in on the more intense moments or zones of this space. Clearly, these are stories about music buttressing the beginnings of a sense of self within an environment where control is often relinquished – or, in the case of the family car, where there is a shared sense of music delivering the self and family from mundanity. These memories speak to one of the key ways in which people interact with popular music. For committed scene participants, music is positioned as a type of calling. What exists beyond the past-tense family, the house, the car, is the music scene of the present. This is the active participation hinted at in early music memories. What exists now, the pathways and vectors of scene participation, sit at the centre of a personal topography that stretches – at its edges – all the way back to the very beginnings of youth. Our respondents did not begin their involvement in scenes at three or

four years of age, but their current participation is self-described as having these precursors. Respondents were keen to make tenuous and direct links to the very beginning of their conscious memories, to take up these fragments as articulating reference material, and in very subjective ways they placed childhood on a trajectory that went some way towards explaining much more direct and clear movements towards a lifetime engagement with music.

The Early Contexts of Popular Music

The spaces covered in the previous section are defined by a strong sense of the physical. The family home is the archetypal sign of 'bricks and mortar' security within the physical world. The family car is influential due to the intensity of its physical/acoustic characteristics. In Chaps. 5 and 6, we investigate more thoroughly the physical spaces of music consumption and production typically associated with music scenes, all of which arrive later in the personal biographies of participants. What we turn to here in this section is another set of spatial relations that step slightly away from the physical.

In our survey of Australian scene participants, we queried extensively early memories of music taste (or selection) and the cultural context seen to be situating these early taste decisions. For the remainder of this chapter, we explore a number of contextualizing media and engagements, namely the presence of 'other music' – that which sits around the music actively consumed by respondents – and the presence of screen media such as broadcast television and film. To conclude the chapter, we turn to data collected on earliest memories of music and place, whereupon our respondents make accounts of their earliest geographic locations, often in broad and metaphorical ways. These locations are states, cities, suburbs and transit routes, imbued with psychographic character and childhood naivety – all deemed, alongside media consumption, to play an influential role in the later lives of the people we interviewed.

My Music: Taking Hold of Popular Music

In the previous section, we mapped responses from interviewees about their *first contact* with music and its various playback devices or zones. Our follow-up questions regarded selection. We asked all participants to describe their first albums bought or actively consumed. The answers we

received were broad. The demographic spread of our survey pool is significant here; regarding popular music, we've noted influential artists ranging from Chuck Berry and Elvis through to The Beatles and AC/DC, and drawing to a close with the likes of Blink-182 and The Killers, for our younger respondents. As expected, the artists cited approximate the traditional rock canon for popular music with few exceptions (the most common exceptions were era-specific pop acts, jazz and occasional forays into the traditional/folk musics of parents and grandparents). While some of this may reflect the aesthetic bias of the authors – or indeed the social bias of the respondents' gatekeeping and selecting future interviewees – the artists cited most often reflected the previously remarked Anglo-centric and slightly rock-inclined tendencies of Australian music fans, especially those drawn to the more spectacular types of scene participation that would flag them for inclusion in this study. That said, some of these results were derived from individuals with a relatively low present-day interest in rock and analogue music, and as researchers we are far more interested in the narratological components within the data around early albums and fandom. Thus, in reflection of this, we have made only summary analysis of trends regarding specific artists and genres.

What we did chart were responses surrounding the attraction of early music listening. In answering the question 'Can you remember what attracted you to this music at the time?' respondents made remarks that could broadly be thematized as referring to affect, media use and location. Of these three, affect was the most popular response, trending towards some approximate description of aural pleasure or the mysterious allure that music has for the body. Descriptions based on media use had a more pragmatic feel to them: respondents gave accounts of *how* music was delivered to them, of hearing and seeing music on particular devices and the impact being large enough to cement it into a personal narrative. Finally, on a few occasions, respondents gave location-based answers to this question, pre-empting follow-up queries specifically about the role of geography and place. These respondents explained the attraction of early self-selected music favourites as a matter of place-based exposure – much like the stories of media use, but a story of where instead of how. Together, the three themes all pointed to a 'best fit' description of how a previously mysterious experience had a pronounced effect on the later life of the people with whom we spoke.

Turning first to affect, when asked about attraction, many respondents gave answers that touched on intensity. To take Lawrence Grossberg's

(1997) concept of affect as an overlapping of intensities and of 'places constructed by the multiple foldings of different affective planes' (p. 29), what caught our eye here were the multiple ways in which responses made wildly varying accounts of music's potency. Grossberg's affective planes were evident in our data. Interviewees did not tell easily thematized stories of music listening and affect; instead, the memories of respondents were messy. We charted many accounts of music striking an affective chord that spoke directly, and with intensity, to something else within the early life of respondents. These intense intersections compounded affect, with music memories here appearing to bridge problems, meanings, experiences and spaces in ways that intensified – and occasionally clarified – the everyday lives of listeners. To illustrate, a typical anecdote from the data set was provided by Patty, talking about one of her early favourites: Elvis Presley. 'The feel of the music, it just, it got me,' she said. For Patty, her early attraction to Elvis was tacit and could only be described bluntly, as if no further detail of its pleasurable, mysterious and intangible qualities was possible – only that these properties were there. Contrast this with another interviewee who cited Elvis, Perth participant Edward. Edward finds affirming intersections between image, pleasure and insecurity:

Interviewer What attracted you to that music?
Edward (Perth) What attracted me to music generally?
Interviewer No to that music – to, say, Elvis.
Edward (Perth) Image. When I think about it, it did come down to, in a sense, the image of the performer. In a sense I wasn't very secure at school, and I kind of could identify with the vulnerability of the stereotype … the world is against them but they kind of managed to get through it with his good looks. But it's an odd one.

Simon from Adelaide also cited Elvis – and his image – alongside Suzi Quatro, charting out affective intersections between rock music and pleasure, rock music and early sexuality and a raft of aesthetic interactions, all pointing to the creation of what Simon calls 'a basic something in my DNA':

Interviewer I love those stories. Can you remember what attracted you to Suzi Quatro and Elvis?
Simon (Adelaide) Elvis was a bit of everything, because he looked great and he was singing and driving speed boats and sports cars and had all

these kind of groovy girls dancing around him, often all at the same time, and I went, 'Oh I like that!' I liked his voice and I liked the kind of music that he was doing. And with Suzi Quatro, it was kind of a combination of who she was really, kind of basic rock'n'roll early days, plus like I was at an age where I was kind of becoming interested in girls, especially ones in, like, full body leather zip-up leotard things! That was quite … actually that was quite interesting at that age! So yeah, it was kind of a … sort of raw, basic rock'n'roll. I mean, I like lots of different types of music, but I still really respond to that, like that sort of really basic something in my DNA that is … you know, simple three chords, three minutes.

Grossberg's (1997) assertion that affect is about unities and intersections lies very close to the surface of this. Respondents could seldom articulate why they felt an attraction to formative music in their biographies, but their memories repeatedly turned up scatterings of evidence that drew intense connections from transgression and pleasure to music and listening.

Perhaps more straightforward and linear were the stories we uncovered about music's affect and the body. Affective connections were very clearly drawn by our respondents between music's sonoral components, and the physical body and its emotional state. These explanations were made surrounding physical and emotional desire. We collected a variety of stories about the body and sound. Perhaps the most unvarnished example of this was Jimmy from Adelaide and his anecdote accounting for his love of beats and rhythmic post-punk:

Interviewer Can you remember what attracted you to those early bands and records?
Jimmy (Adelaide) I don't know. There's a few elements I've picked out since and it's sort of informed my taste in music where I generally get drawn to a rhythm section. If they've got a really well-developed rhythm section, just sort of a chunky beat or something and just reasonably rough-hewn, I don't like anything too massively polished. I don't know, I remembered as a kid my parents were worried that I had autism or something because I don't know, I was slow to speak and I mean as much as I remember it I was actually too shy to speak … So they took me for some hearing tests and apparently I've actually got a little bit of deafness just in the lower end of the bass area. So I feel like ever since I've just been over-compensating

and just listening to the craziest heaviest bass sounds and that seems to inform a lot of it. Bands like [Australian minimalist punk band] My Disco that have just that driven rhythm. That feels very instinctual for me to like that. I don't know, that sort of draws me initially then it's almost like lyrics and everything else are an afterthought. Like many years later I go, 'Oh that's what the lyrics were to that song!' I just listen to the rest of it first and then the vocals pop up afterwards.

While affect is seen as that unconsciously experienced intersection of intense bodily reaction with an inciting event or situation, Jimmy's account is very much a past-tense explanation of music's affects. In explaining the affective state, he reaches for the physical in a very plain-spoken way: the music he finds pleasure in compensates for specific sound frequencies he's physically desirous of, as if the *something else* of music isn't a cultural or social escape but a sonic one. Yet this instance of music addressing a specific physical desire is echoed by Tess from Adelaide, who remembers music's affective intensity interacting with depression:

Tess (Adelaide) I really like [American rock band] Hole because it was – I don't know, it was a little bit darker, I guess. I don't know, I had depression from a really young age as well, I never really coped very well with emotional problems, and I think that's why I identified with the stuff in Hole about – yeah, just feeling really awful and having a really negative view of the world, [as an] angsty teenager.

The 'stuff in Hole' points directly to affect. To be clear, we do not remotely position music here as a fantastic solution to these problems Tess and Jimmy experienced; instead, we wish to highlight the fact that, in memory, music is often described as an answer of sorts. While there are no pure answers to music's attraction, respondents do narrativize their experience and, when requested to do so, they reach for explanatory stories that often draw on music's corrective power, on music's affects, providing a balm of some sort. In recalling the appeal of music – especially the music of their earliest tastes – respondents reached for linear narratives, even when tackling affect head on. Music *felt good* because there was a deficiency or pain or a negative circumstance that found address. The 'best guess' of music's allure was that it fixed something.

This process of respondents reaching for adversity (always a key narrative device) to explain taste is slightly more abstract than the other expla-

nations given. When asked about attraction and pleasure, a number of respondents simply described their media use. A typical result is evidenced in the following exchange:

Interviewer Can you remember what attracted you to that music?
Molly (Adelaide) I think it was probably watching *Video Hits*. I watched that on a Saturday morning because my brother was arguing [about] whether to watch cartoons or *Video Hits*. Yeah, I think that was probably what it was, and radio.

Within the data, audio-visual media use quickly became synonymous with the types of household broadcasting noted earlier with the radio. The key difference between TV and radio was control. The radio or audio playback equipment was used by parents to broadcast music throughout the house, as part of the everyday routines of the household. The specific television our respondents reported back eluded this in some fashion. As Molly points out above, the once popular *Video Hits* (now defunct, going off air in Australia in 2011) slotted in alongside other children's programming on early weekend mornings. In our responses, radio and playback was for parents and grandparents; video was for children, teens and young adults.

What is notable here is both the extent to which the visual and music take a number of forms, and the lengthy history of youth and music video evident in our material. A broad range of interviewees discussed video but a dividing trend was that television shows featuring music videos were a clearer presence – volunteered by respondents alongside other household music consumption – while film and the role of film soundtracks or documentaries were less evident. While interviewees did mention film, this response usually required prompting. If required, our field researchers had a question regarding film and the results, even then, were mixed. In essence, people needed to be reminded that longer form video entertainment may have played a part in music taste-formation; many could make links but this required work, and a significant number of respondents claimed that movies, documentary and film soundtracks played very little role in their early tastes. What we did find in the data set was the presence of a number of era-specific films, often not directly about music but with widely circulating soundtrack compilations or scores. Common examples include *The Sound of Music* (1965), *Star Wars* (1977), *Back to the Future* (1985), *Garden State* (2004) and various films by David Lynch (in par-

ticular) and Stanley Kubrick on occasion. Older respondents cited films featuring The Beatles and Elvis. While these films occasionally presented an impactful moment for respondents, there is a sense that these moments were isolated. Respondents did not readily talk about film itself as being relevant. Note how one of our more enthusiastic soundtrack listeners, Russell from Adelaide, discusses this media form:

Russell (Adelaide) I haven't got a lot of movie soundtracks. Not really. [It was] more as an adult that I was into soundtrack music.
Interviewer And you're into soundtrack music now?
Russell (Adelaide) A bit, I'm not a massive fan but yes I'm interested in some.
Interviewer Anything in particular lately that you've thought about?
Russell (Adelaide) Actually I mentioned The Necks. Their soundtrack to *The Boys*, that's one actual soundtrack album I own. I'm going to see Ennio Morricone soon. I've got some of his stuff. Of course there's also soundtracks where they just use music, like there was some like in the late '90s, there's one called *Fire* that had a lot of electronic stuff that really pushed me in a direction of getting into [a] whole different genre of music.

Film was often viewed as a singular jumping-off point. The examples given and stories told have a granular focus to them, like Russell's story of (Australian improvisation trio) The Necks appearing from the soundtrack to *The Boys* (1998). This sits in contrast to music television, which can be seen to sit very close to hand in the Australian context, an almost ever-present part of the household music landscape. When asked about early music listening, one respondent replied, 'It was pretty much whatever was around. I didn't really select … it's just whatever was there. So often it was more what was on TV.'

Australia has a rich, seldom documented history of music television, stretching back to the advent of domestic broadcasting (Giuffre 2009). For our interviewees, there were three TV shows regularly cited: the iconic *Countdown*, running from 1974 to 1987; and the two programs that aimed to replace it, the commercial *Video Hits* (1987 to 2011) and the idiosyncratic public offering *rage* (1987 to the present). This lineage spans a multitude of different eras of Australian broadcast television and viewing habits. *Countdown* was hosted by Ian 'Molly' Meldrum and fea-

tured a mix of interviews, 'live' performances and the presentation of video clips. Broadcast weekly on ABC TV, the show had significant reach and the focus of a devoted audience:

Interviewer And can you remember what attracted you to that store, how you came to get those records?
Anna (Sydney) I'm definitely a product of *Countdown*. I started watching *Countdown* when it first started. I have two older brothers who are also really interested in music and we used to watch *Countdown* religiously and I think a lot of people pour a bit of scorn on *Countdown* these days, but especially in the '70s and early '80s, there was a lot of stuff on there that we wouldn't have found out about otherwise. I know it turned into a pretty big pile of rubbish, but for the first decade or so I think it did really well.

Note how formalized the viewing of *Countdown* was in Lance's memory:

Lance (Adelaide) We'd sit down every Sunday and watch *Countdown* in a really typical Australian kind of way. Home from church with the parents, fish and chips on the way, sit down and watch *Countdown*. Kind of weird, thinking about it. I have memories of that.

Later, *Video Hits* and *rage* continued to service Australian audiences with music television, albeit in vastly different modes. *Video Hits* can be seen as an extension of *Countdown*'s programming, especially its later commercial incarnations (hinted at above), largely operating as a promotional outlet for the recording industry. In stark contrast, *rage* maintains – to this day – an almost minimalist approach to music television: there are no regular hosts, only guest hosts played by celebrated musicians speaking directly to camera without televised prompting, interspersed with long stretches of uninterrupted transmission of music video. Both the highly commercial and the distinctly underground receive airplay on *rage*, subject to the whim of guest hosts but also mirrored in the all-encompassing 'programmed' nature of the show itself.[1] Distinctly 'late-night' programming, *rage* has historically played through the night on weekends and peeking into Saturday mornings, where it competed for a time with *Video Hits*. This mode of delivery has served the program well. As Liz Giuffre (2009, p. 55) points out, '*rage*'s commitment to minimal branding has ensured

a seemingly unmediated relationship between audiences and the music featured'. This commitment has weathered the advent of online video streaming, as audiences still sit down to watch the program, often after attending late-night gigs.

Our respondents often cited the Saturday morning section of the show – something interchangeable with *Video Hits* – but *rage*'s long format gives the program a radio-like essence. For Russell, the transition from one to the other was a marker of development:

Russell (Adelaide) Yeah, certainly for a long time I used to watch a lot of *Video Hits* on a Sunday morning and as I got older I moved to like *rage* late at night. I heard lots of what was around.

Due to its format, *rage* is vast, drawing together material from a huge catalogue. In an interview with guest programmer and musician Sarah Blasko, Hancock (2006, p. 167) discovered that she assembled her show from a shortlist of over one hundred songs. Selection from such a big catalogue also presents unintended and happenstance programming. Blasko's producer commented on the selection process:

Robert F Cranny (musician) A lot of people did make it seem like there was a great weight of responsibility, there are those who take it very seriously and I'm one of them. I'm sure I've thought what my philosophy would be if ever I got asked to program it, but then you just get given this big red book with all the clips that they've got, and when you are browsing through it like a catalogue, many philosophical notions go out the window. (Hancock 2006, p. 167)

This sense that the show provokes a less filtered version of taste and programming, combined with the fact that it is often on for hours of Friday night and parts of the prime-time morning block on Saturday, makes *rage* particularly potent and resonant. A variety of tastes were developed by its happenstance nature and presentation.

Finally, after broad stories about affect and media use, our interviewees occasionally reported that place played a big part in their early listening. Chapter 6 investigates the role of place in more detail, but there were stories specially about development and the origin of taste that intersected with place. For example, Dave from Hobart gave a very forthright answer regarding his attraction to music: 'The fact that I could just buy music, that's all.' The ability to leave the family home, attain purchasing power

and travel unaccompanied into new locales was hugely influential and often remembered fondly. In this way, for a noticeable segment of our survey pool, the early attraction to music accompanied social mobility. Respondents pinpointed mobility over household consumption as not the exact origin of their tastes, but as the motivating agent that moved their personal biography forwards; this is a case of interviewees situating action as moving through space, rather than consumption and listening as the foregrounded type of active or important practice. Russell from Adelaide articulates this idea clearly as he moves on from music television:

Interviewer Can you remember what type of early music you listened to?
Russell (Adelaide) Watching *Countdown* or what[ever] records happened to be in the house. Later on, I guess the first time I really started finding my own stuff was probably when I started listening to heavy metal stuff like Metallica and getting into rock stuff like Led Zeppelin and AC/DC, which wasn't really that much of personal choice, I guess it was sort of the standard of the Western Suburbs of Sydney, like you'd listen to when you got to a certain age. That was probably the first start. I think part of that by then I was playing guitar and I just liked being able to learn fancy guitar stuff.

Russell focuses on more active and located music practices as an explanation for his early taste in music. He takes in the social environment of his part of Sydney and the aesthetic tendencies inherited from learning an instrument. For him, early attraction is a story with a distinct setting and action. The same can be said of Ian from Adelaide:

Ian (Adelaide) It's a funny thing, I had friends at that time, I grew up down south which is, I can't really equate it to Brisbane in any way but it's kind of like where all the surfies hang out and it's like down the bottom end of Adelaide city about 40 to 50 kilometres away and a lot of surfies … a lot of skating was going [on] and that was the music at the time, it was like skate punk music, that was it, so it just sort of followed in with friends. That's what was playing at the parties you went to and that's what you were playing when you went around in your friend's car when you're driving around doing Hungry Jacks and Maccas runs and everything. That's what was going, that was the music and that just became part of it and there was no other choice, there was top 40 radio or there was a little bit of hip hop, it hadn't really started yet, and there was dance music but it was … that's what everyone was listening to and just sort of fell into line. That's where my friends were and that's how it started.

Ian's anecdote is entirely about mobility. To him, the musical tastes he developed as a young person didn't just soundtrack the spaces through which he moved; they were cultural products completely embedded in those spaces. As he states, 'there was no other choice' there. His social trajectory is both through new urban and social spaces but is also made through specific music contexts about which he acquires a tacit knowledge. This anecdote lies in contrast to, but speaks to the same spatial/affective significance, as that of Dan from Sydney, who travels through social spaces that reaffirm tastes derived from his family home:

Dan (Sydney) Yeah, for me, there was a thing at primary school and early high school and stuff, and music that most of my friends were into, I wasn't really on board with at all. But yeah, there was all this music that was kind of pretty daggy for a young kid to be into. My dad got me into it. So like from a really, really young age, I was familiar with bands like The Go-Betweens, like – and Nick Cave. A lot of Australian bands, and The Ramones and – you know. I kind of worked out early that there was stuff that kids liked who watched *Video Hits*. And I knew I didn't like that. Like late '90s or whatever. So I guess I kind of early on decided, I've got to find my own music. So yeah. I guess that influenced how I grew up with a music-loving family. That rubbed off somehow.

This final spatial example is telling because it sums up much of the *tone* of how our respondents relayed their memories. There is a sense of unavoidability to a great many of their stories. For those who reached for stories rich in affect, there were physical or emotional settings or characteristics that predisposed them to like particular music once encountered. For those who highlighted the importance of media use such as music television or film, this media was *just there*, unavoidable in its mundane ambience and request for attention. Finally, the interviewees who talked about space and place positioned them as the *natural setting* of their development as social actors. Very quickly, a theme develops: music's centrality to our development. As so often cited in scholarly work on identity and youth, music is one of the key ways by which we define ourselves and within this process, the start of the narrative – and the messy, selective memories of it – are both distant and important, deeply rhetorical (sometimes relayed to respondents by parents or siblings) but also deeply resonant. Some of our respondents told stories set in the almost distant past, occasionally remarking on the selective and curated nature of this:

Patty (Perth) All I remember is Saturday nights listening to that radio programme, and the music. I mean that's where my music [comes from], I honestly can't remember what station it was on. It could've been 2UW, 2UE or 2SM, and I've got a feeling it was 2SM but I don't remember. It's 58 years ago and the brain is an amazing thing. You remember what you want to remember and disregard the rest. The computer's getting full, I reckon.

This question 'What first attracted you to this music?' elicited some of the most strategic and codified answers within our data set. Respondents put a lot of importance on the beginning. It seems that where we start our musical development is considered a significant part of our personal biography.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we analysed responses from a survey group comprising Australian music scene participants, specifically targeting data concerning earliest memories and attraction to music. Our approach to this data was to look for process and theme; we were less interested in the details of the anecdotes provided and more focused on their structure. The question we answered was, 'How do people use their earliest memories to explain scene participation?' The themes that emerged centred around boundaries, transit and space. We mapped out how different household technologies (radio, television, cars) introduced music *into* the domestic sphere. Likewise, we charted the affective pleasures that music wrought on the body, both figuratively and physically, within these spaces. Later in the chapter, we started to see the effects of the body moving beyond the home and family. As our respondents made their first moves into the world, they experienced new music and new sensations of place, and these wiped some pre-existing music tastes away and reinforced others. All of this was recalled by respondents from a removed temporal setting. These were characterizations of 'what happened' that were resolutely past-tense, selective and curated into a somewhat fixed purpose: to answer a question, in an interview, about music scenes. Some of the respondents rambled and some of them spoke directly, but all of them tied the past to specific meanings, drawing them out from a range of remembrances and stories.

In the next chapter, we explore this further, looking into how more contemporary and matured/adult practices find participants moving through various music listening and experiential environments. The tone

here becomes slightly more theoretical, as we examine how in-progress scene participation connects physical and affective plans, and past and present temporalities, into a meaningful presence within people's lives.

Note

1. In 2002, satirist Jon Safran presented a segment of his *Music Jamboree* program (on SBS TV) which highlighted this. He strapped a hand-held video camera to a dog and matched the footage with sound he had hastily assembled on his home computer. The clip subsequently aired.

CHAPTER 5

Scenes, Memory and the Spaces of Music Consumption

A sizeable portion of popular music scholarship has centred around acts of material consumption, such as collecting records, listening practices, fandom and audience participation (see, for example, Cavicchi 1998; Straw 2000). Yet, while the sites of this consumption are often described, and their practical organization and maintenance are explained, much of this work lacks critical consideration of the spatial dynamics involved. Within the growing body of literature on music venues and record stores, to take just two examples, there is little consideration given to the activation of these sites as social spaces. In this chapter and Chap. 6, we take up this oversight as a starting point of our inquiry. Drawing on Michael de Certeau's (1984) work on everyday life and the role of agency in the 'co-production' of cultural meaning, this chapter examines the social tensions and relations accommodated within key sites of music consumption, including venues, points of purchase and the household. During the fieldwork that informs our study, the definitions of these spaces were kept relatively open-ended, and we have compiled a broad set of recollections about a vast array of performance and listening sites. Venues include licensed businesses and alternative performance spaces (which we refer to as informal or DIY venues). Points of purchase include record stores as well as a range of alternative spaces of music acquisition that draw on virtual transfer. Finally, conceptualizations of the 'household' map over and contrast with much of this consumption; its role as both the site of reflective listening and as an avatar of ordinary life is particularly influential and nuanced.

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_5

By considering this broad spectrum of music consumption from new angles, this chapter proves that a great deal can be drawn from monitoring the ways in which cultural value is ascribed and acted upon in a broad-ranging array of music spaces. Such an approach, we argue, is also important in helping us to recast the concept of music scene as something that spans both the public and private spheres of music consumption. In this context, we investigate and highlight the importance of the more affective and intangible dimensions of scene association in assessing the significance of music scenes as sites of musical life.

Scenes, Space and Emotional Geography

Chapter 3 noted how the more recent focus on emotional geography as a concept for understanding spatial attachment and empowerment in everyday life can also serve as an important lens for the further development of scene as a conceptual framework in the study of popular music. In particular, it was observed that the invocation of emotional geography allows for a more nuanced understanding of individual and collective attachments to space and place that both broadens the conceptual palate for applying scene as a means to explore the musicalized territories of everyday life and enables consideration of both the tangible and, perhaps more importantly, more intangible qualities of those territories. It is undoubtedly the case that much of the existing literature on the concept of scene has tended to view music scenes as fully formed entities that are framed primarily through clusters of production, performance and consumption. Surprisingly, within this body of work there has been little focus on the significance of music venues, either as spatially important nodes for (trans) local music consumption or as loci for the inscription of memory and emotion as a means of framing representations of popular music history and heritage in particular local spaces (for a notable exception here, see Smyly 2008). At the same time, the importance of other – that is, non-venue – spaces for the acquisition and articulation of a sense of scene membership has been almost completely overlooked. In beginning to reexamine and reevaluate the parameters of scene and scene membership, it is important to bear in mind Peterson and Bennett's (2004) assertion that music scenes simultaneously exist in local, trans-local and virtual states. That is to say, any identifiable music scene will invariably encapsulate distinctly local (and typically physical) dimensions, while at the same time being linked to other local scenes through trans-local flows and being overlaid with virtual

connections that bond those individuals situated in local scenes who are separated from each other by physical space (see, for example, Hodkinson 2004b; Kahn-Harris 2004). In attempting to further broaden the conceptual parameters of this analytical model, Bennett (2013, p. 60) has more recently observed that membership of a music scene will also often encapsulate what he refers to as an 'affective' dimension:

> Arguably, a new category, 'affective scene', needs to be added to Peterson and Bennett's existing three-tier model of scenes … Such a scene may express itself through more introspective gestures, such as the retention of a generational mindset whose most physical manifestation comes through the consumption of particular media, for example retro music magazines such as *Mojo* and *Classic Rock*, or perhaps simply through listening to music in the private sphere of one's home … As with Anderson's (1983) 'imagined communities' of newspaper readers in particular national settings, affective scenes are underpinned by a knowingness on the part of isolated individuals that many others are listening to the same music, reading the same music literature, watching the same music-related films and documentaries and – above all – making a similar sort of sense out of what they are hearing, reading and watching, based upon their shared generational memories and cultural experience of that music.

As this observation suggests, knowingness of and involvement in a particular music scene can involve a range of investments. While some of the more typically recognized investments may be highly visible and tangible – obvious examples here being playing in a local band and/or attending gigs on a regular basis – in other instances, scene attachment and involvement may involve more intangible and introspective processes that extend across a range of spaces – both public and private – and may also be characterized by a trans-temporal quality.

A useful frame of reference for reconceptualizing scenes in a way that more fully embraces such affective qualities is the work of de Certeau (1984), who argues that through their spatialized practices of consumption, individuals 'trace "indeterminate trajectories" that are apparently meaningless, since they do not cohere with the constructed, written and prefabricated space through which they move' (p. 34). Establishing important parameters of what would subsequently inform a wholesale 'cultural turn' in social and cultural theory (see also Chap. 3), de Certeau is here recasting individuals as agents active in the co-production of their own lifeworlds, a practice that is inextricably linked to the spaces and places

individuals inhabit and traverse in their everyday lives. This observation by de Certeau is of critical importance to the link between music consumption, memory and the emotional inscription of space that we wish to posit here. In this sense, de Certeau's concept of the 'user' is of particular significance in enabling us to see how the everyday co-production of musical meaning comprises forms of affective assemblage that extend across and cluster together various public and private spaces. For de Certeau, space is crucial to our understanding of the co-production of meaning in everyday life, for it is through the inscription of space that individuals are able to situate their acts of creative appropriation and render them meaningful.

As noted earlier in this chapter, while some of the existing work on music scenes has begun to consider the importance of scene as a place where music takes on particular forms of local, trans-local and virtual significance (see, for example, Bennett and Peterson 2004; Cohen 1991; Shank 1994), such work has largely failed to consider in any significant way the fuller spectrum of spatial inscription through which individuals creatively manage their sense of connectedness to music and music scenes. A useful means for exploring these dimensions of music scene association, and the more emotional, affective and intangible forms of attachment that they often involve, is a consideration of the significance of the body as a carrier of 'scene attachment' as it moves through different spaces, investing the body with aesthetic meaning as it moves.

Driver and Bennett's (2015) work on the local hard-core music scene on Australia's Gold Coast offers some pertinent insights in this respect. They observe that, while existing theoretical and empirical models of music scenes have tended to conceptualize these as being articulated through a series of embedded and embodied practices coexisting in tandem with specifically demarcated spaces such as the club or the venue, there is a strong case for recognizing how the agentic qualities of bodies create opportunities for the carry-over of scene practice and awareness in other, more mundane public and private spaces (see also Kahn-Harris 2007). This approach aligns well with the aforementioned reference to the affective dimension of music scenes. Through weaving a closer connection between scenes, affectivity and the body, a fuller consideration of the range of ways – both tangible and intangible – by which individuals construct and articulate notions of scene become more readily accessible and observable.

It was clear from the evidence gathered from the participants in our study that such other ways of understanding scene awareness and involvement exist. Not only were their accounts of involvement in music scenes

highly nuanced, deeply introspective and, at times, highly biographical, but the level of emotional and affective detail offered in the personal accounts of participants demonstrated a high degree of embodied connection with music that transcended the more conventional physical – and increasingly virtual – spaces through which contemporary renderings of music scene involvement are typically explored and articulated in academic work. The discourses of involvement with music spanned a wide range of both individual and collective experiences. These ranged from reading about particular popular music artists to watching music-related films and documentaries. Accessing music and music-related information and artefacts online was also indicated as a common practice among many respondents, in addition to more collectively pursued practices such as attending gigs and festivals.

The simultaneously local and trans-local dimensions of such practice were also evident in the ways in which our respondents described their practices of music consumption. A particularly interesting example of this was the way in which accounts of particular genres of music and or music icons with a trans-local or global presence were infused by many of our participants with personal memories – for example, of family life, school and coming of age, and thus read onto highly localized emotional geographies. This aligns with the argument raised in Chap. 3 in relation to the conceptual limitations of the current work on cultural memory and its lack of sensitivity to the influence of the local on how collective cultural memory is fashioned in respect to the cultural objects, images and texts of contemporary everyday life.

The importance of the local as an interlocutor of the felt connection between musical taste, space place and belonging was also strongly reflected in some participants' stories of relocation – from rural to urban spaces or from locations overseas – and the temporal sensations of disconnect and dislocation that such upheavals caused as the individuals concerned sought to reassess and/or reconstruct their musicalized lifeworlds and the modes of belonging that investment in music afforded them. Memories of seeing major touring acts, spanning a range of different genres from rock through to punk, were also strongly articulated through an emotionally laced sense of locality.

Very often, the importance of the local with respect to its providing a space for the performance and consumption of live music is narrated as largely important in terms of local scenes supporting local bands with a more colloquial and 'organic' connection with locality (see, for example,

Cohen 1991; Bennett 1997). A strong indication from our data, however, is that in traversing local touring circuits, artists and bands with trans-local and global followings also become interwoven into tapestries of locally articulated cultural memory; the framings through which accounts of 'being there' are typically related to accounts of the size, feel and even smell of local venues, the antics of local audiences, and so on. Within such accounts, the presence and contribution of local venues, as well as other institutions such as local radio stations, record shops and the like, are collectively acknowledged as important nodal points through which locally situated music fans and their specific scenes connect with other spaces and places to form larger, trans-local and global clusters of music production, performance and consumption.

'I Remember When': The Incredible Lightness of Scene

Maryann (Brisbane) In the '80s you could be a 14-year-old girl and go to the Roxy every Saturday and Friday night, and they would let you in, and you could drink like a fish … The '90s were great [too] … I feel sorry for people that miss[ed] the early '90s in Brisbane, live music-wise. It was fantastic!

Earlier in this chapter, we noted how many studies of music scenes tend to view them as relatively stable entities or, at best, present an 'in-the-moment snapshot' of a scene that considers only how those associated with the scene understand and respond to it in the present tense. Another arguably restrictive dimension of current work on music scenes is that it tends to interpret scenes as universally genre specific – or at least reasonably so. A major part of this study involves starting to look at music scenes in a slightly looser context – particularly in peripheral cities (such as several of those included in our work), where a smaller population density results in a smaller infrastructure for live music and thus a more fluid notion of scene. A second significant point of departure for this study is its conceptualization of scenes as dynamic forms that ebb and wane subject to a variety of local factors, including periodic changes in local cultural policy around the provision of live music and the concomitant availability of space for the performance and consumption of live music.

With respect to these circumstances, the comments at the start of this section, from Maryann, a woman from Brisbane now in her mid-forties,

are telling. In one clear sense, the apparent mourning of a bygone era of live music-making in the city reflects a series of policy changes in the city (Flew 2008) that led to the modelling of a 'cultural quarter' not dissimilar to those previously proposed and developed in cities across other parts of the world (see, for example, Brown et al. 2000). Indeed, the torrid nature of architectural churn in Brisbane has also contributed to dramatic shifts in the fortunes of live music in Australia's third largest city. Landmark venues such as Cloudland and Festival Hall have been demolished to make way for urban redevelopment despite their historic importance. Between them, these venues hosted global popular music icons such as Buddy Holly, The Beatles and Led Zeppelin (see Bennett and Rogers 2014).

These and other 'lost' music venues are frequently recalled by live music fans in Brisbane when asked about their memories of the city's musical past. Significantly, however, when recalling local music venues and their relevance for local scenes from the perspective of memory, a form of emotional attachment other than mere nostalgia appears to inform the accounts of participants. Through memory recall in this way, individuals both assert their own emotional geographies over the visible contours of urban space and simultaneously use such geographies as a means of articulating their sense of being centred subjects with agency to weave themselves into intangible histories of those spaces and places they regard as 'home'. This is clearly illustrated in the following account offered by John, a Brisbane-born man now in his late-thirties and director of a local arts organization:

John (Brisbane) [Inner-city nightclub] Metropolis … I came in on the tail end of that, I guess, so it was closing pretty much when I was finishing school, or had just closed. I remember seeing [or] hearing bands there, when I walked through, and I'd see people queuing up for it and whatever, but the places that I used to go [to] were like, you know, it was that period of, like, [club] Babylon early on, and there was [club] Crash and Burn, and the Chelsea and the Red Room before that, um, the Zoo [all located in Fortitude Valley] – I remember going to the Zoo and getting dinner before they had their licence, um, and there was another venue which is now where [names a department store] is [and] that building was an empty building upstairs, and that was actually I think the first gig that I ever went to, which was to see a kind of shoegazey band, and I must have been really kind of quite passionate about it – I was really impressed at the time, I remember that, because a guy gave me the only copy of a compilation CD that he had – 'Oh take this home and listen to it, man.'

In John's account, a rich memoryscape is revealed, one that offers an insight into how not merely the present but also the past can be used by individuals to articulate their sense of place as understood through emotional investment in music and a series of connections to musicalized spaces. In this sense, the presence of a scene as something that transcends the tangible qualities of space and place in the here and now is clearly demonstrated. Rather, the perception of scene is also trans-temporally inscribed in local cultural memory as a more intangible discourse, incorporating moments from the past that are corporally retained by individuals and sporadically transposed onto the urban landscape.

In her seminal work on music and everyday life, DeNora (2000) suggests that through using their personal memories of music to forge links between the past and the present, individuals practise and articulate what she describes as a 'technology of the self' (see also Chap. 3). In adopting DeNora's argument, we would suggest here that the interaction between music and memory recall, in addition to its suggested capacity for the reproduction of the self over time, also extends to the socio-spatial, connecting the past and present in ways that serve to demarcate the perceived local identity of a place as emotionally inscribed with details and events from the past, and thus as inseparable from this. Simon's account of the shifting landscape of local music venues in Adelaide provides an animated example of this type of emotional mapping, through which a city's musical past is brought to life via a living knowledge shared by members of a given local scene but intangible for most of the time and for most people not directly associated with the scene in question:

Simon (Adelaide) Back in those kind of punky days, [local bands] would just get gigs wherever they could. It would be like down at the Cremorne Hotel on Unley Road. You know, you'd catch the bus out there because nobody had a car, so you'd catch the bus down there and there'd be five or six bands playing, and … but for bigger acts it was always places like the Bridgeway Hotel and … what was the name of that other thing? It was called Sweethearts for a while … The Tivoli Hotel was always a great place to see bands. But like all cities, those venues come and go, and the Tivoli's got a hotel on top of it now and where the bands used to play it's just like a coffee shop/loungey type of place. And places like the Cremorne just got gentrified and now they have buffet lunches and salad bars and pokies. And big bands have always played at places like the Exeter, the Austral, but even that's getting harder because the more people move into the city for inner-city living, it turns out those people don't actually want any inner-

city noise, so they're constantly complaining about it to councils to try and get all these noise restrictions, like noise levels lowered or just having licences cancelled. And for big bands, well the Arkaba Hotel was a huge place to see bands, especially [during the] late '70s and early '80s, it was the Arkaba top room, and I saw The Cure in there and Midnight Oil, the first time they came to Adelaide, and I saw Rocksteady Crew there.

As Simon's recollections demonstrate, the recalling of a city's musical past in this way is not merely done in reference to local music. Rather, it is often the case that accounts of international and national touring acts will be included in such moments of recall. Significantly, through reference to the appearance of such acts in local venues, they can also be woven into potent narratives of local city spaces as nodes of musical vibrancy; despite the ebb and flow of opportunities and infrastructure for music consumption, these continue to play an important role in defining the identity of a space.

An interesting example of this is seen in the celebrated appearance of English punk rock band the Sex Pistols at the Lesser Free Trade Hall in Manchester on 4 June 1976. This single performance acquired mythical status as a growing number of people who would later rise to fame as part of Britain's punk and post-punk music scenes claimed to have been among the audience that evening (Albiez 2006). As our research revealed, similar local mythologies have grown up around the appearance of other iconic performers and performances at venues around Australia. As with the case of the Sex Pistols appearance at the Lesser Free Trade Hall, whether or not the narratives that have unfolded around a particular performance are actually true, their currency in terms of perpetuating a historical identity for a venue and its place within the locally inscribed emotional geography of scene is pivotal.

The student bar at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra is linked to one such mythical narrative that affords the venue a level of notoriety in the city's live music scene. Locally referred to as the 'ANU Bar', the venue regularly featured a range of national and international touring artists throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, among them Nirvana, a band who had just achieved major international success at the time of its appearance at the ANU Bar on 5 February 1992. During the course of the evening on which Nirvana performed, windows at the venue were broken and other instances of minor damage occurred. Specific details of what actually happened on the evening have been obscured with

the passage of time, but this has merely added to the mythical currency of Nirvana's performance and its significance in assuring the iconic presence of the ANU Bar in the local cultural landscape:

Albert (Canberra) Apparently they'd organized a tour before their single ['Smells Like Teen Spirit'] got really big or their album [*Nevermind*] got really big and I actually heard a story about that from a mate who knows the bouncer that was running things at the time and they said that Nirvana actually egged the crowd on. I don't know if it's true, though. I don't know if it's true, but he told me this story that because ANU refused to pay them any more money, even though they'd got really big and sold the show out and stuff and they were trying to renegotiate and so according to their contract, they only played the minimum amount of time and riled up the crowd. I don't know. But didn't all the pushing the glass in happen before they played?

The agency of individuals to write narratives of scene into local urban landscapes and to further mobilize these through discourses of emotional geography have been afforded further gravitas through the increasing incidence of what Bennett and Rogers (2016b) term 'unofficial' or DIY live music venues. Typically situated away from city centre spaces and the official night-time economy, this kind of music venue tends to serve more niche audiences and is often temporal in nature. Nevertheless, such venues play a highly important part in connecting people with music, and giving them an ongoing sense of belonging to particular scenes and the local spaces around which such scenes revolve. The role of these spaces as music production hubs will be explored in the next chapter, but the emotional currency of unofficial and DIY venues seems to have a particular resonance with local music audiences, especially those that identify with more alternative and underground styles of music.

On Australia's Gold Coast, for example, a series of unofficial and temporal venues have sporadically provided an important space for the region's hard-core and metal scenes, styles of music for which there is little provision in the official local night-time economy (Bennett and Green 2015). Similarly in Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, the DIY culture of punk and hard-core became a driver for local scene members to create their own DIY space for recording, rehearsal and performance within the walls of a disused church. For a period of ten years, between 2002 and 2012, The Church, as the venue was aptly named, became an iconic beacon for followers of punk, hard-core and other alternative music styles in

Adelaide. In addition to its relevance as a performance and creative space, The Church also served as a day-to-day residence and shelter for various members of Adelaide's alternative and underground music scenes. As Ian, one of our research participants and someone closely involved with the community that made The Church its home, recalled when asked about the origins of venue:

Ian (Adelaide) [They] found this bargain basement old shell of a church and they moved in and got some old timber and some pine and then whatever wood they could find and that sort of stuff and built three bedrooms, a darkroom, an office and … a nice recording booth and also a rehearsal space as well.

The resulting venue proved to be a highly rich and inspirational place for those who lived there or frequented it, one marked by the specific spatial dynamics of a room, much of which was recognized, promoted and self-reflexively understood by the people who populated the space. As such, The Church, and the other venues like it in Australia,[1] became a key site for the live performance of music – not just because of the social transit through the room, but because this transit was often conveniently and enthusiastically recorded and archived for future reference. In his poignant introduction to *Death of The Church* (McGuiness 2012), a special film made to document the closure of the venue when the owners elected to redevelop the building, the narrator Benjamin Cooper provides the following account set over a montage of photographs taken inside The Church during its ten-year history:

Narration The old church on Young St in Parkside came into our care way back in 2002. An abandoned empty shell. Early disciples constructed bedrooms, a rehearsal space and recording booths out of salvaged and scavenged materials. We made the place our own. Over the next 10 years, over 30 people called The Church their home. Whenever somebody moved out, there was always someone else keen and ready to move in. There were always bands rehearsing, recording or loading out for a show. Bands came and bands went but through all of it, the same core people stayed stuck to the dirty old floorboards. This film was made on the last day we called The Church our home. The owners had finally decided to convert it into apartments. Each band played with conviction and sincerity, knowing it would be their last performance within its walls. We called in the help of friends with cameras and recording equipment and all of these wonderful

people generously donated their time and expertise. They all gave a day to help commemorate the good times we had and everything we achieved within these great stone walls.

In the context of Adelaide, The Church was and continues to be doubly articulated within the emotional geography of the local music scene. On the one hand, it speaks to a vernacular discourse through which Adelaide is distinguished from other Australian cities (as the 'City of Churches'). On the other hand, it defines a 'special' space among a discrete group of individuals, whose collective emotional investment in The Church works in significant ways to articulate their sense of community and belonging. In contemporary urban contexts where competing narratives of locality (Bennett 2000) are a normalized aspect of everyday life, spaces such as The Church act as critical nodes in the articulation of aesthetic and lifestyle diversity. Moreover, even as The Church closed its doors to those who had made it their home for a number of years, the more intangible qualities of community and distinctiveness that it had helped to foster among those associated with it remained an aspect of the cultural memoryscape associated with the local hard-core punk scene and associated music scenes.

Making a Scene in the Record Shop

It is not only though an exploration of music venues – formal or informal, present or past – that the spatial characteristics of scenes and their importance within emotional geographies of place become evident. As noted earlier in this chapter, other spaces and places – both public and private – also serve as nodal points for the collective inscription of space as contributing to the musical life of a specific place and its trans-local connections with other, similar communities of musical taste. Within this matrix of musically inscribed spaces, the record shop is a significant, if largely underacknowledged, contributor to both tangible and intangible notions of scene and scene belonging. Frith (1988) famously notes that record shops, far from being merely points of music purchase, provide places for people who are invested in music to 'hang out', get to know each other and form bonds that extend into other spaces of musicalized activity. As Frith also observes, local music scenes benefit from record shops, both as outlets for the selling of recordings made by local bands (the sale of CDs, vinyl and cassettes produced by local artists continuing to have importance even as the internet offers alternative means for the dissemination of such music) and from the formation of local bands via

a store's customer base. A number of bands have formed through the chance meetings of musicians in record shops, while 'musicians wanted' poster boards are a much-patronized feature of many smaller, independent retailers. Importantly, even as an increasing amount of recorded music is purchased online, the function of these smaller, independent record shops has remained pertinent. Indeed, their continued presence in urban centres when other larger chain record shops are often seen to be struggling has acted to enhance and accentuate their ambience as nodal points for musical life across the world. Historically, too, the presence of the local, independent record store is often depicted as critically contributing to the lifeblood of music scenes with musical tastes that are peripheral to those catered for by the more mainstream, high-street record shop outlets.

The importance of local music stores in Australia is reflected in our interview data. John from Brisbane recalls his memories of trawling independent record shops and a local record market in the city in search of bargains and rarities in the years before such items became more easily retrievable on the internet:

John (Brisbane) It was very difficult to access music. I mean, you'd be in the same boat – you know, you used to have to go to Kent Records basically to get stuff, or go to Rocking Horse [Records] and buy second-hand [cassette] tapes. I mean I remember buying Led Zeppelin records for three dollars, a New York Dolls tape, [a] live tape I've never seen on CD that I still own, um, that I bought at the Record Market when it was above the video games arcade, and it was picking up stuff like that where you thought, 'wow, okay', these kind of like chance finds.

Such memories form an important part of the local life of music scenes, with the micro-historical narratives to which they give rise providing important points of common affective identification. In July 2011, Rocking Horse Records – by then one of the few remaining independent record shops in Brisbane – was threatened with closure due to decreasing sales triggered by the increasing availability of cheap music via the internet. Financial support for the continued operation of this iconic local record shop, which went on to celebrate its 40th anniversary in 2015, was secured from an anonymous benefactor. Commenting on the shop's threatened closure, owner of the business Warwick Vere observed at the time in an interview for local Brisbane newspaper the *Courier-Mail* that 'There was a lot of wailing and gnashing of teeth when we were about to close by people we hadn't seen in ages' (Swanwick 2011). Notwithstanding the obvi-

ous issues that such lack of direct patronage creates for small independent record shops and similar forms of business, Vere's comment is nevertheless interesting in a way that demonstrates how local music fans – even those who do not visit [or were not at the time visiting] the store – nevertheless inscribe it with significant memory-value as a central aspect of Brisbane's local popular music history, and as something that has contributed in no small way to the ongoing alternative and DIY music scenes in the city.

Indeed, as with alternative and DIY music venues, small independent record shops have often served as a part of the way by which particular music scenes have been able to carve out space for themselves in cities – and particularly in more peripheral cities, where the musical climate has often appeared to be more conservative. Moreover, even as such record shops come and go, their perceived contributions to the musical and cultural life of particular scenes becomes ingrained in the collective cultural memory and indelibly woven into the emotional geography of place. The following account from Edward, a middle-aged professional in higher education in Perth, is telling in this respect:

Edward (Perth) By the time I hit mid-teens, my [musical] taste had developed along in directions where the posers weren't there. You know, you had to go hunting for the music in various [record] shops around here. So accessing them became, in a sense, quite clique. Because only a select group knew where to go to buy particular kinds of music. So it did become, in a sense, sort of clique to the scene, carved up by taste. Particularly if your tastes were on the fringe a bit, were a bit more specialized … friends of mine opened a record shop which was just behind where we're sitting [at a café on Murray Street in the city centre]. And they were the first people in Perth to import records, or find other avenues besides the Australian distributors who didn't bring very much in because of the size of the market. They went on to be a very successful business. But built on that idea of getting access to music that was more than just what EMI or CBS would be bringing into the country here, which has always been safe.

As the only major city in Western Australia, Perth suffered from a fair degree of isolation for a number of years. With an absence of national and international music acts coming to Perth, the city developed a series of strong and distinctly local scenes (Stratton 2008; see also Chap. 8). However, as Edward's observations indicate, among those with more specialist and niche tastes in music, opportunities to acquire records and feel a sense of connection with broader, trans-local audiences for these

musics was decidedly limited. Even as Perth has overcome the constraints of its geographical distance and indeed taken on a degree of iconic ambience, as in the case of other remote cities with a creative scene such as Reykjavik (see Prior 2015), particular generational memories of Perth as a musical city on the global periphery remain deeply embedded in the discourse of local music production, performance and consumption (Bennett 2014). In the case of this and other remote and peripheral cities, the common focus is typically upon how production, performance and consumption are centred around local music, typically in a live context. As with other parts of this chapter, however, it is important to note that the articulation of scene and collective scene identities relies not merely on live music spaces but on broader infrastructures of scene, both hard and soft (Stahl 2004), where instances of scene activity can unfold. Through their inscription of such a multitude of diverse sites and spaces with meanings and significance derived through collectively endorsed lifestyle choices and aesthetic preferences, members of local music scenes are more fully able to project a cohesive, dynamic and emotionally embedded sense of scene onto the physical contours of urban settings.

'Together Alone': Scenes, Memory and Private Space

Chris (Tasmania) I guess, to me, CDs are the most convenient, because I do a lot of radio shows and DJ live, I've got a CD player in my car, and my lounge room, and my computer and my kitchen, … But I love playing vinyl, I love listening to it and I love being able to say 'alright I'm gonna listen to some records' and getting a few records together, turning the sides over and stuff … But then I buy cassettes for … well my old car only had a cassette player, so I had to listen to cassettes. Cassettes in the bathroom. There's particular places around the house, depending on what I'm doing, where different formats work better.

A key point of contention throughout this study is that the existing scenes literature, although significant in terms of its contributions to the reconceptualization of the connections between musical taste, sociality and place, has left a number of important stones unturned in respect of the myriad ways in which individuals define scenes and their relationship to them. The notion of affect, as we have argued, is pivotal in terms of coming to grips with the broader range of contexts through which scene is experienced and articu-

lated as a locus for collective musical activity in everyday life. Thus, while all music scene activity is arguably characterized by affective qualities at some level, the broader application of affectivity in scenes research opens up new ways of conceptualizing scene-writing (Bennett 2002) and scene association as something that displays both tangible and intangible qualities staged around spaces that are both public and private.

The act of music consumption in the private sphere of the home has often taken a back seat to the public spaces of music consumption (for exceptions, see Hayes 2006; Hennion 2007; Nowak and Bennett 2014). However, as early as the mid-1970s, McRobbie and Garber (1976), in their study of female teenybopper culture, noted the importance of private space to the collective investment in music and the formation of musical taste. In the context of their specific study, McRobbie and Garber argue that such a reliance on private space was due to parental strictures around the socializing practices of young girls, with the consequence that much of their collective engagement with popular music and associated forms of popular culture was restricted to the domestic sphere of the family home.

While offering an important contribution in and of itself to the gendered nature of collective investment in popular music and associated forms of popular culture, this study failed to acknowledge the important point that many more instances of music consumption – both individual and collective – occur in private spaces, thus engendering forms of musical participation that are more 'hidden' and in many cases intangible than those that characterize, for example, the club or live music venue. Since the advent of the mass availability of recorded music, house parties and smaller gatherings in bedrooms, kitchens and living rooms have been an important medium through which individuals have collectively engaged with popular music, and through which it has become inscribed within cultural memory. In the previous chapter, with this in mind, we outlined various scenarios and spaces that pre-dated more tangible scene participation.

Similar glimpses of such collective 'private' instances of music consumption are seen, for example, in Willis's (1978) account of hippies' preference for progressive rock albums and Stith Bennett's (1980) study of young bands huddling around record players in order to listen to the various instrument parts and create their own cover versions of recorded music on vinyl albums and singles (or 45s). In each of these cases, the links between private listening and broader scenes of music production, performance and consumption are relatively easy to see.

The prevalence and importance of music listening in private spaces has become more apparent in recent years, due to the increasing availability of

music on various digital platforms (see, for example, Beer 2008; Nowak 2015). However, while digital innovations such as iTunes, Spotify and Apple TV intensify the opportunities for accessing music in the private sphere, the success and appeal of such digital innovations undoubtedly rests on an established vernacular understanding among music fans of their consumption practices as simultaneously public and private practices.

As discussed previously in this chapter, Bennett's (2013) concept of 'affective scenes' offers new ways of mapping the connections between people's private and public experiences of music consumption. Bennett suggests that this may have particular resonance for older or 'ageing' music fans, for whom physical involvement in music scenes has often been replaced or, at least to some extent, supplemented by other activities such as watching television documentaries and listening to radio features about music or reading musician biographies. Indeed, through engaging in such forms of music consumption, individuals often acquire deeper forms of knowledge about particular genres of music and/or specific music scenes in which they have been involved for many years, and thus forge an even richer sense of engagement with these. This is evident in the following account from Sarah, a punk fan from Perth in her late forties:

Sarah (Perth) I listen to Radio National and they've been doing … a history of punk. I've learnt information about the genre that I may not have appreciated at the time just as I was experiencing it but to hear somebody with a sort of bird's eye view say, 'You know it's DIY music, it was deliberately done this way and in a fairly low tech way involving, not specialists, just anyone, and it was done in people's garages and the music was raw and fast and the sort of beat that they used.' I didn't have that technical knowledge when I was 18, and understanding of music. I just loved the music for what it was and the people that I was hearing it with, but to hear a more analytical appraisal, or appreciation of it is quite helpful.

As noted in Chap. 3, the increasing production of what could be termed heritage media in relation to popular music is a clear indication of the emerging demand for retrospective and historical material from fans of various popular music genres whose interest and passion for the music they first heard and appropriated in their teens and early twenties continues, and also continues to play a critical role in defining them as individuals. Moreover, while such media often portray popular music history and heritage from the perspective of 'officially' recognized examples,

the existence of local scenes for many genres of music serves to create a link between the local and the global and thus in the way that individuals affectively connect with scenes and articulate their scene identity.

As several of the accounts from research participants thus far presented in this chapter reveal, while they often recall the experience of seeing national and international touring bands, this experience is typically framed within a local context – that is, in a local venue, with the band or artist playing in front of a local audience and often supported by a local band or bands. With the passage of time, such experiences have become interwoven into elaborate memoryscapes supported by the consumption of current heritage media artefacts – such as books and magazines and documentaries – via which these fans relive their experience of and affectively reconnect with those physical spaces and places where they saw their music icons perform live. Through this process, such fans affectively link memory with historical narrative; the affect drawn from consumption is neither entirely the domain of subjective memory or mediated process but a hybrid of the two. This again functions as a means of linking the more private, affective experiences of music consumption – including popular music heritage media – with the local in that, for many listeners, the frames of reference on which they draw in such moments of recall are inextricably bound up with their experiences of local venues, festivals, and so on.

Conversely, the practice of music consumption in private space can also serve as an important point of entry into a physical music scene. Indeed, as many of the accounts offered in Chap. 4 reveal, when asked to describe the origins of their musical taste, for many participants this invariably linked back to the family home, to watching music shows on television, listening to music on the radio or on the cassette player in the family car, or sharing music with friends. In terms of describing the evolution of their connection to local music scenes, such forms of music consumption were also frequently referenced as important staging blocks. Thus, as Mac, a man in his early thirties born on the New South Wales Central Coast, recalled in describing his introduction to bands in the Sydney indie-rock music scene:

Mac (Central Coast) Being in a kind of suburban area, like heavy metal was really big. But also kind of around the age of 16, 17, I guess everyone was listening to kind of local indie bands from Sydney … there used to be this show on TV called *Live and Sweaty* … It was like this sports-based kind of humour, variety and panel show hosted by Andrew Denton late on Friday nights on the ABC and they would always have local bands on

and it was just before *rage* [a popular Australian music channel] and so I was getting into stuff like The Clouds and the Falling Joys and that kind of thing … Yeah the Clouds were probably my favourite band for about five years until they split up. I thought they were amazing and the fact that they were kind of like my favourite band in the world and the fact that I could see them regularly for $10 was really great.

The role of television in promoting national and internally profiled popular music artists is reasonably well acknowledged in the popular music literature (see, for example, Inglis 2010; Kaplan 1987; Shumway 1992). Less well examined and understood, though, is the extent to which television can also provide an important medium for the promotion of lesser-known bands from more local music scenes. Indeed, early promotion of artists on local television, and indeed on local radio, can be an important stepping stone for these artists to gain more national and international exposure while still retaining a presence in the local scene. Pertinent examples of this are seen in the case of mid-1980s band The Housemartins, which maintained a base in Hull, the city where the band members had first met and performed, and Brisbane indie band The Go-Betweens.

Our investigations into the connection between the private and public spheres of music consumption also revealed interesting trans-local and trans-temporal resonances in the ways that participants described their experiences. This was often particularly pronounced in the case of those who had migrated to Australia at a young age. For these people, this transition was critically inscribed through their musical memories. The following account from Julie, now in her forties, who migrated from the south of England to Australia during the early 1970s, is telling in this respect. Growing up in the British teenybopper world described by McRobbie and Garber (1976), Julie experienced a considerable level of cultural dislocation when she was removed from that familiar environment and forced to adopt to a new socio-cultural setting largely devoid of the images, objects and texts through which her British teenybopper identity had been fashioned:

Julie (Perth) I mean, being obsessed with The Osmonds as I was, they weren't really so popular [in Australia] as they were in the UK, and so arriving here and finding that a lot of that music was quite different. It was really quite a strong sense of separation and having been deprived of something that you just kind of assumed at age nine … would just be

everywhere in life, and it wasn't, and I really did feel that sense of separation quite keenly from a thing that I had always associated [with]. It had always been very important to me, and it was no longer available, and the magazines would take two or three months to arrive, so by the time you got them in the shops, everything was out of date. You'd be reading, and looking through for the latest single that you hadn't heard yet, and so it just kind of compounded that sense of disconnection at that age, I think.

Later in the interview, Julie recalled the experience of going to a Donny Osmond concert in Perth around 2010: 'I was in a room with a bunch of women, grandmothers and beyond, and my age and there was just a shared understanding amongst all of us and we were all from England. There were no Australians in the audience.'

The extent to which individuals use music – including their more private and personal experiences of music consumption – in this way as a means of recalling their emotional and temporally inscribed attachment to particular spaces and places is again illustrated in the case of Felix, a Scottish-born man who, at the time of the interview, was in his fifties. Felix initially came over to Australia at the age of ten with his parents, returning on a more permanent footing at 16 years of age. During the interview, Felix recalled how the West Coast-influenced rock of Australian bands such as the Angels that he had encountered upon arriving in Australia was something he had not been exposed to in Glasgow, the city of his birth, with the result that he initially found this style of music quite alien. While Felix ultimately grew to like such music, he also retained strong links to the more homegrown sounds of his youth, notably the music of the Sensational Alex Harvey Band (SAHB), a band that achieved cult stardom during the early 1970s through a combination of its theatrical stage performances and often controversial lyrics. As Felix explained:

Felix (Canberra) Hardly anyone has ever heard of the Sensational Alex Harvey Band but we used to tattoo them in ink across our knuckles 'SAHB'. I mean they were gods. Alex Harvey was God. In [one] of their albums he had this song called 'Vambo' and Vambo was some sort of superman's cat and all over the walls at school everyone would [write Vambo] and all over our desks everyone would put in graffiti 'Vambo rules, okay'.[2] Nowhere else in the world would they have Vambo, so that kind of strange, bluesy, heavy metal music was … I would never have known anything about it or been interested in it, if I hadn't been brought up in Glasgow.

As with a number of other British rock bands of the early to mid-1970s, SAHB's lack of success in finding a significant audience beyond Britain and parts of Europe proved problematic, leading to the band's eventual break-up in 1978. Harvey then went on to pursue a solo career until his untimely death in 1982. SAHB's cult aura continued to grow, however, with frequent archive performances re-shown on classic rock documentaries and compilation editions of the former BBC2 late night rock show *The Old Grey Whistle Test*. This contributed to the sustained fascination with the band among fans, for whom SAHB has assumed central importance in their cultural memory of 1970s British rock. This holds true even as some of the band's original fan base, such as Felix, now find themselves in geographically dispersed settings far removed from the spaces and places where their interest in SAHB and other British rock bands of the early 1970s was first kindled. Thus, as Felix recalls in an account of a more recent trip back to the UK and attending a concert by a reformed SAHB in a venue owned by Joe Elliot, lead vocalist of Sheffield heavy rock band Def Leppard and himself a fan of many 1970s British rock bands:

Felix (Canberra) I saw the Sensational Alex Harvey Band without Alex and that was really fascinating to actually see that everyone was my age or older but it was fascinating to see an entire room of people from Yorkshire who were into the Sensational Alex Harvey Band. It was great, and I thought just Scots would be there but there was all this obscure sort of group … the [venue] was actually owned by the, I can't remember his name, the lead singer of Def Leppard [Joe Elliot] and he came up and sang some Alex Harvey songs as well so it was a great evening, you know, there was just this sort of communion, this sort of imagined community of Alex Harvey fans, so I really enjoyed it. That is the great thing about going to [see] bands like … that, where there are people my age there because there is just this imagined community [and] quite clearly these bands have been a big influence in different ways to all of our lives and none of us would have known that at the time.

Although references to attending such one-off special performances and 'nostalgia' tours were common among our interview cohort, invariably such accounts were situated in a wider discussion of how the increasing availability of heritage media products in addition to the archiving qualities of YouTube and other digital platforms serves to enhance ongoing connections to particular genres, artists and generational eras of music consumption (see also Chap. 7). The following observation from Simon,

a respondent from Adelaide, underscores the pivotal importance of such heritage media in engaging fans in the histories of the music genres and related scenes with which they have established firm, and in some cases long-term, aesthetic bonds:

Simon (Adelaide) One of the great things about the internet is the access to things like the BBC – they produce a lot of music documentaries. I mean there are … they're not always the big kind of grandiose way The Beatles were great, they do documentaries about kind of punk bands and sort of big cult bands that you just would never get made in a million years here, because there's no budget for it, and so through the internet I buy access to all of those documentaries.

While this mode of home-centred, digital media-enabled access and consumption of music has been developing for a number of years, there has been little attempt to engage more fully with its implications for everyday understandings of and responses to music. As evidenced by Simon's comments, however, one obvious dimension of this is the capacity for music fans to establish personally configured music archives, allowing for the instant recall and replay of music, documentaries, films, interviews and the like in a way that was unheard of in the pre-digital age. Moreover, since the advent of YouTube, the capacity for global communities of music fans to informally share audio-visual material online has become immense, as is the sheer variety of material now available to access, including music and film footage that in many cases is not even available to buy commercially. Thus, as one interviewee commented, 'If Warners can't be bothered to make *Veedon Fleece* by Van Morrison available via iTunes in Australia when I want to listen to it and I can't find my vinyl [or] CD I'm going to download it.'

Such a sentiment is common, and also extends to digitized artefacts such as archive concert footage and pre-video era films made by bands and artists to promote their then new songs or albums. Much of this material dates back to the late 1960s and early 1970s and has remained hidden from public sight for decades. An example of what one might find is a Peter Gabriel-era performance film from Genesis, produced in 1972 and featuring material from the band's then current album *Nursery Crime* (released in 1971 and the first Genesis album to feature drummer Phil Collins and guitarist Steve Hackett). More obscure still is the rockumentary *Rory Gallagher at the Savoy Theatre, Limerick*, featuring the legendary Irish-born blues-rock guitarist. Initially screened in 1973, this was one of

the first colour television broadcasts in Ireland. That such material is now so readily available and, furthermore, that it sits independently from what is commercially available in music retail stores is a telling indication of the extent to which the private sphere of music consumption is becoming a critically important way in which music fans are now experiencing and conceptualizing the importance of popular music, both historically and in terms of their own generationally situated memories of the past and their links with the present.

Conclusion

This chapter began by suggesting that the existing academic scholarship on music scenes has thus far paid insufficient attention to the spatial dynamics of scene, a deficit that also extends to any meaningful engagement with how such spaces are inscribed with meaning through cultural memory and emotional geography. As such, a central aim of the chapter has been to recast scene as both a tangible and intangible entity, comprising both public and private spaces of music consumption, and embodying not merely trans-local but also trans-temporal qualities. Through our investigation of a variety of music-consumption practices, we have endeavoured to illustrate how, in conceptualizing a scene and their place within it, individuals are equally as likely to draw on reference points from the past as they are from the present. We have also contended in this chapter that, while some scenes may be clustered around specific genres of music, this is not necessarily so in every case. Rather, and as we have attempted to show through the presentation and discussion of some of our data, in particular cases scenes may encapsulate a range of music that can loosely be categorized under a broad heading, such as 'independent' or 'alternative'. This is often the case in peripheral cities with smaller populations, where the boundaries between the audiences for given music styles are more porous. Irrespective of the actual location and physical properties of a scene, however, a quality that runs through all scenes is their capacity to act as nodal points that connect the physical and affective – and the past and present. Moreover, while it is the coalescing of scene spaces that allow these connections to form, it is the bodies passing through such spaces, and the affective and emotional energy that these bodies supply, that give the spaces of a scene meaning and presence.

Richly inscribed within these energies are collective memories of a scene. As we have demonstrated in this chapter, when articulated by individuals,

such memories serve as potent forms of emotional mapping, overlaying the urban contours of the present in such a way that music scenes are trans-temporally experienced as both past and present forms. It has also been illustrated how the trans-temporal quality of music scenes is often experienced in both public and private contexts, with the latter taking on an increasingly important role as a place where music fans with either existing physical or remembered associations with scenes selectively recall and archive music and associated audio-visual artefacts. Such practices also inform the trans-temporal lives of music scenes by providing an expanded range of opportunities for music fans to situate themselves as agents active in the co-production of musical meaning over time.

In the next chapter, we continue our investigation of the connections between music scenes, memory and space, shifting the focus to music production. While we acknowledge that there are close connections between the spatial properties of music consumption and music production, it is also clear that these are practices that at some level engender distinctive experiences for the embodied subject.

Notes

1. The Waiting Room in West End, Brisbane functioned as a venue, practice space and recording studio, as did the recently defunct LoFly Hangar (Red Hill, Brisbane). Sydney in particular has its history of Marrickville warehouse venues, spaces that double as residences, artists' studios and practice rooms.
2. Originally released on SAHB's second album, *Next* (Vertigo 1973), 'Vambo Marble Eye', as the song is officially titled, focuses on a fictitious character who is said to be a cross between Santa Claus and Captain Marvel (see http://www.songfacts.com/detail.php?id=9919).

CHAPTER 6

Spaces of Local Music Production

Introduction

A significant number of our project respondents were involved either in music production (songwriting and/or recording) or the production of music-related media. Typically, these activities took the form of bands or solo music projects, studio recording, radio broadcasting, writing, photography or publishing, with levels of engagement ranging from resolutely amateur through to employees and owners of commercial businesses. This chapter takes the themes of Chap. 5 and applies them to the social operation and cultural memory of spaces conducive to music media production. We map out key sites of production (small recording studios, practice rooms, residences and virtual spaces) before focusing on hybrids that connect multiple use. We examine how these multi-use sites allow types of social transit that interface with personal biography, local music histories, mythologies and sound. We do this by charting the physical influence of these spaces, their acoustics, their limitations/boundaries and the tacit experiences they provide, as well as the influence of the more virtual and intangible sites, and how they interrelate with concrete and hands-on music-related practice. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that the spaces of production play varied roles in local history: they can be overlooked, almost ambient in nature, with their ongoing operation assumed, trivialized and ignored. Alternatively, when they are threatened or celebrated, these same sites can perform a very different role, standing in as

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_6

symbolic avatars for the scenes in which they are embedded. Either way, these spaces corral activity and provide a lens through which the scene can be narrated, promoted and remembered. This spectrum of cultural visibility and its impact on memory constitute the central story of this chapter.

Loud Rooms and Quiet Rooms: The Scholarship of Production Spaces

The study of popular music and scenes has not, to date, made a strong and sustained consideration of music production spaces. Popular music studies, with its historical focus on cultural meaning, has tended to situate itself within the broader humanities, and has only recently started to consider how particular spatial environments and relations interact with music and meaning – and even then the emphasis is often on the macro: a city's live music scene as a cultural-tourism avatar (O'Meara and Tretter 2013), the role of music in gentrification (Holt 2014; Shaw 2009), venues as a night-time creative economy and/or the coalface of policy (Flew et al. 2001; Homan 2000, 2008a, 2008b, 2011) or recording studios as cultural histories (Street 1993) or largely technical environs. Many of the more vibrant parts of popular music studies and its sub-branches seem to recognize this; the Art of Record Production conference and research specialty brings the largely obscured space of the recording studio in academic focus and Heavy Metal Studies appears far more attuned to everyday production spaces as an active part of metal's spectacular/transgressive appeal. Meanwhile, in Australia, there is an emergent body of work developing around music venues as productive spaces (Gallan 2012; Smyly 2010; Walker 2013). It is this work on live performance venues – for a long time considered somewhat benign from a music production/creation standpoint – that provides an important precursor to our own approach here.

One of the most helpful studies made of production spaces is the work of music critic turned academic researcher Clinton Walker (2013). In *History Is Made at Night: Live Music in Australia*, Walker takes a broad cross-disciplinary approach to his subject, tackling the idiosyncratic cultural meanings produced by the Australian live music sector. Like Barry Shank's (1994) work on Austin's live music scene, Walker's account of the music spaces he studies is journalistic, personal and rich in detail. His work in *History Is Made at Night* is often an account of individual rooms and their power: 'Part of this cerebral power is the very earthly reality of live music, its here and nowness in the dingy room in which it takes place.'

As Peter Garrett said in 1984 in *The Big Australian Rock Book:*

> 'Every Australian band comes from a different pub, and it's there they define what they are about. Every band remembers that pub, and it's more than sentimental value; it's something much stronger. 'This is the unique local identity of Australian music … Garrett's old band Midnight Oil couldn't have come from anywhere but Sydney; anywhere but the northern beaches, and even more specifically, anywhere but the Royal Antler Hotel at North Narrabeen. Nick Cave and the late Rowland Howard couldn't have come from anywhere but St Kilda's Crystal Ballroom.' (p. 18)

These venue spaces are then positioned into an uneasy relationship between cultural policy – much of it driven by academic research in Australia – and the more grassroots style of music practice enjoyed by the vast majority of Australian musicians and ancillary workers. Walker notes this as well:

> Last year, on a sunny Sydney Sunday afternoon in June, I went down to my local Petersham Bowlo for its annual membership drive. After a couple of years popping in there for the odd little gig, I'd finally decided to join up. The scene was like a cross between pub rock and a pre-school fete. On the green, people played barefoot bowls while supping beers and – gasp! – smoking cigarettes. On the fallow green, toddlers played under the watchful eyes of their yummy mummies sipping cocktails on the terrace, where a DJ spun the chill-out grooves. In the bar, an alt.country band twanged its way through a set: this is just one of the not-so-new faces of live music in Australia. Everybody knows venues are closing because nobody wants to go and see shitty bands in shitty joints anymore. At 2am. (p. 46)

The thesis of Walker's work is that Australian music's incredibly large and scrappy DIY sector is central to the culture and, more often than not, heavily reflected in and by the spaces where performance takes root – a viewpoint shared by the authors of this book. These are seldom clean, professional and institutionalized performance spaces – especially within rock music, but also extending out into the myriad of contemporary genres. Australian live music is often ad hoc, mobile, entrepreneurial and flexible. The spaces in which it finds a home have a liminal quality to them, even those buildings with a long history of operation. There is a sensed instability at work, and this instability is one compounded by the resolutely messy process of memory. Live performance is a music product deeply dependent on memory and affect, and the value of a live performance can only truly be played back through remembrance. Walker calls it 'a composite

of hundreds of rooms for the memories, thousands of personal histories made at night' (p. 15).

Some of the subsequent or influential work Walker takes up in his book charts a similar course. Studies conducted by Brendan Smyly (2010), Ben Gallan (2012), and Gallan and Chris Gibson (2013), and in-progress work by Sam Whiting (2015) all look to Australian music venues as sites where memory and narrative are shaped by space, where what is possible – culturally, aesthetically, historically – fits within a type of physical discourse, encouraging and allowing a plurality of action but not an infinity of choice or desire. Spaces of local music production shape what is written and performed, and – like the spaces of consumption discussed in the previous chapter – what is heard and remembered.

Instituted live music venues are obvious hubs within this discursive pathway of a scene, but they are far from a discrete presence; nor are they always as central and as important as they often appear. First, live performance exists in a broad spectrum of music spaces, of which licensed pubs and nightclubs are but one form of destination. This is a concept often lost in the rush to preserve licensed music venues via scholarly advocacy.[1] Taking a broader view of contemporary Australian music, live performance is happening in a broad range of places: in retail stores, in residential houses, in rehearsal rooms, in community halls, schools, universities and churches, in co-opted public spaces (parks, car parks, disused buildings), in art galleries, festival grounds (often naturally beautiful settings), and in virtual spaces with live shows archived in audio bootlegs, photographs and video as well as increasingly broadcast in real time. Second, there is value in contextualizing live music performance alongside a broader range of productive/creative environments that include performative action. Despite the growing commercial importance of live music, varied styles of music-related performance can be found in a hugely diverse array of spatial settings. The instances of individuals and groups performing music on any given night in a city are countless.

In this chapter, we readily accept that the process of music creation and performance is fluid and mobile. Music production – our catch-all for creation and performance – flows around a music scene from the bedroom to the practice studio to the live venue to the recording studio, and so on, sometimes with little in the way of geographic distance. In one example examined below, many of these value-adding components are housed in the same building. This is the type of hybridized, non-traditional and fluid music production space we have tasked ourselves with including. Our

contention is that the memories our respondents recall, and the stories they tell, are similarly layered and overlapping: the anecdotes we collected are reports of places and spaces that sit in relation to other components along a pathway or vector of music production. The use of these spaces and places is not discrete; respondents do not find themselves in these environments for purely utilitarian or purely social reasons. Instead, the act of remembering is about explaining and contextualizing how these environments are interrelated, how people came to transit through these locations. A narrative binds them together and, with production a central concern of any music scene, the way people discuss these creative spaces is a clear means of articulating the scene, of the 'work' that scene performs. Our respondents' anecdotes and remembrances about Australian music's creation and production are seldom confined to traditional ideas of recording studios, music venues and formalized creative environments; rather, these spaces tend to seep into the routines of week-to-week and day-to-day existence. Far from being spectacular and exotic rituals (the traditional model for live performance venues and polished timber recording studios), creation and production within a contemporary music scene are about a set of congruent spatial contexts by which our respondents forge pathways towards various music-related desires and outcomes.

Producing Brisbane: The Creative Environments of Local Musicians

During our fieldwork, we visited a number of spaces within which people create music and/or music-related media. Many of our interviews with respondents were conducted in cafes and pubs, but a significant portion saw us enter share-houses, music venues, community radio stations, record stores, artist studios, recording studios, home studios and multi-use sites that encompassed two or more of these utilities. A growing theme across the data set as a whole – both demographically and temporarily – is the prominence of what we've defined in in-progress work as the 'unofficial venue': locations that represent spaces embodying one or more of the following features:

- It does not appear in official gig listings.
- It is run on a not-for-profit, invitation-only basis.
- It is situated in a space not conventionally associated with a music venue – for example, a private dwelling.

- It is situated away from, and does not identify as part of, the official night-time economy.

These locations were not underground, unknowable places within the Australian context. While they did not appear within the official gig listings of music street papers and broadsheet newspapers, the details and promotional materials of their events circulated widely online. Likewise, their downgrading of the profit-motive could be pronounced at times. Yet this can also be read in context: running a small-to-medium music venue in Australia is seldom solely about profit – even within the licensed sector, which is notoriously unstable. In a sense, the 'unofficial venue' is a complication of what the term 'music venue' means, and what we aim to do here is uncover similar complications within other music production environments. To achieve this, we'll be focusing on a case study of one particular music scene: Brisbane's ragged rock and indie scene.

In briefly narrowing our focus to Brisbane, we can drill down to a level of elucidatory detail that a national focus obscures. This in no way suggests that the logics of articulation discussed here are in any way wholly and solely specific to Brisbane. Far from it, as the brief mention of another such space (The Church in Adelaide) in the previous chapter implies. It is only through having investigated similar sites and pathways in other Australian capitals that we can suggest that Brisbane is indicative of other localized processes. The shape of Brisbane's production pathways is similar to that of those found elsewhere. The specifics are different, but the tone and structure of how music is made bears a strong resemblance – and, indeed, has trans-local ties – to other sites and pathways located interstate. Finally, Brisbane is the city the authors know best, having both lived and studied the localized music production environment there on many previous occasions. What follows should be read as a series of case studies, an extrapolation of our fieldwork mapped over a set of localized pathways, institutions and DIY interventions within which we feel at home.

Residential Houses, Multiple Use and Production Intersections

On the north-western periphery of Brisbane's inner-city district sits a band of suburbs encompassing Red Hill, Paddington and Kelvin Grove. Located a half-hour walk from Brisbane's central music district (Fortitude Valley), the winding streets of this district accommodate a distinctive array of local music production spaces. From the outside, these sites are anony-

mous, receding into the panorama of low-rise housing and diminishing light-industry. Yet in this completely uncelebrated, largely undocumented production zone resides a hugely influential, internationally recognized spearhead of Brisbane music.

During our fieldwork, we encountered John, a long-time Kelvin Grove musician and arts worker. When asked to describe his work for the recording, he said:

John (Brisbane) I run [a business] which is a multi-arts organization. [It] has three streams – one is the label, one is a kind of promotions and concert touring [operation with] festival capacity, and the other one is more of a gallery-based sound art thing. I also make work under my own name and run a number of other small activities that all help accumulate into an amount of cash that I'm dreaming will appear at some point.

For our interview, John invited us into his house. As his wife wrangled their newborn child in the living room, John showed us through the house: a spare bedroom doubled as a well-equipped music production space (modular sound equipment and synthesizers crowded around an office desk of mixing equipment and paperwork), the sunroom was used as a stockroom for the record label, and an adjacent room was a library of sorts (dramatically reduced from a previous iteration, apparently, but still encompassing a floor-to-ceiling archive of records and books). We conducted our conversation in the kitchen, and what soon became apparent was that the production work of a single person, living in a relatively unmodified house – a family home – had a long and diverse reach into Brisbane music.

John's work was varied by both necessity and design, and the house was therefore a node for various overlapping pathways within the city's music scene. People came by to speak or work with John, and to make music with him; he was also active in policy advocacy and various state music initiatives, so his command of grant-funding was formidable, allowing all manner of collaboration and mentorship. Thus a huge number of musicians/clients came to the house to create, to sit in on his production work, to oversee the mixing and mastering of their albums. National and international touring musicians slept over in the house. On the same computer with which John made and processed music and sound ('The majority of my income in the last couple of years has come from the artist related work and commissions.'), he also tended to his business and its online

public-facing social media. On this computer, in a space within earshot of the regular house's domestic routines (the TV, the baby playing in the living room, the kitchen and the bathroom), he booked international tours, arranged the release of albums by national and international artists, curated music festivals and orchestrated art exhibitions. Of the plenitude of artists who worked with him (again, this was a very diverse group of people), each transited through this space and witnessed the compacting of various decades-old production spaces (the recording studio, the mastering studio, the office, the warehouse) into the site of John's living space.

This hybridizing of space did not stop with John's house. It was metaphorical too. It was an ongoing part of his business and his creative practice. His aesthetic was deeply collaborative and open. John's events presented highbrow experimental music alongside metal-tinged noise, electronic music, jazz and pop. His events were housed in Brisbane's premier arts venues, places like the Powerhouse Theatre and the Judith Wright Centre, after a long succession of shows in clubs and pubs. His creative partnerships were broad, sharing stages and recording sessions with indie-pop artists and ambient musicians alike. Throughout, his willingness to mix and master recordings threw an even wider net, drawing all manner of sound and approach into his CV and into the biographies of the musicians with whom he worked. Ultimately, there was a noticeable sense that John's presence in the city was *about* sitting at the intersections of various music-making practices. It was not an approach based on products, but on transit and experience; it was about recognizing that hybridity was more bankable – creatively and financially – than any restrictive focus.

During our conversation, John could articulate this. We asked him about memory, and how his outlook and practice interacted with memory. His answer was finely tuned. He was a creative who was well acquainted with explaining himself, no doubt drawing on his experience with the artist statement and grant writing:

John (Brisbane) There's a question in that if you're going to talk about memory … the fundamental construction of strong memory is repeated experience … People that owned the Led Zeppelin records in the 70s, they may have listened to (those records) three or four hundred times. I don't think anyone's doing that anymore, so I wonder whether there's a shift in the way that music memory actually manifests. (It's a) situation (where) these kinds of really acute things where, you know, you hear a (US hard-core punk band) Fugazi record and you're transported to a new

point. You know, like there's kind of different ladder of experience or something.

We teased this idea out during the interview. John's view was that the blockbuster music products of old were gone; they had passed as music production and listening culture turned towards digital abundance. To John's mind, this had altered the contexts of local music culture. The processes of music discovery that were once more linear, incremental and physical – the 'ladder' he mentions above – involved a greater sense of cultural hierarchy and historical connection. In John's past experience, music was discovered, promoted and monetized through physical artefacts, and he cited a very broad set of examples: records versus MP3s and streaming; fanzines and magazines versus websites; session musicians and concrete studios versus loop banks and sampling, to name a few. Today he describes music discovery and production as more of a networked process heavily influenced by the aesthetics of the virtual online layer:

John (Brisbane) [There is] a weird achronological devouring of music … People don't care where it comes from, it's whether they like it or not. I think maybe as you get older and you get deeper into it, you begin to see the patterns emerging, but maybe you don't in this next generation. Maybe it's just about this kind of complete scattering of things, and all music is kind of equal in a weird way. Equally unrelated and equally related, you know, it's just whether or not you have a personal connection with it, which is kind of dangerous I think for the, um, the possibilities of music because at some point, you know, those personal relationships have to come from experience so unless you're constantly having people bumping into your life, that present those opportunities, then maybe at some point you stop having them. When you go out less, you don't see the people that write the reviews and suddenly you know no one in Brisbane anymore.

What's curious about this anecdote is how John pitches music production culture as more personal in the digital age. In a time of 'equally unrelated and equally related' content (a more open network), the points of social connection become paramount; chief among these connections is face-to-face communication ('bumping into your life'). This is the central motivating concept behind all of John's practice. His livelihood and creative work are centred around maintaining as many appropriate personal relationships as possible. His house is the key site to this work because it

is the most personal and the most convenient one, and his ongoing success can be attributed to the multitude of ways in which his residence is engrained within differing but congruent pathways within the Brisbane music scene.

This is the new reality of music production in Brisbane. This is an era where music's abundant qualities are numerous: it can be consumed freely and cheaply; it can be recorded, produced, mixed and mastered digitally at home; and its attention economy is governed more by social mobility than traditional gatekeepers. Within this paradigm, social connection is a marker of what is made, performed and heard. It is the key to sustainable practice within music production, a field where technical expertise and investment have become a legacy rather than a pronounced and empowering decider of who gets to contribute to the present. This is by no means a democratization of music production (inequalities remain, often traditionally stratified); rather, it is a foregrounding of an emphasis that has always been there – the value-adding of human communication to music production. Within music scenes, those who can communicate clearly and meaningfully with the right people have always prospered. In the field of localized music production in Australia, it is the individuals and work spaces that best communicate the personal and the individual and the social that give rise to prominence.

The Multi-use Production Site as a Part of Memory and Lineage

Across the river from North Brisbane's inner residential suburbs is the neighbourhood of West End. Once a thriving bohemian district, West End still carries some of this aesthetic flavour – weekend farmers' markets, handicraft stores, street cafes and busking – despite a pronounced period of gentrification in the 1990s. In recent years, the area has undergone a commercial rejuvenation of its night-time economy, after the introduction of new nightclubs, licensed music venues and boutique bars. On weekend nights, the neighbourhood's central arterial thoroughfare of Boundary Street is crowded with party-goers, whose sound bleeds out into the residential zone buttressing the high street only a block removed. On one such side street, nestled between a massage studio and a beauty salon, is a green split-level worker's cottage known to musicians and fans as one of the city's most intimate music production spaces.

This address is not purpose-built for music production but it has, over the years, undergone renovation with this in mind. From the street, customers step into an open L-shaped performance space with timber flooring, splitting the audience into two wings. On this level, there is an audience bathroom and a storage room for band and 'stage' equipment. The performance space itself is relatively unadorned: a square piece of flooring (no drum riser), partially lit with Christmas lights and a series of lamps gaffer-taped to the eaves. At the rear of this room is a door and a set of steps leading down the back of the building, where there is a large open car park. On show nights, the audience files out into this car park to drink and smoke. There is no bar on site, only a series of lockers for ice. The venue operates as a series of weekly private parties where drinks are strictly BYO (bring your own), much to the delight of a bottle shop located across the street. On the ground level, under the performance space, is another bathroom and in a portion of the structure locked to the public are three further rooms: a rehearsal space for a drum teacher, a band practice room for hire and a small space electrically wired into the practice room housing a small studio console and mixing equipment. This last room is the workstation of the building's venue owner/studio operator, Chris.

We spoke to Chris about his operation and its origins, and he told the story of his transition from office work to music:

Chris (Brisbane) I have a degree in software engineering and a degree in business management, with a major in e-commerce, and I did software engineering as a job for about three years after uni, but pretty much the whole time I was working a normal job, I was at the same time recording bands, just as a hobby, and I knew that I didn't actually like software engineering that much, so I was saving – pretty much everything I could afford to save I saved over those three years until when I quit my job. I had tens of thousands of dollars saved up, and I basically had gotten to the point with the recording where I was going to work nine to five through the week, and every night coming home, mixing records, spending my entire weekend recording bands, so I was pretty much just working, recording, and going to shows, and somewhere in there trying to have a personal life as well. So when it got that point, I was like, I had enough money saved and I figured I could probably make enough of a living to not be losing money, or at least, like, I could – by the time I had run out of savings – I could probably be earning enough money to sustain myself. So that was the idea.

Chris's story is about a passion for music writ large as a spatial concern. For years prior to the West End building, he recorded bands out of the basement tier of his residential share-house in suburban Bardon (on Brisbane's north side). This is the site he mentions above. Offering a low-cost, low-fuss, yet high-quality recording studio,[2] Chris quickly developed a customer base within the Brisbane music community. Central to the promotion of his studio business was his own music practice and live performance. Mirroring a now oft-repeated career trajectory in Australia, Chris built his recording studio off the back of frequent gigging: his first studio customers were the bands he played in, or lived with, or gigged alongside. Live music performance quickly became an essential component of his working and social life, and when it came time to move to a more fitted recording studio, it is telling that Chris set up in a space that accommodated both recorded and live performance.

In accordance with Chris's over-arching vision and strategy, his venue is a deeply inclusive space attached to specific production tendencies. It is one of Brisbane's only all-ages music venues. Similarly, it is a reflection of Chris's ongoing interest in DIY underground music aesthetics. This intersection between multi-use and the DIY aesthetic is important. As we've outlined elsewhere (Bennett and Rogers 2016b, n.p.), this type of unofficial venue can present a particularly affecting and provocative space for participants:

> In this venue, the music and memories recalled and evoked by the building are not neatly confined to live presentation; the venue's presence spills out into the social and home lives of the [venue's] residents, into the acoustic properties of the sounds recorded there and it takes on a more central role in the biographies of the clique of people utilizing the venue. It is a location participants visited for a variety of reasons. Unlike the 'here and now' of a rock show and the more amorphous ongoing identity of a traditional venue, [unofficial venues are] embedded in various creative practices that all speak to longer-term interaction, namely to the ongoing social and practical experiences that exist outside the momentary escapism of a live performance.

A deeper connection is accommodated in unofficial production spaces due to the broader variety and duration of personal connections made possible. For instance, participants can and have completed the following onsite in Chris's facility:

- watched bands perform
- formed bands at said shows

- written and rehearsed in the practice room
- workshopped material live upstairs in front of an audience
- recorded said material downstairs for commercial release
- filmed video clips in the space upstairs
- officially launched albums upstairs

This is not the relationship a musician typically maintains with either a licensed music venue or a recording studio. Instead, it is a potent hybrid. The memories created here are diverse, intimate and long. And this ongoing engagement and social intimacy can be *heard* in the music Chris produces as well. Over the years, his particular studio aesthetic (loud clear drums, functional mixing, a slight murkiness to the sound – taken as it is from smaller, acoustically closed rooms) is not just the sound of individual albums. His studio aesthetic points back to more than this because the space itself is more than this. Thus his studio aesthetic is now the sound of friendship circles, a place, a concept of inclusive practice, localized mythology and DIY pragmatism. There are few bands that record with Chris who fail to visit or perform in his space at a later point. It's not how the social space functions; instead, the sound the building produces is a reflection of Chris's broader outlook and the sum of what is aurally possible. Furthermore, on any given Friday or Saturday night, Chris can be found operating the venue's tiny PA system in among the crowded venue space, despite days spent downstairs producing recordings. He figuratively and literally controls the sound of this space. Like John in the previous case study, Chris sits at the intersection of different music pathways within the Brisbane scene, but here this intersection has a larger catchment, a public face and a commercial/survivalist imperative.

The passion Chris exhibits is personal but not without precedents. When asked in the interview whether he read rock biographies, he zeroed in on Michael Azerrad's (2001) collection *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981–1991*, stating, 'I've read [it] probably half a dozen times minimum, some of those chapters I would have read a dozen times each.' A music critic of note, Azerrad's work in *Our Band Could Be Your Life* is at times nostalgic and persuasive. Divided into a series of case-study chapters (each on a different American rock band), the book presents American underground music entrepreneurialism and artistry as a type of diverting, quasi-separatist ideology. 'The indie underground,' writes Azerrad, 'made a modest way of life not just attractive but a downright moral imperative' (p. 6). The book

is steeped in this mythology of music as a means to put aside everyday mundanity and its attendant working careers/pursuits in lieu of a more personal, political and engaging practice – that of pre-grunge American rock music. The book – and its constituent cultural moment – are only tangentially relevant to the present-day Australian context, where 'a modest way of life' in music is rare, and underground music scenes trend far more towards survivalist pragmatism. Yet Chris does embody many of the personal and social practices described in the book – albeit adapted and localized. His sense of community politic and his autodidactic tendencies mirror those found in Azerrad's stories of bands forging the 'cultural underground railroad' of 1980s America.

There was another more close-to-hand influence in Brisbane: the previous performance sites Chris visited in the lead-up to founding his own venture. Australia has a long history of ad hoc approaches and solutions to live performance. During our fieldwork, we asked respondents about music venues and the responses given often included a very wide array of unofficial and community venues (see also Chaps. 5 and 8), positioning these directly alongside historically canonized music sites. This cut across all ages and demographics. Older respondents recalled music shows in sporting gyms, high school assembly areas and church halls. Middle-aged interviewees recalled the advent of punk in the late 1970s and its attendant house parties; in Brisbane, iconic punk band The Saints played so many shows in their Petrie Terrace share-house that they gave it a name: Club 76. Our survey pool's younger respondents had grown up in the production environment under analysis in this chapter. These younger interviewees traversed music scenes that readily included unofficial venues, transient music spaces and gigs spread throughout diverse and unorthodox parts of their respective cities. The constrained economy and comparatively low audience numbers for live performance in these niches continue to drive much of this activity, as does its affective allure (its intimacy) and its now decades-long place within the broader pathways of most Australian music scenes.

Chris alluded to this history of ad hoc venues often. He moved his studio practice to West End to formalize his studio within a more purpose-built environment. But when faced with mounting business costs associated with the building, he turned very quickly to the close-to-hand solution of an unofficial live performance venue upstairs. In another interview, he described the formalization of the venue, recalling the city's recent history of DIY live performance:

Chris (Brisbane) I was inspired by all of the DIY spaces I've been to over the 12 years that I've been living in Brisbane. Back in the mid-2000s, I was blown away by (unofficial venue) 610 in the Valley, I used to go there pretty much every weekend. That was the point at which Brisbane music became more than just a way to spend weekends. I'd been in bands for a few years already at that point, but the community that was built around 610 showed me just what was possible, how deep you could go with it. Since then there have been a heap of DIY venues that have run around town that have all had their influence, large or small. There are the longer running and 'bigger' ones like The Hangar, Burst City and Sun Distortion, and also smaller or less high-profile ones like the Albion Peace Hall, Jamie's car park in New Farm, and of course The Magic Mile aka Real Bad Music. I kind of cherry-picked aspects that I liked from each of these places and combined them with the fairly unique vibe that the Browning St space had. People always ask me who lives there. No one lives there, no one has lived there for decades, it's a commercial building.

Chris elaborated on this in our interview. Attending high school in Toowoomba, located 90 minutes west of Brisbane, Chris had not grown up within Brisbane's inner-city music scene. He came to these spaces as a young club-goer with very little insider knowledge of Brisbane music. Of the sites he lists above, 610 was particularly influential for him. Located on Ann Street within the Fortitude Valley's Special Entertainment Precinct,[3] 610 was busy, crowded and distinctly all-ages; at various points within its lifespan (2004–06), the venue was booked and administered by teens and young adults. The legacy of the space can still be felt a decade later, with a disproportionate number of the 610 alumni going on to start subsequent venues, bands and record labels, and one-time booker James Kritzler documenting parts of this history in *Noise in My Head: Voices from the Ugly Australian Underground* (2014). Chris stumbled into the cultural space of a fully integrated 610, a space where such a venue sat within a network of other venues. He landed in Brisbane and found an inviting set of performance pathways that included licensed and unofficial venues co-located both geographically and culturally. As such, he routinely moved between the two on any given weekend:

Chris (Brisbane) I used to go to 610 pretty much every week. Like I used to, you know – back in those days you'd have kind of The Troubadour, The Rev, Ric's Cafe and 610 pretty much doing good shows almost every

night from, like, pretty much Wednesday through Sunday, so I used to go in, and you used to go into the Valley, and you'd just move between shows, you'd sort of figure out how much money you had to spend on entry, and then you'd figure out how much, how that could go towards, you know, how many shows you could get into, and some nights I'd, yeah, like, you'd flick between four shows, you'd sort of pick your favourite couple of bands, maybe three to six bands on a night, and you'd just go to like all four shows in the Valley, and there'd even be something at maybe Jugglers up the road as well, so there was always a whole bunch of different places to go to, and so that was a pretty big time.

The legacy of this era is documented in more detail elsewhere (see Bennett and Rogers 2016a; see also Chap. 7), but essentially it broadened what was possible within Brisbane music production. 610 only rarely drew the attention of local police, in stark contrast to the city's history of music clashing with the constabulary. For the most part, the venue worked alongside more legitimized venues to create a broader music scene. From this era onwards, the unofficial and the ad hoc in Brisbane were neither completely foregrounded and fetishized, nor completely underground and excluded. A variety of hybrids and approaches appeared, widening the parameters of Brisbane music. Production has followed this tendency ever since.

When Chris set himself up in West End in 2011, this was the sense of cultural memory from which he drew. His knowledge of Brisbane from years of attending gigs, combined with a love of American rock mythology and DIY, steered him towards the solutions he enacted. The diverse group of people he met and befriended inside this broadened music scene, and those attracted to his approach and his resources over time, have helped his business succeed in a difficult sector. Over time, he has worked on material that spans much of the local music spectrum; his studio has produced polished high-rotation radio pop, scratchy garage rock, harsh heavy metal and hard-core punk. At one point, as many as five of his client bands sprang from a single project as Chris's business documented a long and winding 'family tree' of side-projects and spin-offs. Of late, a lot of his work is in finishing recordings made elsewhere. This takes on a number of guises. Like John, described earlier in the chapter, Chris mixes and masters music made elsewhere from a huge variety of sources. An adept drummer and bass player, he occasionally sits in as a musician. In all, his service offering is extremely wide and his customers can arrive with everything

from a song idea through to a finished multitrack recording. Chris has a developed a means to add value across a wide spectrum of Brisbane music.

The central metaphor of this case study is strength through diversity and connection. Like John, Chris collapses a variety of once institutionalized concepts into a compact space: a single building in West End. This space is created within a web of already diverse approaches to live performance and recorded music within the city, with content circulating through the scene from residential houses and official spaces (licensed venues, purpose-built studios) alike. The sounds produced in Chris's building have a technical or aural aesthetic, but remain inescapably tied to the social and cultural processes that populate the building and thus place it within the pathways of Brisbane music. In our final case study in the next section, we look at another intersection between Brisbane music as a social and technical/spatial recording process. The following case study takes a very different approach: music production that resides outside of a static spatial environment.

Capturing Mobilities: The Unofficial Archive of Brisbane Music

In the first two sections of this chapter, we looked at how success within Brisbane music production relies on social connection and intersection. This adheres to the scene concept as a whole. If we are to accept that scenes are cultural space enacted by a plurality of different participants, the design of Chris and John's careers appears pragmatic and rational. Their work spaces can readily been seen as nodes within a network and, while their work (and accommodations) have aural and cultural legacies attached, these seem to operate far more as catchment points or filters rather than sites of raw production. With Chris, this is particularly so. The physical space he leases in West End covers costs via the transit of participants through it, both upstairs (venue) and downstairs (studio). John takes a slightly more mobile approach: his house is his headquarters, but he utilizes many different spaces of production around Brisbane. In all, the stories woven through their scene engagements often relate to processes of documentation and collaboration. These sections of the chapter are also about two participants deeply involved in the technical and creative modes of music production. This deep involvement requires/implies some degree of immobility. Chris and John have made a career based on various cultural and physical forms of stability. They succeed because they

are reliably located within various highly trafficked parts of the cultural, social and commercial processes of the Brisbane music scene.

In our final case study, we examine a situation where some of these dynamics of stability are dispensed with: the bootleg recording work of Brady. For the past eight years, Brady has been making live recordings of Brisbane gigs and archiving/distributing them in MP3 form online via his blog. Having amassed hundreds of recordings, the collection is a testament to Brady's diverse taste in local music, his social/subcultural mobility and his dedication to what has proven to be an unconventional hobby for a self-described, '50-something-year-old tall grey haired guy'. He makes each recording the same way: by 'standing unnervingly still in the centre of the room' using binaural, in-ear microphones plugged into a digital recording device. The resulting archive draws together sets from international touring bands playing in Brisbane through to local bands of every engagement level, ranging from acts playing their first shows in residential houses through to established bands performing in larger clubs and festivals. The local aspect of the archive is considerable. During the last six years, Brady has posted over 450 recordings to his website.

In our interview, Brady spoke candidly about these recordings and his personal history with live music in the city. Memory and time sit at the very centre of his hobby/project. It is a recurring theme in Brady's accounts of why he created his website, why he feels compelled to continue adding to this online archive and the appeal of the site to listeners. In the 1970s, Brady was a semi-regular gig-goer. His early experiences with live music were diverse, taking in international acts and – as a friend of local punks The Survivors – finding the archetypal punk rock shows of late-'70s Brisbane: small, occasionally violent and chaotic gigs hosted in houses, suburban halls, small clubs and pubs. Over time, family and a subsequent move interstate eventually disconnected Brady from the live music scene in Brisbane. When asked to recount the story of his return to live gigs two decades later, his answer makes numerous accounts of time:

Brady (Brisbane) What basically happened was we had kids … so you just lose time. [We] went down to Sydney for a little while as well, and then lost track of what people were doing in Brisbane. We were there for about two and a half years, three years, and it was enough of a break that when I came back, I had no real connection with what was going on live. So I pretty much stopped going out …When [my children] started to leave school I … started going out again. You've got time [and] nothing else to do.

This narrative is not just one of music used as an antidote to everyday mundanity, but it also makes account of Brisbane's social history: the connection and disconnection with other gig-goers and the accommodating music scene. Brady's return to the local community in the contemporary setting – the return to the small and ad hoc venue spaces of his youth – began with his recording and archiving of local performances. He initially began bootlegging shows to obtain a specific recording for himself, working almost instinctually:

Brady (Brisbane) I knew there was a recording of a show I went to on my birthday one year, of Ed Kuepper [The Saints] up at The Troubadour [venue] – I stumbled across it in one of the tape trading websites, and wrote to a couple of guys who had it, and said, 'I haven't got anything to trade, but can I get a copy, it was my birthday and I'd really appreciate it, what do I have to do?' … And they didn't write back … so that sort of crystallized: I've got to do something about that. So I looked around and got the cheapest sort of rig I could get, and bought it on spec … None of the stuff that I had was sort of put together before in that combination I don't think … I got it on Friday, and the next day was Market Day [festival] … so I went along and started off.

From the beginning, Brady viewed these recordings as a type of social currency – something he could produce that had value to others. Over time, recording shows introduced him to countless Brisbane musicians and audience members, the great majority of whom were interested in his work. Instances where artists have requested their work to be removed from the archive are extremely rare. Instead, Brady's live recordings are largely viewed as a resource for emerging or hobbyist bands. These bands have further circulated his recordings via commercial release, small-scale cassette and CD-R releases, and via streaming music sites like SoundCloud.

The cultural value of Brady's collection and the reason why it finds a positive reception and a wider circulation are mitigated by the mobility of his hobby. His recording rig is portable and nondescript; the binaural microphones easily pass for a type of industrial earplug many regular gig attendees use; and the remainder of his rig requires very little assembly, nor any real cooperation from the band performing. Also helpful is his height. Brady is tall, so he can position himself in a performance space and, to an extent, place his microphones slightly clear of the crowd around him. He not only stands almost above the crowd, but can and does move

freely from one crowd to another: he is socially mobile, as happy recording in larger-scale venues as he is at house parties and in punk DIY spaces. Over the years, he has traversed all of these sites with an ease that is born both of his personality and the social setting around him:

Brady (Brisbane) Once you've seen a band a few times you can pretty much tell who will be there next time they play or what sort of group will be there. And they are all nice people. I'm a bit of a loner and I'm happy in a crowd even if no one talks to me so I hardly ever have a bad time when I go out. It doesn't mean I'm a recluse but it does mean I can happily go along to see Wednesday 13 [band], be the only person in the room without makeup on … and enjoy myself.

As such, his collection reveals a diversity of both practice/sound and space. The more polished recordings made in larger venues sit alongside the rowdy crowds of dingy clubs, the awkward silences of retail in-store gigs and the informal and raw exchange found in residential houses. In the side-bar of his website's landing page, Brady explains this: in his opinion, the recordings sound 'almost like being there' if the listener uses headphones to directly simulate the manner in which they are recorded. He reminds the listener that what is archived here is an event: something recorded with the same rig but subject to all the variations attributed to consuming a live performance:

Brady (Brisbane) Different recordings of the same band in different rooms will sound totally different acoustically [depends on the room]. Different bands in the same room on different days will sound different [depends on the sound guy and the mix].

In this way, his work manages to capture a far more longitudinal sense of Brisbane music. As a frequent gig-goer, with such a portable production rig, Brady's archive often runs deep, collecting numerous instances of the same band performing; instances of particular favourites count in the teens over the course of two years. As such, within his archive, one can hear audio recordings of different bands populating the same rooms and, in turn, the band itself can be heard developing creatively over time. In repeat recordings of venues and bands, one can clearly hear fluctuations caused by venue sound, social setting and the unpredictability of live performance.

Brady's work raises interesting questions about the nature of music production within a music scene. Popular music studies scholars have long main-

tained a fascination with recorded music – more than occasionally at the expense of other modes of inquiry. Yet once we seriously engage with the scene concept, the type of quasi-legal, documentarian music production carried out by Brady starts to appear more and more relevant. Projects like his – which draw attention to the subtle shifts in sound and aesthetic within a scene and expand the aural boundaries of practice – appear robust in their articulatory power. Diving deeper into an expansive archive of live material such as this, one can also hear the process of 'circumstance moves' being made, of shows in brand new venues or houses, of unfiltered opinion (from audience and artist alike), and a more finely tuned analysis of social organization may be possible. There is, at times, a tremendous sense of *who was there* and *how it sounded* in this – all the more potent for those participants who were there, for whom these bootlegs are a type of audio reminder or souvenir.

On Memory and Music Production

The souvenir is a provocative concept in the study of memory. In *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Susan Stewart (1993, p. 135) puts the souvenir into a very particular frame of reference:

> The souvenir distinguishes experiences. We do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative.

To Stewart, the souvenirs present its possessor with two rewards. The first is a metonymic piece *of* an experience. The second is a prompt to reexperience the narrative or to recall the memory of that experience. There is an *excess* of signification, importance and remembrance attached to physical souvenirs. This is what defines them. We have examined how this concept maps over the collection of concert ticket stubs elsewhere (see Bennett and Rogers 2016b); the ticket stub as a physical item is virtually worthless (tattered card), but respondents viewed ticket stubs as an essential *part* of the concert (a token) and as a record of concert particulars (dates, support acts, venue, etc.). We found that the physical music souvenirs described by our respondents typically slotted into this concept.

In assembling our case study of music production in Brisbane, we have noted similarities between physical souvenirs and the (often) immaterial digital music products circulating around the music scene. This was

most immediately evident with Brady's bootleg archive. The quality of the recordings he made varies widely: some are very clear indeed (especially played back in headphones, as he suggests), but others are bracingly distorted or obscured by crowd noise, the sound of bar work or a bad PA mix. As an audio souvenir of an event, they speak directly to how flimsy the interaction is between quality and memory, between what exists and what is recalled. The recordings are not valued because they objectively present a clear, high-quality, broadcast-ready record of an event. To the contrary, their value is much more tied up in affect – how it felt to be in the crowd – and memory recall. Considered as a loosely curated archive, Brady's work provokes/enables a greater diversity of remembrances because it draws on more places and audiences and affective states – a diversity that absolutely speaks to the contemporary music scenes found in Australia's capital cities.

This is a line of thinking that can be taken a step further. The recent history of audio production and recording is a story of technological democratization. In the 1970s, recording processes that necessitated capital investments ranging in the hundreds of thousands of dollars are now widely available as software applications for little or no outlay. For example, the multitrack recording software utilized by Chris in his West End venue (Reaper) began as open-source software and currently ships unlicensed without copy protection. In the Global North, in a creative sector already inhabited by a large number of hobbyists, this lowering of the cost barriers to music production has dramatically increased the documentation of local music. Coupled with the cheap and accessible digital distribution, the difference between Brady's bootlegging practice and commercially available studio recording is – at its most comparable – a matter of time investment and care.

The music production practices detailed by Chris and John can be described as technical art forms – far, far superior in sound quality to Brady's recordings – but they *are* on the same spectrum of production. Both are typically fast-moving, cheap-to-produce digital recordings tracking microphones into digital encoders. A local band quickly burning through ten songs in two days in Chris's space *is* more polished than Brady's bootleg of the same hypothetical band running a set list in 30 minutes *in situ*, but as a practice of documentation, they are in the same order of magnitude.

Ultimately, local music production is a dual process: it is one of the tools of articulation, one of the ways by which the scene is articulated – where the boundaries and circumstantial moves are visible and temporalities are

made possible – as well as providing one of the raw materials upon which participants draw when the scene is recalled. When considering a music recording, what is presented to the listener of a studio album (or similar) is a prompt. These are *versions* of the songs available; they are not contained or finalized by the creation of a refined audio document of them. Brady's archive suggests this. His live recorded material captures songs that – over multiple instances of documentation – can be heard to evolve and change based on any number of spatial or cultural inputs. What is highlighted in his archive, but can be noted elsewhere – in all music recordings – is how participants move through recorded music. Listening and listening memories are not static in memory, nor in the cultural memory produced by a music scene. What is underwritten in this music, threaded through it and – at all times – providing elucidatory, meaningful context, are the social and spatial dynamics that drive and assemble the localized production aesthetic. This connection is not always direct, but these are some of the corresponding, socially produced layers of context by which the scene *works* to produce itself in memory. At this level of abstraction, music production's social organization provides as much of a map of the scene's social and cultural meanings as it does the technological and aural aesthetics of a particular place.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have endeavoured to map out a difficult terrain. The spatial relations of popular music and production have typically been described in terms of technical practice/process. The move we have tried to make here is one informed by notions of scene and cultural memory, and it has aimed to make meaning of how people move through various production spaces and in turn how these spaces are shaped and remembered – or, in Chris's case, partially produced from processes of memory. Our case studies were all investigations of intersection and mobility: either as sites that help articulate a music scene by merit of diverse activity flowing through them or, in Brady's case, the development of tactics that render once-static processes more fluid and mobile. This change of tone in how music production is perceived and enacted in Australian music scenes is the central thesis of the chapter. At the core of our argument is that music production is emerging from very tightly controlled – often restricted – spatial confines (the purpose-built studio, the professional stage, the licensed venue) into more accessible environments that have a

far broader social impact. Music production is becoming more implicated in the social dynamics of scene participation and, as this process occurs, the spatial and aural qualities of Australian music are shifting. As new convergences of social practice, technology and space make themselves evident in the music to which we listen, the very idea of music production and performance starts to expand into unknown coordinates.

Notes

1. For example, Melbourne-based advocacy group SLAM came to prominence during the threatened foreclosure of popular rock venue The Tote (Fitzroy). The acronym SLAM stands for Save Live Australian Music, as if live music itself was threatened by policy intrusion into the Tote's business.
2. The studio produced broadcast quality, multitrack recordings for around $200 per day, a rate Chris maintains to the present day.
3. In 2004, the Brisbane City Council put together the Valley Music Harmony Plan, a policy initiative aimed at providing first occupancy rights to Fortitude Valley music venues. This plan was mostly concerned with sound pollution from Valley nightclubs, the governance of which sat at the heart of liquor licensing legislation. At the time, Valley clubs were routinely having their licences suspended due to noise. The plan designated a section of Fortitude Valley (then Brisbane's music hub) as the Valley Special Entertainment Precinct. Within the precinct, noise-abatement ordinances were adjusted to protect live music venues and residential property development plans were tightened to have future construction, 'incorporate a high level of noise insulation when constructed within and adjoining the special entertainment area' (Brisbane City Council 2004, p. 3). The measure had mixed results. The precinct encouraged and further popularized commercial music interests in the area, eventually forcing out many of the vibrant fringe communities, cliques and business operators that had reactivated the space in the 1990s. As Walker (2013, p. 51) notes, 'the anointing of the Valley as a special entertainment precinct was so successful it almost became a victim of its own success'.

CHAPTER 7

Virtuality: Images and the Local Archive

Introduction

The creation of online music archives by amateurs and fans dates back to the advent of widespread internet use in the Global North. The role played by online digital technologies in scene creation, articulation and maintenance is pronounced. These technologies are often cheap to access, easy to use and rapidly circulating. The formation of a contemporary music scene is rarely without attendant documentation via video-streaming sites, digital photography archives, MP3 file-sharing networks, online forums, blogs and other collaboratively curated media platforms. This chapter looks at the impact of these platforms on narrative and memory, specifically how the structural changes and feedback loops of virtual content have impacted on music scenes. Drawing on a broad range of material – including interview data on participant perception, use and reliance – and on an extensive review of contemporary online practice, this chapter probes the changing production and reception of localized music culture in Australia.

During interviews, we asked each respondent to talk us through an average day of internet use, specifically how they discovered new music and researched other music they were exploring or enjoying. Responses ranged in terms of type and degree of online activity: some interviewees did very little online, preferring physical media, while others drew on multiple and immersive digital platforms. Age plays a part in stratifying the data, with older respondents tending to be less invested in social media and digital music distribution, but this is not a linear correlation. For

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_7

example, many older collectors with whom we spoke were avid (online auction house) eBay users. Additionally, some of our youngest respondents were some of the most unenthusiastic or pessimistic users of online platforms, embedded as these platforms are in the mundane everyday routines of social interaction and schooling.

What follows is the story of how these online technologies interact with the Australian music scenes that were surveyed during our research. The first section of the chapter details oft-overlooked aspects of online digital media: its pre-history and various analogue precursors. Here we outline how the online space is an iteration of previously established consumption and production patterns for some of our respondents. Following on from this, we examine the platform technologies most often cited and investigate the coordinates of how this almost ambient online participation works within music scenes and music discovery. Finally, we finish this chapter with a consideration of online music criticism and reflection, arguing that the pathways of this type of production reflect the socially intimate spaces in which Australian music scenes tend to operate. Throughout, we endeavour to tie this participation to what is remembered and how.

Music Technologies and Scenes: New, Old and Virtual

One of the ongoing merits of Bennett and Peterson's (2004) *Music Scenes: Local, Trans-local and Virtual* is its timing with regard to virtual scenes. Compiled during the early millennial ascension of the Web 2.0 concept – an era where online technologies were seen to become more interactive and dependent on user-generated content (O'Reilly 2005) – *Music Scenes* focuses on a moment of transition that has, for the most part, passed into recent history. The then nascent concept of the virtual scene included in *Music Scenes* is predicated on platforms such as HTML coded one-to-many websites, listservs, chatrooms and fanzines. Approaching virtual scenes cautiously, Peterson and Bennett (2004, p. 10) introduce them as follows:

> In this age of electronic communication, fan clubs dedicated to specific artists, groups, and subgenre have proliferated by using the Internet to communicate with each other. Like the participants in trans-local scenes, participants in virtual scenes are widely separated geographically, but unlike

> them, virtual scene participants around the world come together in a single scene-making conversation via the Internet.

This is how James Hodgkinson's (2004) piece on post-rock and fanzine culture (Chap. 12 of *Music Scenes*) fits the definition. Far from an oversight or a conceptual misdirection, this early conceptualization of the virtual scene serves as a reminder that the digital online space often has concrete and analogous beginnings. This pre-history of social media and fan 'prosumer' culture is frequently overlooked or diminished in new media reportage. Yet talk of audience activity and scene participation transitioning from purely concrete and analogue domains into virtual activities and spaces is a theme that appears more than occasionally in our field research, especially among older and more committed participants – those with extensive, long-term collections or documentation processes.

The pre-history of the Web 2.0 virtual scene had three central pillars: physical print media, fan clubs and, later, early forms of email correspondence. There is a tendency among interviewees to position this transitional phase as occurring in the 1990s. In some cases, such as those found in fanzines and fan clubs, the media or model utilized is much older; however, for the most part, respondents view the late 1980s and 1990s iterations of these activities as immediately preceding and informing virtual scenes. In our interviews, we found responses relating to the online space creeping into questions about fan clubs and memorabilia. We also had questions specific to online platform use (*Do you use the internet to talk about or research music that you like?)*, to which the great majority of respondents answered in the affirmative and provided some explanatory detail; however, this question was posed later in the interview, by which point some respondents had already broached the topic through talk of fan clubs and memorabilia. The responses summarized in this section are drawn from both instances, but favour those early, unexpected responses. The interviewees here took a broader approach, either happily weaving the online into participation at most points of the interview or pointing out that what they did online was a *continuation* of previous analogue forms of participation.

A prime example came from Lance in Adelaide. During our conversation, we asked Lance – an avid participant, taking on a variety of roles within the Adelaide scene – about his interest in music fan clubs. Typically, this question did not elicit a detailed response, but Lance took a different tack:

Interviewer Have you ever joined a fan club or do you have posters or memorabilia in the house?
Lance (Adelaide) I don't have any of that stuff anymore … I used to be on a couple of mailing lists, which was the old version of a club I guess. They still existed until about the early '90s maybe, late '80s I guess. In the late '80s, email was it. There was no web, nothing. A mailing list for (UK band) The Wedding Present, that was a big one, because you get into that sort of scene and … taste starts coming into play. If you like this, try this, have a try of this. So that started me branching into different types of music as well. Things like (US band) Lambchop came through that, which I listened to for a long time. There were also newsgroups at the time, so newsgroups again were sort of like a mailing list, but I don't know if you remember newsgroups. Aus.Music used to be a big one. This was the only one connected in this kind of way, so you could send a message to anyone subscribed to Aus.Music. So it used to be pretty much academics or postgraduate students who were just talking about their favourites in music. So again, it's probably about 1990, possibly '89. So that was the first contact with a broader group of people who were interested in stuff. I got an email account in 1986, which was really early. So that was kind of cool, because you felt part of a special cohort almost underground, with these people who were into their own particular bands and would really advocate for them, a general music group. There only would've been hundreds of people, I think, subscribed.

For Lance, some of the energy of fan clubs went online before the mid-1990s advent of widespread internet use. Additionally, his access to a very early form of email gives some insight into just how quickly fans adapted online technologies to music participation and the rudiments of virtual scene-making. This has been noted elsewhere: Cooper and Harrison (2001) and Carter and Rogers (2014) have both positioned participatory online activity such as peer-to-peer MP3-sharing as a decade-long coalescence of more scattered amateur practice, and Théberge (2005) does likewise with the 'repeatable relations' of fan clubs. What's telling in Lance's case is how smoothly his use of the internet for music discovery developed into the type of platforms in which many fans now participate. Today, he visits institutionalized music journalism sites like Pitchfork (a dominant music criticism outlet) in addition to streaming platforms such as YouTube and SoundCloud. Yet his story is one of how this widespread everyday activity has a longer history and a less indubitable sense of place within his life.

While Lance's early participation in virtual scenes is predicated on email, we also found evidence of far less digitized processes informing the advent of online virtual scenes. Again, the question of fan clubs proved provocative when discussion veered towards the digital. When asked about her membership in fan clubs, Sally from Canberra saw a clear through-line between the paper and postage fan clubs of old and the advent of online fraternity:

Sally (Canberra) I'm the fan club queen.
Interviewer Tell me about that.
Sally (Canberra) The first one was Kiss.
Interviewer The Kiss Army, yeah?
Sally (Canberra) Then it was Adam and the Ants and then it was Blondie and then I went to online fan clubs which I'm still in, like the Alice Cooper Sick Things and the Blondie one and Kiss Army via the internet. What else? There were others, too … I always got into someone and then join[ed] the club.
Interviewer Did they send you stuff?
Sally (Canberra) Yeah.
Interviewer A newsletter?
Sally (Canberra) Yeah, a newsletter and you get a few little knick-knacks. I think Adam and the Ants had photos of the guys and what else? It wasn't that cheap at the time. I think it was about seven bucks, but that was a lot of money in 1981 … You'd get the newsletter, a little card saying you're a member. I think I was in an Abba fan club, too. Probably, yeah, I'd say I was, so pretty much for the newsletters and stuff and I think I joined the *Countdown* Club at one point, and that meant you could get updated newsletters and subscription to the *Countdown* magazine and all that sort of stuff.
Interviewer Sure, and do you still receive materials from any of the clubs?
Sally (Canberra) Only via email these days, so it's all online which makes me sad, but I joined The Police fan club most recently to get good tickets and the Duran Duran fan club. So it's all online these days and these days it means that you get better seats, cheaper tickets, notifications of when they tour, that sort of stuff.

This is the messy evolution of the fan club from analogue/material to digital/virtual. Sally's anecdote encompasses a number of important intersections and similarities between the forms, yet much of the utility of

the fan club remains consistent. The fan club – as a concept – is first and foremost an instrument of commerce. The analogue fan club as described in Sally's story is a one-to-many communiqué and a product of the music industry's ongoing direct marketing initiatives. Again, we can see how quickly these audience outreach initiatives evolved in the online space, and why. Within Sally's experience, the fan clubs provided an important service – delivery of hard-to-come-by information via the newsletter – and the value of this was then eroded somewhat by the very early internet and its predominantly fan-run websites and virtual communities.

Within a decade, much of this early fan-initiated activity would be captured by the first iteration of 'ubiquitous' social media such as Myspace, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr. The move into Facebook groups or pages is pronounced in the data. The conversations that occurred through fan clubs and then early message boards eventually made their way into Facebook's digital enclosure. Yet, as the next section will detail, the transition was also enacted by a range of digital processes, all serviced by new or rapidly maturing social media. Throughout this transition, the virtual space increasingly eroded the scarcity, and thus the value, of music-related information. For a time, the newsletter was obsolete; fans did not need direct marketing to find out the latest news on bands they followed, as this was freely available via a variety of feeds – some of which were directly administered by the artists themselves, and many arriving on platforms firmly embedded within daily net culture. Ironically, due to the saturation of social media, email lists have recently become something of a valuable commodity again.

What has remained intact within the fan club model is the extension of merchandising lines in the form of fan-only items for sale, often with the intention of moving the higher profit-margin physical items such as t-shirts and collector-orientated vinyl releases. As much of music's revenue base has moved back to the live performance sector, the fan club is once again a means of exploiting newer markets for more direct and intense audience experiences. Today, as Sally mentions, a fan club provides access to early ticket release systems online: a scarcity of access. Access to these portals is also the option to purchase increased access to the musicians themselves via pre-show Q&A sessions, attendance at band sound-checks and a severely restricted type of backstage access. The importance of this type of 'direct' contact is fast becoming one of the leading ways by which artists can promote their work and extend their live performance product range. There are additional benefits: faced with an extremely crowded

online marketplace and diminishing album revenue, some of today's most successful touring acts have further built their followings on exactly this type of highly organized 'meet-and-greet' approach, utilizing its immense promotional flow-on benefits. American singer-songwriter Taylor Swift is a master of this; Swift's career now draws upon on a highly mobilized fan base built from hundreds of personal meet-and-greets staged during her early concerts and all documented by fans on social media platforms (Reinartz 2014). Online technology and its effects drive this. The concept of monetizing fan enthusiasm via direct marketing has remained a lucrative, potentially risk-reducing prospect for the music industry, as the virtual space has altered components of what and how tailored products and information are delivered. Today's online platforms simply lend a networked effect to what traditionally has been one of commercial music's key imperatives: to create and sustain relationships with customers (Fairchild 2014).

The transformation of older, more analogous music media into digital content is by no means restricted to the two case studies discussed here. There are other clear parallels and stories of older music technologies transitioning into new online iterations. In the last section of this chapter, we will investigate one of these: the transformation of music criticism. Online music criticism portals, of course, have straightforward precursors in the print media. Contemporary online music criticism – in all its guises – draws heavily on the entire spectrum of music's print publications, from hand-pasted fanzines through to the sector's largest brands, like *Rolling Stone* and *Billboard Magazine*. What we have strived to highlight here is the need to remain aware of these types of precursors more broadly, to understand that this is the situated nature of virtual scenes. There is a full gamut of tools and platforms that scaffold and re/create virtual scenes, and most of them have originated in some analogue form before the mid-1990s. These applications have been built around and are informed by concepts with long histories of practice. Our respondents were not ignorant of these histories. Generationally, they may have differing degrees of context surrounding their virtual interactions but, like the virtual scene itself, the online space is never discretely removed from the material and the physical. Furthermore, the underpinning of virtual music scenes is personal communication, which always sits within historical legacies that completely dwarf the present moment's digital focus and its fast-moving, ever-changing ambient technologies. At any given moment, a music scene is situated only fleetingly. Its pathways and vectors can move

and shift quickly. It is only ever understood in passing. This is true of all scenes, but it is especially important for virtual scenes, where the very means of communication and scene participation can be re-structured and disrupted at a faster pace.

Applications and Platforms: Virtual Music Participation in Australia

At the heart of the virtual music scene concept lies a curious, almost literal process of articulation. While local or trans-local scenes have various points or means of articulation, the virtual scene can often be seen as a direct distillation of these articulatory processes via online technology. With local and trans-local scenes, the mechanics of articulation are human communication, voiced through myriad routes – offline and in other ways. Virtual scenes are much more reliant on specific platforms, applications and websites. Virtual scenes and the virtual layers of local and trans-local scenes are woven together from data processing architectures with social interfaces, and these interfaces are constantly working to solicit subjects. The primary architecture here is social media, and our respondents spoke of social media often. As space, this is a complex territory. Throughout social media – and repositories of social interaction found in other online media – we can see social interaction clearly on the surface, but elsewhere a range of commercial processes work away. As subjects participate in virtual music scenes, the processing of data in both tangible and obscured ways is ever-present. Added to this, the commercially focused data industries work towards a now familiar goal: relationship-building. Like the music industries themselves, the currency of social media is attention; gaining it, monetizing it and maintaining it. This presents a complex preface for virtual scene engagement as multiple industries volley, collaborate and compete *within* the architecture – *within* the ambient fabric of the cultural space – for our participation in something that can feel commercially unfettered.

During interviews, all of our respondents were questioned about their music discovery processes, specifically regarding online discovery, and their participation within virtual communities and social media. With very few exceptions, respondents maintained virtual online engagements with music, and these technologies were grounded within their daily music consumption or production routines. What follows is an account of the most popular technologies employed during the

fieldwork and, where possible, an account of how these applications and platforms were deployed.

YouTube: Streaming and Remembering

By far the most popular social platform within our data set was the video-streaming service YouTube. This is hardly surprising: the rapidly expanding music-streaming marketplace – in both audio and video – is completely dominated by the Google-backed platform. Since appearing in the last decade, YouTube has become a near-ubiquitous presence within the online music space. This is partly due to YouTube's early entrance into the market, but also speaks to the enormous breadth of content available on the site and the vast network of redistribution YouTube videos enjoy within social media and static websites alike. Even a cursory glance through the relevant parts of our respondents' interviews reveal YouTube's dominance. Its use is varied and diverse:

Sally (Canberra) I look on YouTube to see if I want to buy something, if I don't know much about it or if I see a song in a movie.
Whitney (Perth) I go on YouTube a lot. I have three or four songs on YouTube myself.
Ian (Adelaide) I will type that name into YouTube so I know who they are.
Diana (Adelaide) If I'm researching music it's usually … I usually just YouTube it and see if I like it, then I'll buy the album.
Mac (Sydney) Like the other day my friend in Spain, for my birthday, sent me this YouTube playlist of new music that he thought I might like which I haven't actually heard much of yet.
Tim (Canberra) Just more of a curiosity factor. And very occasionally as a tutorial. If I can't figure out how to play something that I want to play … there's this weird Japanese guy who wears this enormous cap and he sort of puts on this whole punk routine. You know, he's got this cigarette that he never lights dangling out of his mouth, this whole Japanese punk thing going. But he's a great guitar player and he does really good tutorials. There's that.

The YouTube platform lends itself to this variety of uses. Respondents used it as a means to sample music, consume music, learn an instrument or a specific song, or to conduct research. The videos themselves can

be curated into playlists, commented upon and shared. The platform's strength is in its diversity of both content and use, and in its optimized and established interface.

A theme underlying this use of YouTube became evident. Our respondents primarily used the service as an indexed search engine, one that was close to hand and reliably comprehensive. Yet, once inside the platform, the allure of YouTube algorithmically suggested that further viewing proved potent as well. Some respondents talked of viewing YouTube almost like broadcast television: they sat down at the computer with the full expectation that the platform would in itself prove entertaining. Michael from Hobart certainly viewed the service as a competing broadcast:

Interviewer Do you watch TV documentaries, or watch movies about music, or read books about music or anything like that?
Michael (Hobart) No, not really. Occasionally, if there's something good on … I think it's Channel V on Austar, or Foxtel or whatever you want to call it now, they have a jukebox on Saturday, occasionally I watch that. I'd rather listen to it, I don't know, I just get bored watching it. I probably watch more on YouTube. I sit down and go in and watch '60s, '70s things, on the computer at the same time, that's probably what I do more.

Only a few of our survey pool uploaded video to the platform, but a greater number spoke of either owning or collecting the sort of content available on the site; many of the collectors had old VHS tapes they planned to digitize, or hardcopy media of video currently streaming on the site. Our respondents were primarily consumers of YouTube, but this consumption tended to be active and spread across a multitude of different modes of consumption, all originating from the platform's search engine.

One aspect of YouTube consumption proved especially relevant: the use of the platform to remember music. Our survey tool was orientated towards questions of cultural memory, but did not directly address this with regard to online media. Instead, respondents seemed to quickly bring YouTube and memory together for themselves when asked about their day-to-day online behaviours. For a great many of our respondents, YouTube was a *way* to remember music with which they had previously engaged:

Brian (Canberra) I go on to YouTube to watch videos or like old bands, or nostalgic things.
Albert (Canberra) I do look at YouTube. Often someone will send you a link … and it's like, a cool, old [rock band] Lubricated Goats clip from the early '90s and I didn't even know they made clips and then you have a look through and go off on a bit of a tangent and find these old clips that you never saw, rediscover some band you were into 20 years ago.

This hints at the depth of YouTube. Respondents reported being constantly surprised at what could be found on the platform, often searching through for music that *couldn't possibly be on there* to find uploads from other fans and collectors. There is a sense that respondents are in collaboration with each other here, as hard-core fans of particular bands curate and upload work for very niche audiences of likeminded people.

At interview, we heard the details of how people used YouTube in this way. The following anecdote provided by Elliot from Canberra draws together various themes covered so far. In ways similar to those discussed in the previous section, Elliot's desire to capture, curate and screen video content pre-dates the internet:

Elliot (Canberra) I was looking up (US band) Crowbar clips on Friday night. I was showing my brother. It's great for that. Because, I don't know, [in the past] I'd screw up with taping *rage* (see Chap. 4). I had another VCR that I had ripped out of my mum's room and tried to dub the good clips off to that tape and then that would be my clip tape or whatever, which I'm sure most people did.

Dubbing and compiling video was difficult. The sources of video were scarce, and the technology to curate them was troublesome. This is the historical context within which Elliot now views YouTube:

Elliot (Canberra) So now I've really embraced the fact that YouTube's there. I remember talking about having bootlegs of live shows from international bands. [In the past] someone had to have a transformer and a whatever it is, NSTC channel, just so they can watch whatever it was, whatever bootlegs gig it was. Now all we have to do is chuck it into YouTube. There's even clips of my own band on there that I'm like … that was just unheard of back then.

Meanwhile, John from Brisbane (detailed in Chap. 6) actually saw some benefit in the emotional and physical labour of this pre-YouTube era. During our interview, he made careful correlations between that labour and the powerful rewards of that kind of focused desire:

Interviewer And, I mean I think you told me you had a bit of a clean up a couple of years ago, but do you keep a lot of like memorabilia and posters and things like that?
John (Brisbane) I've got a huge box of promo photos under the house. I've got some of the tapes from the tape trading days. A lot of that stuff is now available in other places – stuff that I would have killed for in, like, 1990, is just – I can watch the video on YouTube, and I find that really kind of bizarre, because I remember the pains of hunting for something, and it taking anywhere up to like two years to get it. You know, you read about it, and you – *that sounds so cool* – and then you become obsessed with finding it, and yeah, it takes you two years, and the copy that you get is like a twentieth-generation copy. That is all gone, and I think there's a – I think partly why I am who I am is because of that experience of having to really, like …
Interviewer Work for it?
John (Brisbane) Yeah. Have the hunger. And be – actually maybe belligerence comes from that – *I'm going to get this thing. I'm going to find this demo tape, or this song that I want to hear.* And it was the same – even, like, Triple Z, you know Triple Z would occasionally play stuff, and you'd think – there's this song called 'Fade to Grey' by some local metal band from 1990 or something, and I actually want to find it again, because I kind of get the melody caught in my head sometimes, and I think, wow, I wonder who that band was, and what that song was – I remember at the time waiting for them to play it on the metal show so that I could record it off the radio.

In the era of YouTube, Elliot and John's sense of access is palatable. 'Even clips of my own band' and things barely remembered appear within a few keystrokes.

We found this reported sense of awe concerning YouTube's deep archive over and over again in the interview material. Respondents were shocked to find a digital souvenir of something barely remembered. Whitney from Perth experienced this:

Whitney (Perth) I did it last night, I just sit there and go *Who haven't I thought of lately?* And you go on that YouTube and you can find anybody, and I like the do wop era from the '50s so you can go and listen to all those old groups like The Diamonds and The Penguins, and all these people that you never thought you could get this music of. And I have this little thing, I might think of some people and I write their names down and I go home and I go on there and up it comes.

Other respondents had similar anecdotes, all centred around memory and remembrance:

Interviewer With your own sort of personal music listening do you download music or look at YouTube or …
Herc (Brisbane) I look at YouTube but I seem to go just to what I want to listen to, from what I grew up with.
Interviewer Do you use other stuff, like Facebook, YouTube?
Lance (Adelaide) YouTube, sure, yeah. Mainly for looking up old stuff. Someone says, *What about this?* I don't know who this is, so you get a little snippet. I remember a bit of lyric so I type that in and up comes the appropriate video from the dark ages somewhere. But that's more a look-up resource rather than a primary way of discovering anything. That's just a memory for me.

Apart from sampling brand new and/or completely unheard music, this is the primary use of YouTube that we found. Respondents used YouTube as a tool to prompt memory and to unlock other material located close by, be it in terms of keystrokes or within the mind.

The discovery of music-related memories and the combined interests upon which they draw in YouTube can be a powerful moment for listeners. It is given extra potency by the fact that these tiny communal interactions are centred around music videos, completely excluded from other available visual media, and often similarly excluded from print and online music reportage. This is the world of niche music, set within local scenes, capturing physical, cultural and social dynamics that have long passed predominantly into memory. The currency of these memories is not a widely shared currency, yet they are made all the more powerful because of the limited interest these videos have to broader listening demographics. In a very real sense, *everyone* harbours a desire like this. We all have memories

of music that fall outside of mainstream or canonized desires – this is what Kevin Kelly calls music's long tail (see Anderson 2008) – and YouTube's allure is centred around bringing us very close to the digital artefacts of those memories and the events that helped to shape them.

Facebook: The Central Channel

When discussing music, YouTube was front of mind for our respondents. Yet, when looking through our data set, another major contributor to the online lives and virtual scenes of those interviewed was social networking site Facebook. Emerging from Harvard University in 2004, Facebook has quickly risen to prominence, servicing as many as a billion users per day (Zuckerberg 2015). Beginning as a service for publishing online user profiles and micro-blog-style updates, Facebook very quickly began to roll out a suite of additional services, including a communal news feed, video streaming, chat messaging, events promotion and the 'Like' button (a voting system, of sorts, for content). For the most part, Facebook has relied on third parties to supply native music applications and music content. The service's early competitor, MySpace, was heavily integrated with music culture, yet Facebook has, since its inception, focused much more heavily on a broader demographic of end-users, and on streamlining the interface. Music on Facebook is treated largely as any other media content. For example, bands and artists can create 'Pages' (user-like profiles for their creative work) that interact with various third-party music-focused applications, but these pages sit alongside similar portals for business, companies, brands, entertainment and social causes. For the most part, Facebook provides the infrastructure for an array of communal online engagements, and its strength is in how effective the company has been in fostering this. The platform is broad-reaching, intuitive and enticing.

In reviewing our interview data concerning Facebook, we were struck by the diversity of ways in which users interact with music and music communities on the platform. As huge numbers of users congregate on Facebook, the diversity of music-related online interaction similarly expands, and at present Facebook's full relation to virtual music scenes is difficult to pin down. Much like the multi-use music production spaces described in Chap. 6, Facebook is implicated across various parts of the music space, and often acts as both conduit and intersection between the various pathways of a music scene, be they virtual, local or trans-local.

Facebook succeeds as a music platform by merit of its ability to connect people and make visible the currencies of music scenes to those who are within the network. Subjective opinions of the platform's cultural worth varied in our data set, but trended positive; some respondents purposefully avoided the platform, but a large segment of our survey pool saw Facebook as valuable or, at worst, as an ambient – if occasionally aggravating – presence in their daily online interactions. For the most part, respondents positioned the utility of Facebook in ways similar to Brian:

Brian (Canberra) Facebook's really good at the moment, I think, for finding new bands or being friends with your bands who are then friends with other bands, and you can listen to a lot of tunes and that kind of thing, so that's always good.

This ability of users to access or view the wider networks just beyond those immediately close to them is valuable, almost as if the platform allows a 'big picture' view of the music scene. Simone and Molly, both from Adelaide, experienced this:

Simone (Adelaide) And I don't know, sometimes I'll just look on other people's Facebook pages, and if they have liked all these other bands that I like, and I don't recognize one of them, then I'll go look up the one that I don't recognize.
Interviewer What about Facebook? Are you on Facebook?
Molly (Adelaide) Yeah, so my friends will be talking about gigs, most of the gigs I go to I hear about through Facebook. We talk about music and listen to music from Facebook. I think I like the Pages that my friends like and things like that.

As did Isabelle from Hobart, who charted the migration of users from a community-specific type of message board to various pockets of Facebook:

Isabelle (Hobart) Hobart has … or had a web forum called The Dwarf. It used to be called The Naked Dwarf, and anybody who is anybody was involved in this thing and we all used to go on there and rant, and argue and talk rubbish, and it was really, really fun … But really that stuff has been replaced by Facebook, and Facebook I find is really good for finding out what's going on, who's doing what and communicating with friends.

Because there's so much of it that's really social, who's doing what and where people are going and stuff like that.

This is the virtual layer of music scenes online, as mentioned in Chap. 2. It is a virtual component of cultural space that relates to the analogue and concrete in myriad ways. Facebook seldom appears to create purely virtual scenes; rather, it has strived to colonize the liminal zones between virtual, local and trans-local music scenes. Its value is in its ability to foster (and exploit) connections that exist beyond the online space, via a purposefully minimal interface.

The popularity of Facebook has formalized and centralized a variety of virtual, local and trans-local communicative processes. During the interviews, our respondents spoke of using Facebook to conduct business and creative collaborations, to manage personal relationships and to crowd-source knowledge. The intersections with the traditional pathways of a local music scene were pronounced. Ron and Holden from Hobart steered their bands through various channels found on the platform:

Ron (Hobart) Facebook has been great, bandwise, for advertising the band. The biggest thing is what my bandmate started doing, and we started having … [He] started up a private conversation between everybody involved in the gig, because we started becoming quite anal about getting stuff organized and really hate sort of turning up to a venue and sort of … It's happened a lot since we've been in bands – turning up to a venue and nobody knows what is going on. Now we can organize it all before we get there, it's been fantastic, a marvellous tool for that.
Holden (Hobart) I use Facebook not really as a personal thing a lot, it's very much more kind of a business-support tool for me. I follow the music media pages, and bands and do stuff for my own bands … And I've got … you communicate with your friends and stuff but I don't post too much personal stuff. It's more promoting my gigs and people connect with me on that level.

Meanwhile, Tina developed her music practice through the platform:

Tina (Hobart) The reason I started making music was that I found this one band and I didn't realize, this is just one guy, and I didn't realize he was from Hobart, and then when I realized, I started talking to him on Facebook and then I started making music because he made it so accessible.

This concept of Facebook as a portal to information and communal knowledge came up repeatedly as users looked to the platform for various recommendations and types of assistance. Archie from Sydney was involved in community radio, and regularly went to Facebook followers with questions, despite a huge personal music archive and first-hand knowledge:

Archie (Sydney) So I use Facebook a lot for the label, for my stuff. It's great if I'm doing a radio show and you put out the call or if I want to find something these days, I just have to … like the other day does anyone have The Dubrovniks' cover of Leonard Cohen. I've got 4,800 friends of which I know 80, that's just the way it is but I'm going to get 20 responses in five minutes going *I've got it, where do you want me to send you an MP3 and by the way have you heard blah-blah-blah and blah-blah-blah?* So I use it for that.

The same could be said of John from Brisbane. In an earlier chapter, John described his professional life as one dependent on social connection. As such, he looks at Facebook as a means of both information retrieval and inspiration, sometimes in quite literal and direct ways:

John (Brisbane) Ah, well, I would probably sadly check Facebook a couple of times a day, partly, um, it's to see – I actually – I've got a stupidly large amount of friends, and I do find that things rapidly shift at different periods, so I will tend to log on at certain points when some people are more active than others, and that's partly because I actually think there's really good referencing and inspirational information to be gotten out of Facebook. Some of the projects I'm doing this year come out of some other people's posts that made me think about something last year, for example, um, so I think there's actually – I found this sort of Babel exchange in it.

Finally, Facebook has established itself as a de facto *word-of-mouth* promotional mechanism for one of the music scene's key products: live performance. In vibrant scenes, now populated by individuals with huge, partially virtual social networks, Facebook has become an essential gig guide. This is not the gig guide of old – advertorial listings in street papers, street flyers and posters, the calendar of static websites – but a socially curated list of what one's friends and acquaintances are planning to attend

in the coming days. The events section of Facebook can be seen to play a hugely influential role in the local scene:

Interviewer How do you find out about this stuff – like, I mean it is not like you are on mailing lists and groups and things like that?
Lena (Sydney) I think it is mainly Facebook, through notifications, through affiliating yourself with the liking of a venue. Through befriending people with similar music tastes so you will hear where they are going and you will go and check it out and what is this place, do a bit of stalking and go along as well. Postering doesn't exist with experimental music; we can't afford paper, so it is really going online. That is one of the difficult things that really irritated me when I started organizing gigs: how do we find out about these things and how do people who aren't in the loop, who aren't in the know, come along to them, you know? How do we break free of any exclusivity? You can't, apparently. It took me two years.

Rick from Canberra also noted this:

Interviewer So do you get recommendations through that or …?
Rick (Canberra) If I wasn't on Facebook I'd miss out on all the gigs as well, because everything's just done through that. And especially here where there's only a couple of gatekeepers who are pretty much putting on all the gigs. As long as you are friends with them.

This final example of the gig guide is telling. This is a prime example of Facebook's ability to virtually encroach on the local and trans-local, to build synergies between the most physical and concrete. The platform's near ubiquity and its variety of tailored communication channels (including instant messaging) make Facebook specifically suited to the key currencies of music scenes. The platform exploits a diverse array of desires within participants, gleaning data and audiences and offering convenience, connection and content in return.

In this section, we have examined two key online technologies underpinning music scene participation in Australia. Both platforms – YouTube and Facebook – and a host of other less popular applications mentioned by respondents (Twitter, Instagram, blogs) all vie for our attention and the right to mediate our relationship with music, memory and each other. Memory was foregrounded in relation to YouTube, as the service's massive, widely circulating archive builds a huge interconnected web of niche audiences. By contrast, Facebook strives to insert itself into the everyday lives of scene participants. Both platforms form the virtual layer by which

almost all of us now negotiate the cultural space of music scenes. The full implications of this layer are as yet unknown. We do not yet know how the operation and articulatory processes of these virtual spaces exactly impact participation over the long term, but the tone of responses we procured was positive, ranging from a full embrace of the virtual's networked benefits through to a begrudging acceptance of its convenience. For the most part, our respondents enjoyed YouTube and Facebook, and saw them as close-to-hand tools that furthered participation.

Changing Parameters: The Virtual Layer as a Topography

Is the virtual layer a pathway through hereto unseen parts of music participation or an unrealized map of participation? Or is it both? When we sat down with Scotty from Sydney and asked him about his online habits, he told us he saw social media and the virtual space as a tailored experience, his way *through* the virtual scene:

Scotty (Sydney) I get onto Facebook and, you know, continually catch up with what particular artists are doing and find banked-up dialogue and so on, and I am sort of getting my own curatorial path as opposed to following a particular blogger or a writer or so on.

Scotty was experienced with online technology. He worked in digital arts marketing for a living, in addition to running an active online record label and a radio show on Sydney community radio. Much of his life was spent immersed in the online space, and the description he gave of his 'curatorial path' was a provocative one. In his mind, the virtual layer contained similar pathways through cultural space to those Ruth Finnegan (1989) reported on in Milton Keynes' local music scene. The difference here is one of infrastructure: the question of how and who and what is scaffolding the pathway. As we perused our respondent data, we found that interviewees saw the online space in much the same fashion as Scotty. They did not see the virtual layer as a wide-open frontier – as a limitless expanse of potentialities – but rather as a chaotic and noisy environment requiring strategic and tactical responses. They were not exactly blinkered in their view of the virtual space, but rather the pathways they used imposed limits and narratives that, taken as a whole, bore far more relation to the trans-local than expected.

As discussed in Chap. 2, the trans-local music scene is the pivotal conception of contemporary music scene participation. The encroaching virtual layer is trans-local by default, by merit of the fact that these technologies are designed to circumnavigate and augment face-to-face communication. These technologies not only are adding new vectors and collaborative possibilities to the cultural space of local music, but are also deeply porous structures; without question, these technologies and the media they encourage defy the boundaries of the local. The local can articulate itself via online media such as YouTube and Facebook, but keeping these processes discretely and rigidly local is almost impossible. Instead, these platforms excel at fostering the trans-local, at making the trans-local processes of music scenes visible. Today, when a local band goes on tour, the expanded network they encounter is formalized incrementally on social media. When a locally staged experimental music show happens in front of an audience of 30 people, it is digitally videoed, bootlegged, photographed and distributed; the people at the show signal their attendance; the artists leave a virtual footprint as they promote their work through their online networks of friends, and friends of friends, and fans and strangers looking on. It is hard to imagine the operation of trans-local scenes without the virtual.

To a great degree, this virtual shift can be seen as a formalization of word of mouth. This is self-evident in Facebook and YouTube both heavily relying on user-generated content. Yet traces of this can likewise be found in the dismantling of older media institutions in the wake of social media. When asking our respondents how they researched music, the most common response was social media, often accompanied by anecdotes of social media bringing this content to them. Only a small subset of interviewees mentioned branded music journalism and criticism websites; they were not popular. Of those mentioned, US page Pitchfork.com (by the far the dominant music criticism site online) was the most often cited, alongside mentions of pages for traditional music brands like *Rolling Stone* and *NME*. Many respondents reported reading blogs aimed at niches in which they maintained an interest. Yet, overwhelmingly, the suggestion was that the virtual shift had eroded the power and relevancy of formalized music criticism/reportage. What exists in its place is extremely niche content about a constellation of music artists and an online space completely geared towards connecting users with the taste of other users.

Taking all of this into account, the key theoretical move with virtual scenes here may be a sidewards one. At the advent of the virtual scene

concept, Peterson and Bennett (2004, p. 11) described the virtual layer in the following terms:

> Whereas a conventional local scene is kept in motion by a series of gigs, club nights fairs, and similar events where fans converge, communicate, and reinforce their sense of belonging to a particular scene, the virtual scene involves direct Net-mediated person-to-person communication between fans, and the scene is therefore much more nearly in the control of fans.

Some of this has come to pass. There have certainly been virtual scenes almost entirely predicated on internet-mediated person-to-person communication, but for the most part the virtual has curiously been used more to augment and streamline the exact types of 'conventional local' participation that it was once thought to replace. During an era where we have the tools to create entirely new virtual scenes, our respondents have tended to use the attendant platforms to curate local offline participation into their online lives. The virtual has likewise made increasing attempts to insert itself into these physical offline spaces – as much as a meaningful sense of 'offline' can be achieved in the age of mobile computing and digital imaging. The virtual scene has not replaced or significantly disrupted the local space; instead, it can be seen to map and scaffold the trans-local networks that – in a time before widespread internet use – were already in place, in a fashion not completely dissimilar to what exists today.

At heart, the virtual layer offers a topography of scene. The online digital world, with its focus on data and surveillance, maps over music scenes. The layer is dense, difficult to read and impermanent, and to combat this our respondents curate content and use tools to manage the complexities of this virtual excess. Underlying these complexities are the complexities of the concrete world and everyday life, where our respondents maintain sizable – if less visible – trans-local connections, alongside competing interests, desires, resources and priorities. How respondents move through the physical world and the cultural space of a music scene tends to be augmented by the virtual. Within music scenes, the virtual still assists and mimics rather than seriously presents itself as a replacement.

One of the key theorists grounding scene (and Will Straw's inciting article) is Michel de Certeau (1984) in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. De Certeau was interested in the sort of topographies offered by the virtual.

In his influential chapter on spatial practices (Chap. 8: Walking in the City), de Certeau takes an elevator to the top of the World Trade Center and surveys a topography of New York City that sounds uncannily like the contemporary internet:

> a texturology in which extremes coincide – extremes of ambition and degradation, brutal oppositions of races and styles, contrasts between yesterday's buildings, already transformed into trash cans, and today's urban irruptions that block out its space. Unlike Rome, New York has never learned the art of growing old by playing on all its pasts. Its present invents itself, for hour to hour, in the act of throwing away its previous accomplishments and challenging the future … a gigantic rhetoric of excess in both expenditure and production. (p. 91)

For de Certeau, the transit through the ever-shifting space of the city is paramount. The movement of human beings, along pathways, through the city acts to create and recreate the city: 'They weave places together' (p. 97). At the same time, this articulatory process is haunted by visions of the official and the ideal (p. 103). The gestural and social codes of internet notwithstanding, the stories our respondents told of their online lives were stories of how the virtual connected with the physical. Within the sphere of music participation, the virtual layer was always a lens through which to view the concrete and the everyday. Viewed in this way, the virtual provides a unique opportunity: it is the macro-view of the scene that was once largely invisible. As an archive of communication, images, sound and data, it likewise becomes an archive of prompts and 'souvenirs', and thus an interconnected web of cultural memory.

Yet the enormity of the virtual layer proves impossible to parse. We cannot know the city – to extend Certeau's metaphor – by viewing it from above. Instead, the space is created in the mass of transit through it and articulated in past-tense discourse, derived from particular subjective standpoints, often from the messy narratives of memory. These are essential articulations. As our respondents used online platforms to curate pathways through the expanse of the virtual, so too do music scene participants seek out and create articulations that make sense of the space around them. Ultimately, the virtual is a timely reminder of orientation. Even from the most macro-viewpoint, the researcher and the participant of music scenes are *positioned* within cultural space. A near-infinite set of alternatives to particular positions exist and, as such, all articulation is

subjective. This is, of course, a failing of all research, but here it provides a valuable cue – and a comforting reminder – that to work with scene is to accept the 'scene' for what it is, be it local, trans-local or virtual. It is a composite of stories.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined intersections between music scenes and the virtual topography that flows out from them online. These intersections are varied: some are temporal, whereby the virtual can be seen as a moment in the history of a broader, longer concept that pre-dates the internet; some are driven by technology, by specific platforms that facilitate, data-mine and profit from these intersections; and some are theoretical intersections, where the virtual can be seen as a return to or an elaboration of earlier ideas driving the scene concept. Cultural memory is threaded through much of this. The virtual layer draws a tremendous amount of its potency and allure from memory work. Its appeal is much like that of the souvenir. Our participants did not so much remember the virtual as draw memory out of it. They took to recontextualizing fragments of it – fragments found via a search engine, algorithmically suggested or provided by other users. As a topography created by ambient, often seldom considered, online processes, the virtual can be seen as a series of memory fragments that reveal the pathways taken, the circumstantial moves made and the discourse of participation. What was most surprising was how closely a music scene as a concept aligned with virtual scene as content. In the future, researchers would be wise to consider the virtual as a serious abstraction of local and trans-local scenes. This is an abstraction with notable consequences. It is a presence in our lives that is increasingly encroaching on the local and trans-local in ways that are emergent, and thus little understood. Yet, beyond this, there are opportunities to push the concept of scene further with the virtual, acting as it does, as one of the most comprehensive models of music scene participation available to the academy.

CHAPTER 8

The Distance from an Unknown Centre: The Discourses of Periphery and Edge in Music Scenes

In this final chapter, we examine notions of centre and periphery, and how these are used in the construction of scene discourses. Even at their most fluid and virtual, music scenes are a type of boundary work (see Straw 1991; Bennett and Peterson 2004). They rely on sites and places – be they geographically defined cities, genre constructions drawn from sound or the congregation of individuals around certain ideas and beliefs. Despite scene's constant association with topographic metaphors, one of the key tenets of the scenes framework is the location of a centre or a central zone around which to survey cultural space. Scene may make allusions to vectors, transit, diversity, space and cross-pollination, but in the practice of popular music research, centralized points of observation are almost always chosen.

During the course of the fieldwork for this book, the inherent complexity of scene as a metaphorical device for encapsulating each of the above qualities was continually apparent. Equally apparent was the trans-temporal nature of scene when applied by research participants in the course of their everyday vernacular descriptions of musical life. In considering how such aspects of scene discourse are informed by notions of centre and periphery, this chapter looks at four key themes that were evident in the accounts offered by research participants during the interviews: isolation, deficit, appropriation and re-visioning.

Isolation is discussed via a case study of Perth, the capital of Western Australia. Chapter 5 noted that the geographical location of Perth has

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2_8

created a widely endorsed discourse of isolation among those involved in the city's local music scenes. Here we examine this discourse in more detail, and consider the multifaceted ways in which it plays out in everyday descriptions of popular music production, performance and consumption in Perth. In examining discourses of deficit, we turn our attention to smaller cities and provincial towns, where an oft-noted lack of the kinds of hard and soft infrastructure (Stahl 2004) that are the lifeblood of scenes engenders both a cultural drift among some musicians and fans (who idealize the larger, urban centres) and enclaves of DIY activity among diehard scenesters. Even in the larger urban centres, where hard and soft infrastructures abound, those involved in more alternative and underground scenes often experience a sense of encroachment by 'mainstream' commercial concerns. The resulting process of resistance is often informed by perceptions of the popular urban past. For example, attempts in some contemporary cityscapes to create so-called 'cultural quarters' have met with antagonism from locals, whose emotional attachment to localized notions of cultural creativity remain rooted in earlier spatializations of such creativity. A salient example of this, and one explored in this chapter, is the increasing prominence of DIY music venues, whose collective cultural mission is to contest and subvert what are deemed to be the narrower forms of musical entertainment offered in the context of the official night-time economy and its regulated spaces of consumption. We began to explore this theme in Chap. 5. During the course of this chapter, we will expand the range of our inquiry to discuss how the reappropriation of particular city spaces, and the re-visioning of private spaces as unofficial music venues, embody their own centre–periphery discourses. In this context, scene members join forces in aesthetic combat against the urban advance of what they perceive to be an indiscriminate and culturally bland mainstream.

The Most Isolated City

Dave (Perth) Very few people used to come to Perth. International acts would[n't] come to Perth because it was so far away from everywhere else, even Adelaide, so a national tour would basically maybe start in Sydney and finish in Adelaide and that would be it.

As the capital of Western Australia, Perth is the only major city in the west of the country. Over the years, this has earned it the reputation of

being the world's most isolated city – a somewhat mythical reputation, given that a number of other cities, among them Reykjavik, Honolulu and Anchorage, are technically more geographically remote than Perth. This is, however, not to imply that Perth's inhabitants have no basis upon which to talk about the city as having a peripheral status.

Throughout much of its history, Perth has suffered from a significant lack of connection, even to other cities in Australia. Located on the south-west coast of the world's 'largest island and smallest continent', as Australia is often dubbed, Perth is separated from the cities on Australia's eastern seaboard by vast tracts of desert and sparsely populated outback regions. Even Adelaide, the capital of the state of South Australia and the closest Australian city to Perth, is 2,793 kilometres away. Parts of the Eyre Highway that connects Perth and Adelaide (also referred to as the Nullarbor Crossing due to the fact that it traverses the Nullarbor Desert) remained unsealed until as recently as 1976. As the above quote from Dave, a local music fan, mobile record store owner and DJ, reveals, Perth's geographical location has, until quite recently, also had a significant impact on its exposure to national and international popular music artists, who would often omit the city from their touring schedules due to its remoteness. This has, in turn, had a clear influence on the nature of the Perth music scene, which – perhaps unsurprisingly – has nurtured a high number of homegrown artists. Thus, in a city that has often appeared to be off the beaten track for national and international touring bands, local bands have stepped up to meet the demand among Perth music fans for live music events. Stuart, a higher education teacher, music fan and amateur musician from Perth, recalled about experiencing live music during his youth:

Stuart (Perth) When I was about 15 it was [the] mid-'60s, there would be bands like Ross & The Little Wheels, Johnny & The Strangers, Ray Hoff & The Offbeats, that we would hitchhike from Scarborough to Swanbourne or to Cottesloe to go … and see them and they were great. Really good bands; there's a very few recordings but they are all really high quality for the time. In those days we were even more isolated and it was hard … I mean after that early jive, you know, [the] Ray Hoff, Johnny Young, Russ Kennedy era there's another era of Blues bands, there's quite a strong Blues tradition in Western Australia. Bands called Last Chance Café and The Elks, Aces, Beagle Boys, very good bands. Just about five, or maybe more now, years ago they had a thing at the Ed Centre site …

called the Old Day Out. They got together a lot of those bands and particularly the Beagle Boys, Scott Wise, Gary Masel, just great musicians, got together and without rehearsal, did a set and it was just sensational. I was so relieved because I wasn't deluded it was great, it was just, because when I first saw them it took my breath away. Life changed, it was so good, such a tight rhythm section, great singing, great playing and here 20 something years later when they did this spot it was just fantastic.

As this account from Stuart illustrates, by the mid-1960s, the local Perth popular music scene had already acquired a sense of itself as a scene on the periphery – a music scene that was not typically augmented by bands on the national and international touring circuits and thus had built a critical momentum of its own. A strong sense of DIY practice fed the local Perth music scene throughout the 1950s and 1960s – although the term DIY has not often been used by local people, then or currently. This trend has continued in more recent decades as well. Indeed, over the years this 'survival instinct' aspect of Perth popular music, born of the city's geographic isolation, has emerged as a key factor through which locals both account for, and in many ways collectively 'celebrate', what they perceive to be the distinctiveness of the popular music produced in Perth. Speaking about the sheer amount of local, homegrown music written, recorded/performed and consumed in Perth over the years, Brendan, a local musician and music promoter, commented:

Brendan (Perth) I think that as a scene [Perth has] punched well above its weight, I think, in terms of population and there is just something about Perth where I don't really know why, maybe because of the isolation.

As Stuart and Brendan's comments jointly reveal, if the local representation of Perth as a 'music city' on the periphery fuels potent memories of its popular music past, then such memories also play a significant role in reproducing Perth's musical sense of itself in the present. Thus discourses of isolation, although increasingly romantic in a practical sense, continue to work through the local knowledge of Perth residents to inform ideas about the quality, character and significance of popular music in the city.

The WMBC music documentary *Something in the Water* (O'Bryan 2008) presents an interesting example of this. Despite being released as recently as 2008, the documentary draws heavily on the discourse of isolation in its treatment of Perth as a hive of musical activity on the periphery. The musicians interviewed, including a number who have had national

and even international success, are uniformly reverent in their appraisal of Perth as a city on the edge, and therefore forced to 'think locally', to act largely on its own initiative in nurturing and maintaining a vibrant music scene. Thus, rather than bemoaning a sense of isolation and being 'off the radar' musically speaking, those interviewed in the documentary turn this potentially negative factor into a highly positive aspect of the Perth popular music experience.

Obviously, at one level the discourses espoused by many local musicians in Perth do not seem too distant from those adopted by local musicians in other cities struggling for space to perform and/or to gain artistic recognition. Indeed, much of what is said by those involved in music production, promotion and performance in Perth is actually part of a much wider, inherently global rhetoric of the gigging musician looking for a break – and occasionally finding it (see, for example, Cohen 1991; Rogers 2008). However, in the context of Perth, such discourses of art, creativity and struggle are supplied with a specifically localized resonance through the concept of periphery as this is rehearsed by locals in their accounts of the geographical situation of Perth and its physical distance from other centres of music-making in Australia and elsewhere. Indeed, such can be the tenacity of this inward representation of Perth, even in the present context of a more 'connected world', both physically and virtually speaking, that the periphery discourse applied by locals involved in the production, performance and consumption of local music can be seen to undergo a discernible shift – from an actual physical obstacle to a form of branding: a means through which to actively promote and 'sell' the music and broader creativity of a periphery city to the wider world as culture made on, and representative of, 'the edge'.

In his study *Places on the Margin*, Shields (1991) examines the way in which peripheral spaces are socially constructed. For Shields, a centrally defining characteristic of a peripheral or marginal space is its oft-branded status as a non-cosmopolitan netherworld, separated off from a continually advancing mainstream culture and stuck in a limbo of the past. Thus, according to Shields (p. 3):

> Marginal places, those towns and regions that have been 'left behind' in the modern race for progress evoke both nostalgia and fascination. Their marginal status may come from out-of-the-way geographic locations, being the site of illicit or disdained social activities, or being the Other pole to a great cultural centre … They all carry the image, and stigma, of their marginality which becomes indistinguishable from any basic empirical identity

> they might once have had. From this *primary* ranking of cultural status they might also end up being classified in what geographers have mapped as systems of 'centres and peripheries'.

In his alignment of the margin with the non-urban – that is to say, with geographically remote, and/or socio-economically dysfunctional towns and regions – Shields paints a very definite picture of marginality as something imposed from the outside; an involuntary label affixed to whole communities, their ways of life and everyday physical environments through their positioning in powerful centre–periphery discourses that emanate from dominant centres of economic and cultural power. Indeed, this is typically how marginal places have been theorized in many examples of academic work examining centre–periphery relationships (see, for example, Shils 1961; Massey 1992). Missing from Shields' interpretation of the margin, though, is any consideration of its potential for evolution from a label imposed on non-cosmopolitan regional and rural sites, to a *self-imposed* and *self-perpetuated* form of collective social and cultural identity – a means by which fashionable discourses of otherness can be woven together and used to articulate a sense of place from within.

Indeed, when interpreted in this way, an added dimension of the 'margin' comes into play, one that may ultimately transcend its common association with notions of 'out of the wayness' parochialism and disfunctionality to become a potent symbol of urban identity, not to say urban chic – the self-styled 'periphery' city. This certainly presents as a credible means of interpreting the collective perception of Perth among those involved in the city's local music scenes. The following observation from Ralph, who works for a local independent radio station, illustrates this point:

Ralph (Perth) There's … a perception that, or [there] has been for a number of years and I think it's starting to be dispelled, that in order to be successful, Perth bands need to go overseas or over east and so when we see local bands becoming successful, there's often mixed feelings because we feel as though in a way, they sort of betrayed us by leaving which again clings on to this really weird sort of parochial sense of cultural ownership but there's also a sense of pride because – you know, that [they] are a product of the cultural milieu in which we exist.

Ralph's comments constitute an extremely astute and highly reflexive observation concerning the increasingly romanticized, yet still widely

endorsed, belief among Perth locals concerning popular music in the city, and the people who create and consume it. Within this, the discourse of periphery has symbolically 'moved on' from being perceived as an obstacle to having a more positive and fulfilling quality as a catalyst for creative innovation and musical distinctiveness. In this sense, the peripheral acquires an air of chicness and exclusivity, a cool and distinctive space in which locally produced music and other aspects of art and culture 'authentically' resonate with their physical surroundings.

In a 'Shitty Country Town'

If, for some music scenes, the notion of the periphery can be turned to their creative advantage, for others it presents as a palpable restriction to the genuine fulfilment of creative and artistic integrity. This is particularly the case in smaller regional and rural towns, where the lack of hard and soft infrastructures (Stahl 2004) for music-making makes for a very limited sense of scene. This is significantly so in large countries such as Australia, where distances between a regional town and the nearest major city can often be several hundred kilometres. As observed elsewhere in this book, and in the broader scenes literature (see, for example, Bennett and Peterson 2004), the emergence of digital technology has to some extent contributed to a closing of the gap between the rural and the urban. Indeed, several studies have noted how some of the more recent musical innovations – for example, the so-called post-rock music of bands such as Icelandic artists Sigur Rós – have acquired discourses of legitimacy largely through the efforts of fans in isolated locations across the world communicating through digital media (see, for example, Hodgkinson 2004). Nevertheless, a palpable gulf remains between the rural and the urban, and this often leads to a specific series of perceptions, particularly among those aspiring to greater access to and choice of popular culture – to the urban as a 'cultured' space. This point is exemplified in Farrugia's (2015, p. 843) work on rural youth, where he notes how cities often become idealized as spaces of 'cool' to the extent that:

> If young people wish to take up the subjectivities offered by contemporary youth culture, they must become mobile, either imaginatively or through actual migration. Both imaginative mobilities and actual migrations are embedded within, and articulate a complex relationship to, these metrocentric cultural distinctions.

Farugia's observation correlates closely with some of our own findings. Among those interviewees who had grown up in smaller rural and regional towns, memories of isolation were recalled frequently. Indeed, this early experience of the non-urban was often articulated in terms of its having acted as a barrier to a sense of real connection with music and the wider world in which that music was emerging, and was being given context and meaning. This is evident in the following account from Chris, who is now based in the city of Hobart in Tasmania, but grew up in a small town on Tasmania's north-west coast:

Chris (Hobart) I was isolated from a lot of the stuff that other people my age would have not been [isolated from] … I guess the big example, which is a popular thing for young people to listen to, is Triple J [a popular Australian youth music radio station based in Melbourne]. So at the time Triple J didn't broadcast on the north-west coast, where I lived, so the access that I had to the radio was all commercial radio, or local community radio [stations], so primarily I was listening to stuff like the '60s or '80s chart music … I have an older sister and she moved to Hobart [to go to] university and started to bring back these cassette tapes of stuff recorded off the radio and that was Triple J. So that was the Hottest 100 from 1990, and '91, and '92, and that opened a lot of stuff up. But I was isolated from that stuff for a long time, and also there were no gigs, there were no concerts, or anything like that in Wynyard, and around … Yeah so I guess it's just not being exposed to a lot of cultural stuff, but that's as much of the age as it is of the time, the '90s, the late '80s and early '90s when there was not such a global presence of media that allowed for these barriers to be broken down.

Chris's account illustrates his sense of a centre–periphery disconnect dominating the early years of his youth. Like many others interviewed for this study, the feelings of isolation that this evoked in Chris served as an early imperative to look towards the city as a more 'authentic', and thus enabling, cultural space. Unlike the example of Perth, discussed above, where a collectively felt sense of isolation becomes a vehicle for creative empowerment, for those situated in smaller, less densely populated places, the overwhelming sense of existing on the periphery will often ultimately become a catalyst for transgression – physical or ideological, or both.

It is also the case that the periphery, due to the very fact of its 'edge' status, offers opportunities for exposure to, and an absorption in, music in particularly nuanced ways; these become strongly embedded in memory

as narrative threads through which individuals reflect on and explain their current investment in music. In several accounts offered by participants in our research, the quiet, mundane nature of the small villages or towns in which they had grown up was recalled in an often vivid fashion as a critical factor in their awareness of music and its importance in their lives. Oscar, an Adelaide-based artist and composer who spent his childhood and early teenage years in Normanville, a small town on the Fleurieu Peninsula in South Australia (about 70 kilometres south of Adelaide) with a population of around 1,000 people, offered the following account:

Oscar (Adelaide) Because Normanville's a relatively quiet place, it's a small rural town of about a thousand people, so you're surrounded by quietness and I think maybe in some way that sort of enriches the musical experience that you have as a kid because you have less audible distractions; there's no background noise or anything, if there's background noise it's a car a couple of blocks away or a washing machine or something like that. I guess as a kid I had a more heightened awareness of sound and probably a greater appreciation for music.

In this sense, the peripheral location, although in the long term being constructed as a culturally limited and limiting environment, is also recalled as a place that, by dint of its 'out-of-the-wayness', offers an important space for the development of music's role in self-realization.

Although the perceived cultural deficiency of smaller, peripheral places has served as an important locus for strident forms of DIY scene activity, the oft-lamented lack of hard and soft infrastructures for the production and consumption of popular music and related forms of popular culture has, at the same time, also offered significant opportunities for exposure to music that may sometimes be lost in larger metropoles with more complex and diverse cultural landscapes. An example of how a peripheral space can simultaneously be branded as cultural deficit while at the same time opening a door to an opportunity for cultural enrichment is saliently captured by Ivor, who spent some of his childhood and youth in Young, a small country town in New South Wales, 163 kilometres from Canberra:

Ivor (Canberra) These guys grew up just down the road from us, and they were in a band and they were three or four years older than us, so we would actually go and look through their windows when they were rehearsing and then they'd catch us and chase us up the street. They used to play all Spiderbait covers and Tool and – just all the music from that

time and a few of their own. They used to play 'Mad Man' from *Frogstomp* and we just loved it, just loved those dudes and we're still in contact with them now. That was definitely the thing where we were like, far out, there's dudes up the street from us doing this and we live in a shitty country town that nothing happens in. That was part of the mystique, I guess, of it all. We just went from there and you just read the liner notes and then you find Helmet and you find Soundwave and things like that, Melvins or whoever else it was.

In Ivor's account, the 'mystique' of an alternative soundscape, and with it a desire for new knowledge about the bands that contributed to it, is inextricably linked to an early life of mundane happenstance in a peripheral space far removed from the nearest urban location. For Ivor, the attention that he focused on this music – a brand of alternative metal music that gained global popularity during the mid-1990s – is rooted in an early exposure to this music as introducing a more subversive layer into a soundscape typically regulated through a cultural conservatism often experienced in the residential neighbourhoods of small regional communities.

A Place of Our Own

Within the global universe of alternative and more niche-orientated music scenes, one of the common threads that ties such scenes together is the ever-present threat of encroachment from commercial enterprise. Chatterton and Hollands (2002) note how the gentrification of city centres and increasing regulation of urban night-time economies has resulted in a global process of what they refer to as 'new urbanism':

> This new urbanism is underpinned by voracious efforts by civic boosters to create a new city 'cultural brand' which, although stressing the cosmopolitan and culturally diverse nature of cities, is largely directed towards mobile, non-local and corporate capital, property developers and high-income urban-livers and professional workers. (p. 97)

A direct effect of this has been the regulation of live music provision in city spaces through the establishment of live music precincts and the implementation of noise-restriction policies (Flew 2008). A more indirect, yet equally significant, effect on live music has been the increasing bias towards a model of the urban night-time economy that is orientated to what can be identified as more mainstream tastes in youth music and leisure (Bennett

2015). A prominent example in the Australian context is the so-called 'beer barns' – large pubs primarily oriented towards a younger clientele, offering cheap drinks and live performances by cover bands whose staple repertoire extends across mid-Atlantic and classic rock to the more punk- and indie-edged mainstream sounds of the 1990s and early 2000s. Within this rapidly shifting landscape of the urban night-time economy, it is often the smaller, less commercially viable venues catering for more alternative bands playing original material that are edged out of the frame. Faced with this scenario, alternative music scenes are often forced to become more fluid and adaptable in their search for space.

In some cases, politically savvy scenesters are able to rally (albeit often only temporarily) a level of community support – for example, through their acquisition and renovation of buildings that, while benefiting a particular scene, also give the urban environment a much-needed 'facelift'. Spring's (2004) account of a dance music entrepreneur's creation of an alternative cultural precinct in a Detroit satellite-city (referred to in the study as Rushton) in Michigan is an interesting case in point. Through his demonstration of a commitment to the upgrading of buildings and amenities, the entrepreneur gained the confidence and support of the community, police and local authorities. Such instances are rare, however, and in most cases those involved in alternative and niche music scenes will need to engage in a continual process of negotiation to find space for their collective musical activities.

In the context of our research, we uncovered an interesting response to the increasingly precarious situation of alternative and niche live music scenes in the form of what we refer to as the DIY live music venue (see also Chaps. 5 and 6). Such venues take a variety of forms. Some are situated in renovated light-industry and residential spaces – for example, converted warehouses, workshops and arts sector spaces such as studios and rehearsal spaces. Other DIY venues remain unfixed to specific locations, and move around the city as opportunities come and go. As this description suggests, unofficial DIY live music venues typically emerge in direct response to specific sets of circumstances as these unfold in specific urban locations. Thus, as noted elsewhere by Rogers (2008), the establishment of DIY venues is often informed by a perceived gap in live music venue provision in the context of the official night-time economy. Alternatively, DIY venues may result from an expressed desire within particular music scenes for a different kind of live music experience to that which is possible in an official venue space, the listings of which will often be dictated by

dominant music tastes and also by a venue owner's need to make a profit from their live music features.

Below, we examine the significance of the DIY music venue as a form of resistance to the official night-time economies of cities with reference to two specific examples of such venues, in Brisbane and Sydney respectively. In doing so, we also consider how the centre–periphery discourses that such venues facilitate are at the same time woven into locally situated memoryscapes of these cities as one-time vibrant centres for live music whose vitality has been compromised by the encroachment of neo-liberal cultural policy and its impact on the range of opportunities for live music consumption. In this context, the DIY music venues we discuss here offer scene members both opportunities to experience aesthetically preferable music in the present and important links to the popular cultural past.

Origin Stories and 610

The space that was to become the 610 venue (see also Chap. 6) initially started out as a band rehearsal facility in the centre of Brisbane's Valley Special Entertainment Precinct. During a two-year period, between 2004 and 2006, 610 underwent a significant transformation from an ad hoc arrangement for live performance – essentially a large practice room that could accommodate both a band and its audience – into an unofficial live music venue that put on several gigs each week in a purpose-built area enclosed within the same building. As a venue, 610 was to become notorious for its chaotic a-mix-of-all-ages audiences, the consumption of unlicensed alcohol, walls covered in graffiti, rooms crowded with people, and broken equipment and fixtures. However, during its relatively brief existence, 610 was to establish itself as an important part of Brisbane's live music infrastructure:

Sam (Brisbane) There was always a whole bunch of different places to go to. That was a pretty big time … 2004, 2005, that was a really active time and I would have been 21 which is peak going-out time … places like 610 opened up, I used to go to 610 pretty much every week. Like I used to, you know – back in those days you'd have kind of The Troubadour, The Rev, Ric's and 610 pretty much doing good shows almost every night from, like, pretty much Wednesday through Sunday, so I used to go in, and you used to go into the Valley, and you'd just move between shows …

A factor that undoubtedly attributed in a significant way to the appeal of 610 was the venue's DIY feel and ethos. All the venues mentioned above by Sam are, with the exception of 610, licensed music businesses that employ booking staff to ensure a regular turnover of their live music entertainment; The Rev was a larger capacity custom-refurbished performance space, while Ric's Cafe and The Troubadour (which has since been renamed The Black Bear Lodge) are smaller bars that feature permanent stages and PAs. It is interesting to note that the respondent quoted above is speaking as a younger audience member who, at the time of the interview, was relatively new to Brisbane. Nevertheless, 610 features prominently in his experience of the city's live music scene more broadly.

Indeed, 610 was markedly distinct from other local music venues in Brisbane in several important ways. First, the venue maintained its ad hoc, typically disorganized staff of volunteer workers throughout its short lifespan. Moreover, when making choices about which artists to book to perform at 610, the emphasis was placed firmly on aesthetics, convenience and community. The volunteer staff that ran 610 were rarely paid for their work, but rather were engaged in a labour of love – a quality that further enhanced the reputation of 610 as a venue with 'authentic' DIY credentials. As such, even after its closure, 610 maintained an extended role in Brisbane's music culture, and had a pronounced effect, drawing much of its affective strength and its enduring influence on the city's independent music scene from the pronounced ethos of accessibility and interchangeability that it shared with the regular venue patronage.

The ongoing legacy of 610 remains evident in the musical landscape of Brisbane. In the years that have passed since the closure of 610, the Brisbane music community has worked hard to maintain a cluster of active, if habitually unstable, venues that cater for an all-ages audience. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, a number of those responsible for establishing and maintaining these newer venue spaces were part of the volunteer staff and/or committed patrons of 610. Tim, who was heavily involved with the organization of 610, has continued to organize and promote all-ages shows in Brisbane, booking a number of gigs in his centrally located share-house. As Tim observed, a critical effect of 610 was to provide an important focal point for live independent music performance in Brisbane, something that had a highly positive effect on the city's music community:

Tim (Brisbane) I guess during 610, in those days, there was maybe a tighter connection because there was a central premise and spot. There were so

many shows concurrently, one or two a week, so you'd end up playing with these bands. And you needed bands to fill out the line-ups and stuff.

Tim's views are shared by a number of others, for whom 610 was a highly important cultural space, due to providing a supportive environment for almost any kind of amateur or hobbyist music. Interestingly, this was a view typically espoused by younger musicians. For these respondents, 610 possessed a particular quality in that – unlike some other live music venues in the city, which they perceived as distant – 610 was characterized by its air of accessibility and inclusiveness. As a venue, it was matter of fact and at hand, in recent and lived memory. The venue's success in this respect was realized largely through the will of the music community that made the venue its own. What these young people crucially shared was resourcefulness and motivation, illustrated by their willingness to create and recreate the physical space provided by 610 and populate it with their work – or indeed start bands with this type of performance scenario in mind:

Alex (Brisbane) I was out in the Valley one night, before I was 18, and I asked … if I could play a show, which was the first show at 610. He said that would be okay if I opened it. During the next day I realized that I really wasn't ready to do that, like I didn't feel up to playing some punk … so I asked some friends of mine who had never been in a band before to make music with me. And I had a bunch of noise-making toys and stuff like that so we just dragged a bunch of stuff in on public transport.

Alex's comments are highly representative of how a particular subset of the Brisbane music community has utilized the particular dynamics its members identify with 610 as a means of explaining and contextualizing their personal pathways into music-making. In this way, 610 can be seen to play an important part in the collective memory narratives of the independent music scene in Brisbane. The music produced by this community following the demise of 610 was marked by the performative spatial relations that the venue encouraged and facilitated through its layout and design. Through the experience of performing in 610, and through their absorption of the social currencies and aesthetic freedoms fostered by the space, these bands saw what was possible and continued to create music with these same elements in mind. The collective memories engendered by 610 were thus extremely motivating and mobilizing among this particular community of local musicians, and have become a centrally defining aspect of their cultural and creative aesthetic.

During the years following the closure of 610, the memory narratives created around the venue and its aesthetic legacy have begun to circulate more formally. In the January 2012 issue of *The Wire*, musician and writer Daniel Spencer (2012) filed a report on Brisbane's underground rock and pop scene for the magazine's 'Global Ear' column. In this report, Spencer provided a vivid and detailed description of the work of his friends in the context of the wider Brisbane underground music scene: the international touring of Brisbane bands Slug Guts and Kitchen's Floor, and Spencer's own band, Blank Realm. These bands exemplify the scrappier, noisier dimensions of Brisbane music and are to some degree reminiscent of, or directly emerged from, the scene engendered by 610. James Kritzler of Slug Guts was one of the people who were centrally important in establishing 610 and arranging bookings. Taking inspiration from their experience of seeing bands perform in 610, Slug Guts would subsequently go on to play many of their early shows in similarly ad hoc performance spaces: these included residential houses, a disused army barracks and an abandoned cinema.

The slightly younger Kitchen's Floor offers a more direct example of how the DIY ethos of 610 has influenced a broader DIY ethos in the creative aesthetics shared by many Brisbane bands: Kitchen's Floor's recent recordings have all included photographs of the same share-house/DIY venue on cover art and in associated film clips. In this way, the band makes its association with the creative debt owed to 610 very clear. The photograph accompanying Spencer's article was taken in the very same share-house Kitchen's Floor cites; in the photograph, local artist and musician Andrew McLellan leans over a small amplifier mid-performance.

Spencer's piece in *The Wire* is by no means a one-off record of the important role played by DIY venues in the local Brisbane music scene. The presence of non-traditional venue spaces is further touched on and foregrounded in various other media artefacts created during the pre- and post-digital eras. These include homemade film clips, taped live performances, local music blogs and press interviews. As this list suggests, some of these artefacts are located in the public sphere, while others form part of privately owned collections of Brisbane music memorabilia. Nevertheless, all these artefacts cohere to tell a common and compelling story about the history of the local independent music scene. In each of these documented, recorded narratives of Brisbane music, the specific music culture exemplified by 610 is a recurring theme, suggesting its importance as an influential touchstone and an important part of self-reflection on, and

explanation of, what exists in the present. 'The unconventional use of space,' writes Spencer (2012, p. 16), 'remains central to the Brisbane underground.'

The case of 610 presented above presents a compelling example of how a live music venue, rather than merely functioning as a space in which to stage live performance, can become indelibly interwoven with a collectively shared emotional tapestry of space and place. Indeed, in this respect it is interesting to note how, in relating their memories of 610, respondents commonly considered its DIY qualities – particularly those relating to the informal and inclusive properties of the venue – to have projected themselves onto the broader independent music scene in Brisbane. In essence, those local musicians who performed in 610 or were in the audience felt that they had internalized the venue's DIY and unregulated approach to the promotion and performance of live music. In a very real sense, then, the aesthetic aura and ongoing cultural legacy of 610 have become collectively inscribed within the assemblage of local music-making practices shared by independent artists in Brisbane. Similarly, the shared collective memory of 610 has assumed critical importance as a means by which the past and present remain inextricably connected as the independent music scene in Brisbane articulates its sense of locally situated creativity and acts to reproduce itself over time.

The Social Networked DIY Venue and High Tea

The concept underlying the Sydney-based collective High Tea is a relatively simple one: to provide regular live performances in a quiet, informal setting. The notion fostered by the High Tea organizers is that there is a desire among particular audiences for events that provide a forum for artists whose music does not necessarily fit neatly within the increasingly regulated parameters of mainstream live venue entertainment – for example, solo unaccompanied artists whose music is exclusively or primarily acoustic. Begun through the collaborative efforts of a collection of musicians, artists and enthusiasts, at the time when our research took place, High Tea was held on a fortnightly basis and took place in a residential warehouse space in Sydney. Each event featured performances by two different singer-songwriters, one of whom was selected by the High Tea collective and the other by the headlining artist. At the time of our research, High Tea was being organized on a non-profit basis. Nevertheless, it had proven to be an extremely successful venture, maintaining an audience reach of over 1,300 potential attendees and reportedly selling out tickets for its 100-capacity events within minutes of advertising each event.

During our data collection in Sydney, we interviewed one of the people responsible for establishing the *High Tea* initiative. In recalling the origins of the event series, she explained to us how one of the key motivations was her memories and recollections of experiencing similar informal music performances in Berlin, the capital of Germany and a city that for many years has been associated with the production and promotion of alternative and niche forms of art and culture (see Stahl 2014):

Sarah (Sydney) So we started it just over two, well it started two and a bit years ago, we had our second birthday in September last year … it was based on one of the guys who's in one of the bands … a local band. He and I had been friends for about 10 years and he lived in this warehouse where he thought, 'This would be great.' I've been to Berlin a few times and they just open their house to friends and they … play music all afternoon … and I [thought, 'I] want to do that one day', so I've been talking about that for about five years.

Later in the interview, Sarah also contextualized High Tea as a response to the increasing precariousness of the live music scene in Sydney, and the associated experiential and practical issues that were faced by both the city's local musicians and their audience:

Sarah (Sydney) The whole premise was [that] more and more music venues are shutting down [and] we want to go somewhere where we know that there's going to be consistently good music, even if we don't know the artist that's playing. We want to be able to hear the lyrics … People just come, they sit and they don't speak for an hour.

The kind of live music performance being described here by Sarah, and the environment in which it takes place, is in very stark contrast to both the 'pub rock' culture of Sydney's past (see Homan 2008b) and the city's present status as a hub for electronic dance music (Montano 2009). The live music performances featured at High Tea shows respond to an expressed desire among a growing local audience for a live music experience grounded in an intimate and private residential aesthetic, as opposed to the more public and open aesthetic associated with regular commercial gigs in more conventional and mainstream music venues. The music events organized by the High Tea collective highlight a very different kind of music listening pleasure: the more introspective and contemplation-

based forms of listening that are associated with the private space of the home (Hennion 2007; Nowak 2015). As one respondent described it, the type of live music performance offered by High Tea was very much linked with the more private experience of music and 'the sort of feeling that's being created in a room'.

The means by which the music events organized by High Tea are brought to fruition is via similarly informal and social back-channels – that is, through the use of Facebook and Twitter. While not exceptional or innovative in their use of social media, the High Tea collective nevertheless makes selective use of these tools to mitigate much of the administrative labour that is necessary in the effective organization of its events. Artists who are interested in performing at High Tea will typically approach the collective online. The allocation of spots on the limited guest list is made via Facebook responses. Those attending an event are required to pay a $10 cover charge at the door and must also supply their own alcohol, although tea is served at High Tea events. As an ongoing concern, the event series organized by High Tea has become a somewhat non-intrusive and automated part of the High Tea collective's everyday lives: as one respondent put it, 'We don't really have to do very much at all.'

In relation to the other types of scene activity previously discussed in this chapter, High Tea draws on a very different kind of emotional geography. To begin with, it is a transitory operation, hosted in a static position (but far from fixed to this position), yet it has been drawn together from a broader field of personal experiences and memories. Its concept tellingly relies on memories of international travel, and a temporary immersion in the DIY music venue scene in Berlin, and also appears to intend a purposive separation from Sydney's more regular local venue practice. Aesthetically speaking, the High Tea concept owes little debt to the separatist punk notions often attached to or fuelling unofficial venues in Australia. Indeed, during the time of our data collection, the next event to be hosted by the collective featured Wes Carr, one-time winner of the popular television talent show *Australian Idol*. High Tea instead introduces a very different type of venue into the contemporary Sydney music scene: quiet, popular and pop.

In taking stock of the broader local music scenes and the problematic issues that it and others associate with this scene, the High Tea collective have created a well-tailored and financially viable response to much larger factors at work within the city's music culture. As an example of a non-traditional venue, the quiet, tea-drinking audience members who

frequent High Tea events constitute a scene that is in stark contrast to the 'beer barn' and pub-rock orientated cultures of Australia. Indeed, one salient example of this distinction is seen in the fact that the music curated and celebrated within the context of High Tea events does not valorize the highly masculinized and distinctly rockist heritage of much Australian popular music (Evans 1998). High Tea similarly does not connect in any straightforward fashion with the hard-core/punk aesthetic of other DIY venues examined in this book, notably The Church (see Chap. 5) or the often youthful and chaotic abandon of 610 (see above). On the contrary, part of the distinctive quality of High Tea is located in its capacity to selectively draw on elements associated with each of these cultural spaces, and from spaces further afield, mapping these ideas onto a very different concept of how a music performance and the space in which it takes place is, according to the collective and its supporters, 'supposed to be'.

In relation to the emotional geographic discourses inscribed within High Tea by those who patronize it, it is clear that the venue plays an important part in helping its community of supporters to collectively evolve a new and alternative cultural narrative of live music in Sydney. In much the same way that existing research on style and music suggests that these become important cultural resources in formulating strategies of cultural resistance to aspects of the dominant status quo (see, for example, Hebdige 1979), it is equally possible to argue that High Tea and the cultural discourses inscribed within it articulate an analogous form of resistance. Thus, through their organization of music events in a DIY venue context, the High Tea collective and its supporters articulate a sensibility of music consumption and appreciation embedded in a broader lifestyle politics. From the perspective of the collective, the solution here is to provide an alternative space for a form of music listening that its members perceive as being beyond both the reach and the commercial interests of Sydney's official night-time economy, where any potential for offering a wider range of musical choice, and thus catering for diversity in musical taste, is often subverted by the profit-motive.

Conclusion

In this final chapter, we have focused on how discourses of centre and periphery inform notions of scene and its embeddedness in cultural memory and collective sensibilities of emotion and affect. Of particular importance to our discussion in this chapter has been the argument that,

rather than automatically connoting a situation of deficit and disadvantage, the articulations of peripheral status often expressed among those within music scenes can take on a vibrant quality as markers of distinction, substance and collective determination. Indeed, as our case study of Perth revealed, the concept of the periphery can be utilized reflexively as a potent form of branding for contemporary cities and city spaces as a means of promoting local popular music. In the case of Perth, a critical element in this process is the way in which locals mobilize their cultural memory of the city as isolated due to its geographic location as an ongoing means of justifying a perception of Perth as a city 'on the edge' – that is, as a city whose popular music output is the product of Perth having spent a significant period of time on the global periphery.

There is, of course, nothing specifically unique in the fact of describing popular music as having distinctive qualities because of its professed connection with place. This has always been an aspect of the way in which popular music is discursively constructed and, in many instances, commercially branded (see Bennett 2008). But the periphery–city discourse adds another layer of complexity to this process of musical spatialization. In the context of the early twenty-first century where, at least among Western developed countries and regions, time and space are increasingly compressed, the notion of the periphery city functions as a form of everyday resistance to such shifts, reinvesting particular spaces with a romanticism and distinctiveness grounded in remoteness and isolation from large metropoles.

Perth is not alone in its rehearsal of a periphery–city discourse in this way. Very similar discourses can be seen to emanate from other cities on the geographic periphery – notably Dunedin on New Zealand's South Island and Reykjavik, the capital city of Iceland. Although each of these cities experiences an increasing level of connectedness to the rest of the world, a sense of 'distance' continues to act as a powerful driver for musical creativity and expression. In this way, the notion of the periphery remains current as one means by which we can begin to understand the aesthetic construction of the 'music city', both from within and without.

In this chapter, however, we have not been content to confine ourselves to a focus on the city – our assertion being that to speak of centre-periphery as this concept colours the experience of musical life is a far broader and richly nuanced form of experience. This notion is supported by many of the accounts proffered by interviewees in this chapter whose memories of music are often grounded in early experiences of growing up in regional

and rural areas where music's presence in the local soundscape was often vividly remembered as a source of aesthetic nourishment and a primer for curiosity about what lay beyond the more confined socio-cultural parameters of the small town or village that they had previously called home.

In the city, too, the endless churn and ever-present sensation of rupture that this sets in motion have served as a motor-driver for a globally connected form of DIY cultural initiatives and practices, among those the increasing prominence of the DIY music venue. Again, rather than necessarily feeling the weight of oppression from the corporate and regulatory institutions that increasingly dictate the urban night-time economy, DIY venues often exhibit a sense of empowerment and aesthetic autonomy through their negotiation of centre–periphery positionings in contemporary city spaces. This is clearly in evidence in the two case studies of DIY venues presented in this chapter, where the clear sense is that these initiatives offer choice and variety in urban settings where increasing diversity in lifestyle and taste, rather than the rampant regulation of such taste, is paramount. Moreover, as we have endeavoured to illustrate, the critical importance of memory is continuously evident in the cultural practice of the DIY music venue as it strives to connect with discourses of the urban past and the often strident notions of DIY, alternative and less-regulated cultural practice that were seen to thrive there.

References

Adorno, T. (1941). 'On popular music'. *Studies in Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 9: 17–48.

Albiez, S. (2006). 'Print the truth, not the legend. The Sex Pistols: Lesser Free Trade Hall, Manchester, June 4, 1976'. In I. Inglis (ed.), *Performance and Popular Music: History, Place and Time*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 92–106.

Althusser, L. (1969). *For Marx*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Althusser, L. (1984). *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, C. (2008). Kevin Kelly: The three tails. *The Long Tail*. Blog. Retrieved 1 May 2016 from http://www.longtail.com/the_long_tail/2008/07/kevin-kelly-the.html.

Ang, I. (1996). Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World. London: Routledge.

Azerrad, M. (2001). Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981–1991. Boston: Back Bay Books.

Bal, M. (1999). 'Introduction'. In M. Bal, J. Crewe and L. Spitzer (eds), *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, pp. vii–xvii.

Barone, S. (2016). 'Fragile scenes, fractured communities: Tunisian metal and sceneness'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 19(1): 20–35.

Beck, U. (1992). *The Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Trans. M. Ritter. London: Sage.

Beer, D. (2008). 'The iConic iNterface and the veneer of simplicity: MP3 players and the reconfiguration of music collecting and the reproduction of practices in the digital age'. *Information, Communication & Society*, 11(1): 71–88.

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2

Bell, D. (ed.) (1999). *Woodstock: An Inside Look at the Movie that Shook Up the World and Defined a Generation*. Studio City, CA: Michael Wiese Productions.

Bennett, A. (1997). 'Going down the pub: The pub rock scene as a resource for the consumption of popular music'. *Popular Music*, 16(1): 97–108.

Bennett, A. (1999). 'Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste'. *Sociology*, 33(3): 599–617.

Bennett, A. (2000). *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bennett, A. (2002). 'Music, media and urban mythscapes: A study of the Canterbury sound'. *Media, Culture and Society*, 24(1): 107–20.

Bennett, A. (2004a). '"Everybody's happy, everybody's free": Representation and nostalgia in the *Woodstock* film'. In A. Bennett (ed.), *Remembering Woodstock*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 43–54.

Bennett, A. (2004b). 'New tales from Canterbury: The making of a virtual scene'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 205–20.

Bennett, A. (2006). 'Punks not dead: The significance of punk rock for an older generation of fans'. *Sociology*, 40(1): 219–35.

Bennett, A. (2008). 'Popular music, media and the narrativisation of place'. In G. Bloustien, M. Peters and S. Luckman (eds), *Sonic Synergies: Music, Identity. Technology and Community*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 113–28.

Bennett, A. (2009). '"Heritage rock": Rock music, re-presentation and heritage discourse'. *Poetics*, 37(5–6): 474–89.

Bennett, A. (2013). *Music, Style and Aging: Growing Old Disgracefully?* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Bennett, A. (2014). 'Popular music, cultural memory and the peripheral city'. In A. Barber-Kersovan, V. Kirchberg and R. Kuchar (eds), *Music City: Musikalische Annäherungen an die »kreative Stadt«*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 105–119.

Bennett, A. (2015). 'Speaking of youth culture: A critical analysis of (post)youth culture in the new century'. In D. Woodman and A. Bennett (eds), *Youth Cultures, Transitions and Generations: Bridging the Gap in Youth Research*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 42–55.

Bennett, A. and Baker, S. (2010). '*Classic Albums*: The re-presentation of the rock album on British television'. In I. Inglis (ed.), *Popular Music on British Television*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 41–53.

Bennett, A. and Green, B. (2015). *Contemporary Music Plan: Accessing Live Music on the Gold Coast*. Report prepared for Economic Development and Major Projects, City of Gold Coast. Gold Coast: Griffith University.

Bennett, A. and Hodkinson, P. (eds) (2012). *Ageing and Youth Cultures: Music, Style and Identity*. Oxford: Berg.

Bennett, A. and Kahn-Harris, K. (eds) (2004). *After Subculture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bennett, A. and Peterson, R.A. (eds) (2004). *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Bennett, A. and Rogers, I. (2014). 'In search of underground Brisbane: Music, memory and cultural heritage'. In B. Lashua, K. Spracklen and S. Wagg (eds), *Sounds and the City: Popular Music, Place and Globalisation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 302–16.

Bennett, A. and Rogers, I. (2016a). 'Popular music and materiality: Memorabilia, archives & memory traces'. *Popular Music & Society*, 39(1): 28–42.

Bennett, A. and Rogers, I. (2016b). 'In the scattered fields of memory: Unofficial live music venues, intangible heritage and the recreation of the musical past'. *Space & Culture*. DOI: 10.1177/1206331215623217.

Berland, J. (1992). 'Angels dancing: Cultural technologies and the production of space'. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P.A. Treicher (eds), *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, pp. 130–54.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

Brabazon, T. (ed.) (2005). *Liverpool of the South Seas: Perth and its Popular Music*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.

Breen, M. (1991). 'A stairway to heaven or a highway to hell? Heavy metal rock music in the 1990s'. *Cultural Studies*, 5(2): 191–203.

Brisbane City Council (2004). *Valley Music Harmony Plan*. Brisbane: Brisbane City Council.

Brown, A., O'Connor, J. and Cohen, S. (2000). 'Local music policies within a global music industry: Cultural quarters in Manchester and Sheffield'. *Geoforum*, 31: 437–51.

Bryson, B. (1996), '"Anything but heavy metal: Symbolic exclusion and musical dislikes', *American Sociological Review*, 61(5); 884–99.

Carter, D. and Rogers, I. (2014). 'Fifteen years of "Utopia": Napster and Pitchfork as technologies of democratization'. *First Monday*, 19: 1–14.

Cavicchi, D. (1998). *Tramps Like Us: Music and Meaning Among Springsteen Fans*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chaney, D. (1994). *The Cultural Turn: Scene Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History*. London: Routledge.

Chaney, D. (1996). *Lifestyles*. London: Routledge.

Chaney, D. (2002). *Cultural Change and Everyday Life*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chatterton, P. and Hollands, R. (2002). 'Theorising urban playscapes: Producing, regulating and consuming youthful nightlife city spaces. *Urban Studies*, 39(1): 153–73.

Clarke, J. (1976). 'The skinheads and the magical recovery of community'. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subculture in Post-War Britain*. London: HarperCollins, pp. 80–3.

Cohen, S. (1991). *Rock Culture in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cohen, S., Knifton, R., Leonard, M. and Roberts, L. (eds) (2015). *Sites of Popular Music Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Connell, J. and Gibson, C. (2003). *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place*. New York: Routledge.

Constantine, E. (dir.) (2014). *Northern Soul*. Manchester.

Cooper, J. and Harrison, D. (2001). 'The social organisation of audio piracy on the internet'. *Media Culture and Society*, 23(1): 71–89.

Coulangeon, P. and Lemel, Y. (2007). 'Is "distinction" really outdated? Questioning the meaning of the omnivorization of musical taste in contemporary France'. *Poetics*, 35: 93–111.

Couldry, N. and McCarthy, A. (eds) (2004). *MediaSpace: Place, Scale and Culture in a Media Age*. London: Routledge.

Cummings, J. (2008). 'Trade mark registered: Sponsorship within the Australian Indie music festival scene'. *Continuum*, 22(5): 675–85.

Davidson, J., Bondi, L. and Smith, M. (eds) (2007). *Emotional Geographies*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

de Certeau, M. (1990). *L'invention du quotidien 1. arts de faire*. Paris: Gallimard (Folio) (Originally published 1980).

DeNora, T. (2000). *Music in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dowd, T.J., Liddle, K. and Nelson, J. (2004). 'Music festivals as scenes: Examples from serious music, womyn's music, and skatepunk'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 149–67.

Drew, R. (2004). '"Scenes": Dimensions of karaoke in the United States'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 64–79.

Driver, C. and Bennett, A. (2015). 'Music scenes, space and the body'. *Cultural Sociology*, 9(1): 99–115.

Ehrenreich, B., Hess, E. and Jacobs, G. (1992). 'Beatlemania: Girls just want to have fun'. In L.A. Lewis (ed.), *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*. London: Routledge, pp. 84–105.

Erll, A. and Nünning, A. (eds) (2008). *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Evans, R. (1998). '"So tough"? Masculinity and rock'n'roll culture in post-war Australia'. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 22(56): 125–37.

Fairchild, C. (2014). *Danger Mouse's The Grey Album*. London: Bloomsbury.

Farrugia, D. (2015) 'The mobility imperative for rural youth: The structural, symbolic and non-representional dimensions of youth mobilities'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 19(6): 836–51.

Finnegan, R. (1989). *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fiske, J. (1989). *Understanding Popular Culture*. London: Routledge.

Flew, T. (2008). 'Music, cities and cultural policy: A Brisbane experience'. In G. Bloustien, M. Peters and S. Luckman (eds), *Sonic Synergies: Music, Technology, Community, Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Flew, T., Ching, G., Stafford, A. and Tacchi, J. (2001). *Music Industry Development and Brisbane's Future as a Creative City*. Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, pp. 7–16.

Frith, S. (1987). 'Towards an aesthetic of popular music'. In R. Leppert and S. McClary (eds), *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 133–49.

Frith, S. (1988). *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Frith, S. (1992). 'The cultural study of popular music'. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P. Treicher (eds), *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, pp. 174–186.

Frith, S. (1993). 'Introduction'. In Proceedings of the International Association for Study of Popular Music (IASPM) Annual Conference. Stockton, CA: IASPM.

Futrell, R., Simi, P. and Gottschalk, S. (2006). 'Understanding music in movements: The white power music scene'. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 47(2): 275–304.

Gaines, D. (1994). 'The local economy of suburban scenes'. In J.S. Epstein (ed.), *Adolescents and Their Music: If It's Too Loud, You're Too Old*. New York: Garland.

Gallan, B. (2012). 'Gatekeeping night spaces: The role of booking agents in creating "local" live music venues and scenes'. *Australian Geographer*, 43(1): 35–50.

Gallan, B. and Gibson, C. (2013). 'Mild-mannered bistro by day, eclectic freakland at night: Memories of an Australian music venue'. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 37(2): 174–93.

Gans, H. (1974). *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*. New York: Basic Books.

Gans, H.J. (1967). 'Popular culture in America'. In H.S. Becker (ed.), *Social Problems: A Modern Approach*. New York: John Wiley.

Giuffre, L. (2009) '"Maintaining *Rage*: Counting down without a host for 20 years'. *Perfect Beat* (special issue on Music and Television), 10(1): 39–57.

Google Scholar (2016). *Will Straw*. Retrieved 23 February 2016 from https://scholar.google.com.au/scholar?hl=en&q=will+straw&btnG=&as_sdt=1%2C5&as_sdtp=.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Grazian, D. (2004). 'The symbolic economy of authenticity in the Chicago blues scene'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 31–47.

Grazian, D. (2013). 'Digital underground: Musical spaces and microscenes in the post-industrial city'. In F. Holt and C. Wergin (eds), *Musical Performance and the Changing City: Post-industrial Contexts in Europe and the United States*. New York: Routledge, pp. 127–52.

Green, B. (2015). '"I always remember that moment": Peak music experiences as epiphanies'. *Sociology*, 50(2): 333–48.

Grenier, L. (1993). 'The aftermath of a crisis: Quebec music industries in the 1980s'. *Popular Music*, 12(3): 209–27.

Grossberg, L. (1992). *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture*. London: Routledge.

Grossberg, L. (1997). *Dancing in Spite of Myself: Essays on Popular Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Haenfler, R. (2006). *Straight Edge: Clean-Living Youth, Hardcore Punk, and Social Change*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Hall, S. (1973). 'Encoding/decoding'. In Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 128–38.

Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (1976). *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subculture in Post-War Britain*. London: HarperCollins.

Hancock, M. (2006). '*Rage* and the artist's persona: Creation, consumption and expectation in music television'. *Metro Magazine*, 148: 164–71.

Harrison, L.M. (2010). 'Factory music: How the industrial geography and working-class environment of post-war Birmingham fostered the birth of heavy metal'. *Journal of Social History*, 44(1): 145–58.

Hayes, D. (2006). '"Take those old records off the shelf": Youth and music consumption in the postmodern age'. *Popular Music and Society*, 29(1): 51–68.

Hebdige, D. (1976). 'The meaning of mod'. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subculture in Post-War Britain*. London: Harper Collins, pp. 71–79.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.

Hennion, A. (2007). 'Those things that hold us together: Taste and sociology'. *Cultural Sociology*, 1(1): 97–114.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2005). 'Subcultures, scenes or tribes? None of the above'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(1): 21–40.

Hodgkinson, J.A. (2004). 'The fanzine discourse over post-rock'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 221–37.

Hodkinson, P. (2004a). 'The Goth scene and (sub)cultural substance'. In A. Bennett and K. Kahn-Harris (eds), *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 135–47.

Hodkinson, P. (2004b). 'Translocal connections in the Goth scene'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 131–48.

Holdsworth, A. (2011). *Television, Memory and Nostalgia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Holt, F. (2014). 'Rock clubs and gentrification in New York City: The case of The Bowery Presents'. *IASPM@ Journal*, 4(1): 21–41.

Homan, S. (2000). 'Losing the local: Sydney and the Oz Rock tradition'. *Popular Music*, 19(1): 31–49.

Homan, S. (2008a). 'An 'Orwellian vision': Oz rock scenes and regulation'. *Continuum*, 22(5): 601–11.

Homan, S. (2008b). 'Playing to the thinkers or the drinkers? The sites and sounds of Oz rock'. In S. Homan and T. Mitchell (eds), *Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now: Popular Music in Australia*. Hobart: ACYS Publishing, pp. 19–36.

Homan, S. (2011). '"I tote and I vote': Australian live music and cultural policy'. *Arts Marketing*, 1(2): 96–107.

Huyssen, A. (1995). *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. London: Routledge.

Huyssen, A. (2000). 'Present pasts: Media, politics, amnesia'. *Public Culture*, 12(1): 21–38.

Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Inglis, I. (ed.) (2010). *Popular Music on British Television*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Istvandity, L. (2014). 'Musically motivated autobiographical memories and the lifetime soundtrack'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Griffith University.

Jansen, B. (2009). 'Tape cassettes and former selves: How mix tapes mediate memories'. In K. Bijserveld and J. van Dijck (eds), *Sound Souvenirs: Audio Technologies, Memory and Cultural Practices*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 43–54.

Jefferson, T. (1976). 'Cultural responses of the Teds'. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. London: HarperCollins, pp. 67–70.

Kahn-Harris, K. (2000). '"Roots"? The relationship between the global and the local within the extreme metal scene'. *Popular Music*, 19(1): 13–30.

Kahn-Harris, K. (2004). 'Unspectacular subculture? Transgression and mundanity in the global extreme metal scene'. In A. Bennett and K. Kahn-Harris (eds), *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 107–17.

Kahn-Harris, K. (2007). *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*. Oxford: Berg.

Kaplan, E.A. (1987). *Rocking Around the Clock: Music Television, Postmodernism and Consumer Culture*. London: Methuen.
Kotarba, J. (2002). 'Rock'n'roll music as a timepiece'. *Symbolic Interaction*, 25(3): 397–404.
Kritzler, J. (2014). *Noise in My Head: Voices from the Ugly Australian Underground*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
Kruse, H. (1993). 'Subcultural identity in alternative music culture'. *Popular Music*, 12(1): 33–41.
Kruse, H. (2003). *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes*. New York: Peter Lang.
Kruse, H. (2010). 'Local identity and independent music scenes, online and off'. *Popular Music and Society*, 33(5): 625–39.
Laing, D. (1969). *The Sound of Our Time*. London: Sheed and Ward.
Laing, D. (1985). *One Chord Wonders*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
Lash, S. (1990). *Sociology of Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.
Lee, S. and Peterson, R.A. (2004). 'Internet-based virtual music scenes: The case of P2 in alt.country music'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 187–204.
Leonard, M. (2007). 'Constructing histories through material culture: Popular music, museums and collecting'. *Popular Music History*, 2(2): 147–67.
Lewis, G.H. (1992). 'Who do you love? The dimensions of musical taste'. In J. Lull (ed.), *Popular Music and Communication*, 2nd ed. London: Sage, pp. 134–51.
Lull, J. (1995). *Media, Communications, Culture: A* Global *Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Malbon, B. (1999). *Clubbing: Dancing, Ecstasy and Vitality*. London: Routledge.
Marcus, G. (1975). *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock'n'Roll Music*. New York: Plume.
Massey, D. (1992). 'Politics and space/time'. *New Left Review*, 196: 65–84.
McGuiness, D. (2012). *Death of the Church* (documentary). Adelaide.
McRobbie, A. and Garber, J. (1976). 'Girls and subcultures: An exploration'. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. London: HarperCollins, pp. 177–88.
Melly, G. (1970). *Revolt into Style: The Pop Arts in Britain*. London: Faber and Faber.
Miles, S. (2000). *Youth Lifestyles in a Changing World*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Mitchell, T. (1996). *Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop and Rap in Europe and Oceania*. London: Leicester University Press.
Montano, E. (2009). 'The Sydney dance music scene and the global diffusion of contemporary club culture'. *Transforming Cultures eJournal*, 4: 43–59.
Muggleton, D. (2000). *Inside Subculture: The Post-Modern Meaning of Style*. Oxford: Berg.

Muggleton, D. and Weinzierl, R. (eds) (2003). *The Post-Subcultures Reader*. Oxford: Berg.

Mungham, G. and Pearson G. (eds) (1976). *Working Class Youth Culture*. London: Routledge.

Nora, P. (1989). 'Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire'. *Representations*, 26: 7–25.

Nowak, R. (2015). *Consuming Music in the Digital Age: Technologies, Roles and Everyday Life*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nowak, R. and Bennett, A. (2014). 'Analyzing everyday sound environments: The space, time and corporality of musical listening'. *Cultural Sociology*, 8(4): 426–42.

O'Bryan, A. (dir.) (2008). *Something in the Water*. Music documentary. Perth.

O'Connor, A. (2002). 'Local scenes and dangerous crossroads: Punk and theories of cultural hybridity'. *Popular Music*, 21(2): 147–58.

Olick, J.K and Robbins, J. (1998). 'Social memory studies: From "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices'. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24: 105–40.

O'Meara, C.P. and Tretter, E.M. (2013). 'Sounding Austin: Live music, race, and the selling of a city'. In F. Holt and C. Wergin (eds), *Musical Performance and the Changing City: Post-Industrial Contexts in Europe and the United States*. London: Routledge, pp. 52–76.

O'Reilly, T. (2005). 'What is Web 2.0?' Oreilly.com. Retrieved 1 February 2016 from http://www.oreilly.com/pub/a/web2/archive/what-is-web-20.html.

Peterson, R.A. and Bennett, A. (2004). 'Introducing music scenes'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 1–15.

Peterson, R. and Kern, R. (1996). 'Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore'. *American Sociological Review*, 61: 900–7.

Peterson, R. and Simkus, A. (1992). 'How musical tastes mark occupational status groups'. In M. Lamont and M. Fournier (eds), *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 152–86.

Power, D. and Scott, A.J. (2004). *Cultural Industries and the Production of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Prior, N. (2015). '"It's a social thing not a nature thing": Popular music practices in Reykjavík, Iceland'. *Cultural Sociology,* 9(1): 81–98.

Reinartz, J. (2014). 'Catching up with former Taylor Swift manager Rick Barker'. Pollstar.com. Retrieved 1 February 2016 from http://www.pollstar.com/news_article.aspx?ID=815100.

Reitsamer, R. (2014). '"Born in the Republic of Austria": The invention of rock heritage in Austria'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(3): 331–42.

Robertson, R. (1995). 'Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity'. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage.

Roediger III, H.L. and Wertsch, J.V. (2008). 'Creating a new discipline of memory studies'. *Memory Studies*, 1(1): 9–22.

Rogers, I. (2008). '"You've got to go to gigs to get gigs": Indie musicians, eclecticism and the Brisbane scene'. *Continuum*, 22(5): 639–49.

Ryan, J. and Peterson, R.A. (2001). 'The guitar as artifact and icon: Identity formation in the baby boom generation'. In A. Bennett and K. Dawe (eds), *Guitar Cultures*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 89–116.

Said, E. (1990). 'Figures, configurations, transfigurations'. *Race and Class*, 32(1): 1–16.

Savage, J. (1992). *England's Dreaming: Anarchy, Sex Pistols, Punk Rock and Beyond*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Schilt, K. (2004). '"Riot grrrl is …": Contestation over meaning in a music scene'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 115–30.

Schmutz, V. (2005). 'Retrospective cultural consecration in popular music'. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(11): 1510–23.

Shank, B. (1994). *Dissonant Identities: The Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas*. London: Wesleyan University Press.

Shaw, K. (2009). 'The Melbourne indie music scene and the inner city blues'. In L. Porter and K. Shaw (eds), *Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies*. London: Routledge, pp. 149–69.

Shepherd, J. (1991). 'Introduction'. *Cultural Studies*, 5(3): 251–61.

Shepherd, J. and Straw, W. (eds) (1991). *Cultural Studies*, 5(3): 251–61.

Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge.

Shils E. (1961). 'Centre and periphery'. In *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Shumway, D. (1992). 'Rock and roll as a cultural practice'. In A. DeCurtis (ed.), *Present Tense: Rock and Roll and Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 117–33.

Smith, N. (2012). 'Parenthood and the transfer of capital in the Northern Soul scene'. In A. Bennett and P. Hodkinson (eds), *Ageing and Youth Culture: Music, Style and Identity*. London: Berg, pp. 159–72.

Smith, R. and Maughan, T. (1998). 'Youth culture and the making of the post-Fordist economy: Dance music in contemporary Britain'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1(2): 211–28.

Smyly, B. (2008). '"Closing time": The song as space'. In D. Bendrups (ed.), *Music on the Edge: Selected Papers from the 2007 IASPM Australia/New Zealand Conference*. Dunedin, New Zealand: IASPM, pp. 155–61.

Smyly, B. (2010). '"You went there for the people and went there for the bands": The Sandringham Hotel –1980 to 1998'. PhD thesis, University of Western Sydney.
Spencer, D. (2012). 'Global ear'. *The Wire*, January, p. 16.
Spring, K. (2004). 'Behind the rave: Structure and agency in a rave scene'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 48–63.
Stahl, G. (2001). 'Tracing out an Anglo-Bohemia: Musicmaking and myth in Montreal'. *Public*, 22/23: 99–121.
Stahl, G. (2004). '"It's like Canada reduced": Setting the scene in Montreal'. In A. Bennett and K. Kahn-Harris (eds), *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 51–64.
Stahl, G. (ed.) (2014). *Poor, But Sexy: Reflections on Berlin Scenes*. Bern: Peter Lang.
Stevenson, N. (1995). *Understanding Media Cultures*. London: Sage.
Stewart, S. (1993). *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Lanham, MD: Duke University Press.
Stith Bennett, H. (1980). *On Becoming a Rock Musician*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
St John, E. (1985). *The Big Australian Rock Book*. Sydney: Megabooks.
Stratton, J. (2008). 'The difference of Perth music: A scene in cultural and historical context'. *Continuum*, 22(5): 613–22.
Straw, W. (1991). 'Systems of articulation, logics of change: Communities and scenes in popular music'. *Cultural Studies*, 5(3): 368–88.
Straw, W. (2000). 'Exhausted commodities: The material culture of music'. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 25(1): 175–85.
Street, J. (1993). 'Local differences? Popular music and the local state'. *Popular Music*, 12(1): 43–55.
Street, J. (2004). '"This is your Woodstock": Popular memories and political myths', In A. Bennett (ed.), *Remembering Woodstock*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 29–42.
Strong, C. (2011). *Grunge: Music and Memory*. Farnham: Ashgate.
Swanwick, T. (2011). 'Rocking Horse Records saved from closure at 11th hour by mysterious benefactor'. *Courier-Mail*, 25 July.
Taylor, J. (2010). 'Queer temporalities and the significance of "music scene" participation in the social identities of middle-aged queers'. *Sociology*, 44(5): 893–907.
Taylor, J. (2012). *Playing It Queer: Popular Music, Identity and Queer Worldmaking*. Bern: Peter Lang.
Théberge, P. (2005). 'Everyday fandom: Fan clubs, blogging, and the quotidian rhythms of the internet'. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 30(4): 1–18.
Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Todorovic, M. and Bakir, A. (2005). 'Inaudible noise: Belgrade's Academy Club: Legacy, old locals and new spaces'. *Leisure Studies*, 24(4): 415–34.
Tsitsos, W. (1999). 'Rules of rebellion: Slamdancing, moshing, and the American alternative scene'. *Popular Music*, 18(3): 397–414.
Urquia, N. (2004). '"Doing' it right": Contested authenticity in London's salsa scene'. In A. Bennett and R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 96–112.
van Dijck, J. (2006). 'Record and hold: Popular music between personal and collective memory'. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 23(5): 357–74.
van der Hoeven, A. (2014). 'Remembering the popular music of the 1990s: Dance music and the cultural meanings of decade-based nostalgia'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(3): 316–30.
Van Eijck, K. (2001). 'Social differentiation in musical taste patterns'. *Social Forces*, 79(3): 1163–85.
Walker, C. (2013). *History is Made at Night: Live Music in Australia*. Sydney: Macquarie University.
Weinstein, D. (1991). *Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology*. Boston: Lexington Books.
Whiting, S. (2015). 'An interview with Rebekah Duke: Melbourne's inner-northern live music venues and social scenes'. *Perfect Beat*, 16(1–2): 121–31.
Williams, J.P. (2006). 'Authentic identities: Straightedge subculture, music and the internet'. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(2): 173–200.
Williams, J.P. and Copes, H. (2005). '"How edge are you?" Constructing authentic identities and subcultural boundaries in a straightedge internet forum'. *Symbolic Interaction*, 28(1): 67–89.
Williams, R. (1965). *The Long Revolution*. London: Pelican.
Willis, P. (1978). *Profane Culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Young, J. and Lang, M. (1979). *Woodstock Festival Remembered*. New York: Ballantine Books.
Zuckerberg, M. (2015). Status update. Retrieved 20 February 2016 from https://www.facebook.com/zuck/posts/10102329188394581.

Index

Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' denote notes.

A. Bennett, I. Rogers, *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-40204-2