Arno van der Hoeven

Popular music memories

Places and practices of popular music
heritage, memory and cultural identity

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Places and Practices of Popular Music Heritage, Memory and Cultural Identity

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Popmuziekherinneringen

Plaatsen en praktijken van popmuziekerfgoed, cultureel geheugen en identiteit

Thesis

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Arno Johan Christiaan van der Hoeven
born in Ede

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

Doctoral Committee:

Promotor: Prof.dr. M.S.S.E. Janssen

Other members: Prof.dr. J.F.T.M. van Dijck
                  Prof.dr. S.L. Reijnders
                  Dr. H.J.C.J. Hitters

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1

Introduction[1]

Wildly swinging his arms, the pink and yellow-haired punk fan Broodje (1960) claims that the Sex Pistols changed his life. To illustrate how he felt when he first saw the band on television, Broodje plays air guitar and sings along to the lyrics of 'Anarchy in the UK.' After the song ends, he is gasping for breath and explains how the lyrics resonate with his own experiences. These lively images, filmed in Broodje's house full of punk memorabilia, featured in the 2012 documentary from the Dutch history program Andere Tijden ('Other Times').

The nickname Broodje comes from the Dutch for bread roll. In the 1970s, he worked in a bakery in Amsterdam and took the bread that was left at the end of the day to the record store No Fun where he gave it to the poor punks who were there. More than 35 years later, Broodje and fellow punk fan Stempel (*Stamp*; he works for the Dutch mail service) are approached by Éric de Chassey, a French professor of contemporary art and director of the French Academy in Rome. De Chassey asks Broodje and Stempel to lend material from their punk collection to an exhibition on European punk at Villa Medici, which is the place to which Napoleon Bonaparte moved the French Academy in 1803. Initially, the two punk collectors were skeptical: why would de Chassey exhibit flyers, posters and record sleeves of long-forgotten Dutch punk bands in such a prestigious cultural institution? Ultimately, however, Broodje and Stempel consented and were welcomed as important art collectors in Rome. For Broodje, this means recognition of a genre that has been very important to him throughout his life. Indeed, nowadays, he makes clothes inspired by the punk aesthetic and has exhibited these on various occasions.

The story of Broodje and his punk collection touches on many themes that are central to this dissertation, exemplifying as it does that music is strongly connected to a sense of self. As an important aspect of Broodje's youth, popular music helped him to define his identity and find a place in society, and even 35 years later the music of the Sex Pistols means a lot to

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[1] This introduction is based on the *Andere Tijden* ('Other Times') episode '*Punk: van pret naar Protest*' ('Punk in the Netherlands: from fun to protest'), which was broadcast on 8 April 2012. I also used a newspaper article about the exhibition (Goossens, 2011) and conducted an interview with Broodje (see Appendix A).

him. Arguably, like many people of his age, he has come to a point in his life where he starts to reflect on his biographical experiences.

Since the late 1950s, many people have grown up with popular music as an important aspect of their daily lives. The fact that exhibitions and history programs are dedicated to punk demonstrates its cultural impact. Like other forms of popular music, punk can be seen as a form of cultural heritage that is linked to local identities and histories. Punk originates from the United Kingdom and United States, but in the Netherlands the cultural memory of this genre is strongly associated with squatting and the riots that took place during the investiture of Queen Beatrix on 30 April 1980.

Such themes are the main focus in this dissertation about the relationship between popular music, cultural memory and cultural identity. This study follows on from the increasing attention paid to: ageing audiences of popular culture (Bennett, 2006; Harrington & Bielby, 2010), questions of memory and identity (Misztal, 2003), and the local appropriation of global cultural forms (Regev, 2013; Thompson, 1995). I will explore how cultural and heritage industries mediate the memories people attach to popular music from the past, and will also examine the role of place in these memory practices. The primary focus is on the Netherlands. However, because popular music is a cultural form that transcends national boundaries, I will also assess Dutch popular music memories in relation to their international dimensions. The central research question is: *How do narratives of popular music heritage and cultural memory – as they are constructed and disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries and through grassroots preservation practices – resonate with cultural identities on personal, local, national and European levels?*

With this study, I aim to make an empirical and theoretical contribution to the existing research on the connections between popular music, memory and cultural heritage. My dissertation is one of the first empirical studies on the relationship between popular music and memory in the Netherlands. Theoretically, I aim to enhance the understanding of the intricate ways in which personal memories connect to cultural narratives about popular music's past, as they are disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries. To this end, I will draw upon literature from different disciplines, covering research in the fields of media studies, heritage, memory and popular music.

2

Studying popular music memories

In this chapter, I will introduce the key concepts of this dissertation and provide the theoretical background of the chapters that follow. This general introduction to the dissertation has been divided into four sections. First, I discuss the relationship between popular music and identity. Second, I examine popular music's connections to cultural memory and heritage. Third, I explore the role of place in the relationship between popular music and cultural memory. Fourth, the research questions, methodological aspects and the structure of this study will also be discussed.

2.1 Popular music and identity

Defining popular music

Many authors have noted the complexities of defining popular music (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Regev, 2013; Shuker, 1998). I will use some tentative characteristics for my conceptualization of this term, because the boundaries of the definition of popular music are fluid (Shuker, 1998). As I will argue below, there are always borderline cases that fall just within or outside the definition. These difficulties led Connell and Gibson (2003: 5) to the conclusion that "there can be no formal definition of popular music." However, like other researchers, they do provide some general characteristics. On the basis of these pieces of work, I will argue that popular music relies on mass media and the commercial logic of the music industry. As a consequence, it is different from folk and classical music in terms of the dynamics of its production, distribution and consumption.

Mass media are pivotal in the production, distribution and consumption of popular music, and audiences rely on radio stations, magazines, television and the internet to gain access to it. Radio, for example, was important for the promotion of rock'n'roll and beat music in the 1950s and 1960s (Dolfsma, 2004b). In 1960, Veronica, the first Dutch popular music radio station, started to broadcast from a vessel in the North Sea. As commercial radio was prohibited by law, and because public broadcasters rarely played the new rock'n'roll music, the station was forced to broadcast from just outside Dutch territorial waters in order to

circumvent the legislation (Bakker & Scholten, 2003). Such youth-oriented radio stations not only familiarized young people with new music, but also buttressed the relationship between music and youth culture (Rutten, 2001; Schildt & Siegfried, 2006). This demonstrates the role of media in the promotion and distribution of popular music.

A second characteristic of popular music is its commercial aesthetic; it is produced and disseminated within a music industry that operates according to a commercial logic (Frith, 1983). However, the centrality of commercialism in the music industry is also contested within the field of popular music. Many bands and audiences are attracted by the cultural politics of independent record labels (Halnon, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 1999). Furthermore, Frith (1983) highlights the contradiction that 'rock ideology' is associated with a critique of capitalism, while it also relies on consumerism for its existence. He nevertheless contends that the music industry is largely structured around the pursuit of making money.

Given these two characteristics, popular music can, to a certain extent, be distinguished from classical music and folk. This is because the latter two are less centered on a music industry with its distinctive processes of production, distribution and consumption involving stars, charts and fandom. However, in order to explain my research focus, I need to make a few remarks about this definition. Sometimes, a further distinction is made between pop and rock music, with the former being used to refer to the music that targets a teenage market (Gammond, 1991) and the latter to a more 'artistic' and putatively more 'authentic' form of music which emerged in the mid-1960s (Bennett, 2009). I use the more general term popular music to do justice to the wide range of genres covered by the memory practices of the cultural and heritage industries. Furthermore, even though the first substudy in this dissertation deals with offshore radio, I acknowledge the existence of popular music before the advent of 'the pirates' in the 1960s. Finally, I am aware that folk artists and classical composers often share characteristics with popular music artists. Indeed, in some cases, classical musicians have a larger following than *obscure* bands making *popular* music (Shuker, 1998). In other words, the boundaries of popular music are fluid and not absolute. However, the aim of this dissertation is not to give an exhaustive overview of popular music history. Instead, my focus is on popular music's relationship to identity, cultural memory and place. In the following sections, I elaborate on this perspective by situating my own research against the background of the existing literature on these topics.

Popular music and identity

For many people, popular music is a ubiquitous aspect of their daily lives. Indeed, this is the case not only for dedicated fans, but also for people with a more casual engagement with music. Hesmondhalgh (2013b: 1-2) argues that people's attachment to music is so strong because it "often feels intensely and emotionally linked to the private self" while it is also "often the basis of collective, public experiences, whether in live performance, mad dancing at a party, or simply by virtue of the fact that thousands and sometimes millions of people can come to know the same sounds and performers." Although I focus on the relationship between personal and collective *memories*, this intricate connection between individual and collective experiences of music is central to this study. People use music as a resource to give meaning to their lives and the social world (DeNora, 1999; Roy & Dowd, 2010). As a consequence, popular music is strongly related to identity construction.

For Hall (1992), cultural identity refers to the aspects of identity that follow on from our attachments to, for example, ethnic and national cultures. Zijderveld (1998: 98) conceives of identity as the answer to questions like: 'Who am I?', 'who are we?' and – because identities are relational and based on difference – 'who are they?' Music helps us to grapple with these questions and so construct and express our personal and shared values, passions and feelings. According to Frith (1996: 124): "Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives." People often share such experiences as members of subcultures, scenes or other forms of community. Music can bring people together and forge a sense of cultural identity. Of course, music also divides; through their musical tastes, social groups can distinguish themselves from others, drawing upon notions of good and bad taste (Bourdieu, 1984). Musical identities thus provide a sense of continuity in how individuals and collectivities are perceived; they enable people to define themselves and other members of society.

Further defining the relationship between music and identity, Frith (1996: 109, italics in original) argues that: "identity is *mobile*, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being" and so "our experience of music - of music making and music listening - is best understood as an experience of this *self-in-process*." This process model of musical identity moves away from the earlier homology model, which assumed that popular music reflects or represents the people who produce or consume it. Indeed, the homology model conceives of musical styles as the expression of specific social, racial or ethnic identities (e.g. 'black' or 'European' music). Frith shifts the focus from music as an expression of identity, to music as

a resource for identity *construction*. He thus problematizes the 'necessary flow' from certain social identities to musical sounds that the homology model presumes:

> The problem here is not just the familiar postmodern point that we live in an age of plunder in which musics made in one place for one reason can be immediately appropriated in another place for quite another reason, but also that while music may be shaped by the people who first make and use it, as experience it has a life of its own. (Frith, 1996: 109)

Similarly, Tagg (1989) has questioned the use of terms such as 'black music' or 'European music', criticizing the rigid understanding of the connections between certain sounds, people and places that these notions assume. Tagg argues that many of the traits ascribed to black music (e.g. improvisation, 'blue notes', and call and response techniques), are also historically associated with 'white music.' Identities, especially in a globalized world, are the result of shifting relationships between people and places (Massey 1995a). Frith's notion of musical identity as a process marks a shift to more dynamic conceptualizations of the relationship between music and identity.

DeNora (1999: 45) argues that there is no inner 'essence' that we find through music consumption. Her research, which follows on from conceptualizations of self-formation as reflexive projects of identity construction under advanced modernity, focuses on the agency of individuals to give shape to their personal identities. DeNora (1999: 45) found that: "music can be used as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/constructing who one is, a technology for spinning the apparently 'continuous' tale of who one 'is'." According to this theory, people have the agency to draw upon cultural forms such as music to give form to their self-identity. Hesmondhalgh (2013b), however, contends that DeNora's micro-sociological analysis neglects questions of power and ideology. He argues that her theory might be too positive about the ability of individuals to use music as a resource in their everyday lives, because their agency is "limited by social and historical factors (such as poverty, deprivation, lack of education, or training) but also by their own personal biographies" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b: 40-41).

Born (2000), meanwhile, aims to reconcile the process model with the homology model, allowing for the possibility that music can both transform and reinforce existing identities and boundaries:

There is a need to acknowledge that music can variably *both* construct new identities *and* reflect existing ones. Sociocultural identities are not simply constructed in music; there are "prior" identities that come to be embodied dynamically in musical cultures, which then also *form* the reproduction of those identities—no passive process of reflection. (Born, 2000: 31-32, italics in original)

Avoiding essentialist notions of musical identity, Born stresses that an individual can have multiple musical identifications that are manifest in diverse, potentially contradictory, musical tastes and practices. People thus have the agency to draw upon different musics to construct their identities, although this agency should be understood in relation to wider social dynamics (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b) and shared cultural practices. In this dissertation, I therefore examine both how audiences give meaning to popular music from the past and how these memories are constituted by the practices of the cultural and heritage industries. I discuss this relationship between popular music and memory in more detail in the next section.

2.2 Popular music, cultural memory and cultural heritage

Popular music and memory

Identities develop over time against the background of past experiences and memories. As such, memory is a pivotal medium through which identities are formed (Olick & Robbins, 1998). According to Misztal (2003: 2), memory "can be seen as the guardian of difference, as it allows for the recollection and preservation of our different selves, which we acquire and accumulate through our unique lives." In its connections to identity construction, music is strongly related to personal and collective memory. Upon hearing certain songs we can relive experiences we have come to associate with those musical works. DeNora (1999: 48) highlights that music is a temporal medium, as it "moves through time." She argues that when music is reheard, it evokes the temporal structure and emotions of the past events with which it is associated. Arguably, people remember the songs and musical experiences that have made a significant impact on them. In particular, the music people listened to in their late adolescence and early adulthood, which is an important phase in identity formation, has significant personal meanings during later life stages (Holbrook & Schindler, 1989). In psychological research, the phenomenon that music listened to during early adulthood and late

adolescence evokes more memories is known as the 'reminiscence bump' (Krumhansl & Zupnick, 2013).

On a collective level, there is also a connection between music, memory and identity. Particular music, such as the beat music of the baby boomers and nederpop (i.e. Dutch popular music), can be associated historically with, for example, generational or national identities. These popular music histories and musical tastes are often shared by parents and children as a form of intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge (Hayes, 2006; Krumhansl & Zupnick, 2013). As music matters to our sense of identity, it not only evokes memories, but the music itself is also remembered. Accordingly, as a shared cultural heritage, popular music culture is archived and presented in documentaries and exhibitions.

Heritage and memory

Heritage can be defined as "the ways in which very selective past material artefacts, natural landscapes, mythologies, memories and traditions become cultural, political and economic resources for the present." (Graham & Howard, 2008: 2). This constructionist definition of heritage emphasizes that present considerations weigh heavily on how the past is appropriated and what is remembered. The malleability and present-centeredness of heritage sets it apart from history; heritage is more concerned with identity than truth-seeking and thus goes beyond mere knowledge of the past.

McDowell (2008) contends that the selective use of the past as a resource for the present implies that heritage is inseparable from the concepts of memory and identity, because groups narrate their past in order to legitimize identities. Similarly, emphasizing the affective qualities of heritage and its power to bind people to a particular past, Smith (2006) describes heritage as a cultural process that involves remembering. Heritage is a cultural tool, she argues, used by individuals, nations and communities to provide temporal depth to identities. According to Smith (2006, p. 66): "By explicitly acknowledging the links between memory and remembering, and linking them with the idea of heritage, we can get a more nuanced understanding of the emotional quality and power of the cultural process of heritage." Heritage thus fosters a sense of belonging and roots the identity of groups of people in a communal past (McDowell, 2008). Heritage is therefore constituted of collective memories.

Halbwachs (1992: 47 [1926]), who coined the term collective memory in the first half of the 20th century, argues that memories are reconstructed in the present: "We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated." According to Halbwachs,

memories are reproduced in *social* frameworks of memory, because individuals remember as part of groups and communities. He therefore emphasizes that personal memories also have a social character, as they rely on social frameworks of memory for their recall. Halbwachs's work is important, because it demonstrates the meaning of memories for identity. However, his theory posits stable group identities that significantly influence the content of memories (Misztal, 2003). Halbwachs's work is less useful for conceptualizing more subtle understandings of the relationship between individual and collective identities. Moreover, his theory does not leave much agency to people to contest dominant memories or construct their own understandings of the past.

The work of other theorists of memory offers a more dynamic understanding of memory and identity. They conceive of memories as constituted of narratives, which connect events and give them meaning (Brockmeier, 2002; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Wertsch, 2002). These narrative approaches to memory are concerned with the stories told about the past and how such narratives bring together the past and the present in cultural identities. This is also the position I adopt and will develop in this dissertation by examining the relationship between popular music and memory. Following Wertsch' work (2000, 2002) on narratives as cultural tools, I conceive of remembering as a form of mediated action that "provides a link between human action and mind, on the one hand, and sociocultural setting, on the other" (2000: 512). Narrative theories are in line with the intersubjectivist approach to memory. It is the individual who remembers, but processes of recall rely on shared sociocultural practices in which narratives of memory are invoked (Van Dijck, 2007). Furthermore, members of a group or community do not have exactly the same memories of specific events. According to Misztal (2003: 10), this perspective allows us to "avoid both theories rooted in social determinism (which subordinate individuals totally to a collectivity) and visions of an individualistic, atomized social order (which deny the importance of communicative relations between people and their social embeddedness)." Each individual attaches personal feelings and meanings to common experiences. However, as Van Dijck (2007: 10) argues, they also relate their personal recollections to wider cultural narratives: "To properly understand their own existence in the grand scheme of historical events, people continuously sharpen their own remembered experience and the testimonies of others against available public versions—official documents, exhibits, text books, and so forth."

In this dissertation, I use the term *cultural* memory to emphasize the connections between personal and shared memories and the importance of cultural practices in processes of remembering (Brockmeier, 2002). Furthermore, I use the term popular music memories to

refer more specifically to music-related cultural memories. In both cases, I understand these concepts as manifestations of active processes of remembering. As Wertsch (2002: 17) argues, memories are not fixed things, but dynamic and mediated by cultural narratives: "Instead of talking about memories that we 'have,' the emphasis is on remembering as something we do." It is an active cultural process in which memories are constructed and given meaning in particular sociocultural settings by a variety of agents. In this process cultural and heritage industries appear to play a key role, because through their practices and products (e.g. documentaries and exhibitions) they provide public versions of popular music's past with which audiences can identify. Therefore, it is vital to consider how cultural and heritage industries mediate cultural memories.

Popular music memories and the cultural and heritage industries

Many other authors have noted the widespread concern with questions of memory, heritage and commemoration in recent decades (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Misztal, 2003; Reynolds 2011). As I will discuss below, it is argued that the heritage industries, a term which refers to the institutions (commercial or not-for-profit) involved in the preservation and re-enactment of the past (Misztal, 2003), increasingly historicize more recent cultural forms such as popular music. Moreover, the cultural industries, which are the institutions concerned with the production and circulation of social and cultural meanings through texts (Hesmondhalgh, 2013a), have a large stake in the musical past (Cohen, 2013).[2] Indeed, they feed into the memories of their audiences with, for example, reissue albums, 'classic rock' radio stations and nostalgic documentaries. Together, cultural and heritage institutions contribute to what Roberts (2014) calls a 'culture of heritagization.' With this term, he describes an active process of heritage-making and the notion that cultural heritage has become a form of cultural production in itself. Lowenthal (1998: 14), meanwhile, elucidates three trends that explain the observed expansion of the heritage sector, arguing that it has moved from the elite and grand to the vernacular and everyday, from the material to the intangible, and from the remote to the recent. As I will now discuss, these three trends also shed light on the ascent of popular music as a form of heritage.

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[2] Hesmondhalgh (2013a: 16) gives songs, narratives and performances as examples of texts and argues that they are: "heavy on signification and tend to be light on functionality and they are created with communicative goals primarily in mind."

Lowenthal (1998) finds that heritage nowadays is more concerned with cultures of everyday life than in the past. In response to concerns of the social history movement, increasing attention is paid to the historical experiences of 'ordinary people' and disadvantaged groups (Flinn, 2007). This wider scope of heritage also includes mass-produced cultural forms such as popular music (Bennett, 2009; Brandellero and Janssen, 2014; Moore, 1997). This trend is in line with the blurring of boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture. The growing attention paid by quality newspapers to popular music demonstrates that this cultural form has gained more cultural legitimacy (Schmutz *et al*., 2010). In their reviews, these newspapers draw upon high art discourses to discuss popular music albums (Van Venrooij & Smutz, 2010). Similarly, in Liverpool, a group of fans and entrepreneurs aimed to connect the Beatles to high culture, "suggesting that because of their creative genius and artistic value they should be likened to Shakespeare or Beethoven and regarded as local heritage" (Cohen, 2013: 582). The democratization of higher education has further dissolved existing hierarchies, as it brought together groups with different taste patterns (Janssen, 2005). To be clear, this does not mean that such cultural hierarchies have disappeared. Moreover, there are notable differences between countries in terms of the permeability of boundaries between 'popular' and 'high art' aesthetics (Janssen *et al.,* 2011; Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010). However, arguably the increasingly diverse cultural tastes of those who have experienced higher education are reflected in what heritage institutions decide to collect and present to their audiences.

According to Lowenthal, a second dimension of heritage's enlargement is concern for its intangible aspects. UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted in 2003 in response to the notion that non-western cultures have less object-oriented conceptions of heritage (Smith, 2006). This convention has extended the definition of heritage to traditions, social practices, rituals and knowledge of traditional crafts. Smith (2006) goes a step further and claims that all heritage is intangible, because meanings and values are also central to engagement with objects, places and physical sites. Roberts (2014) has applied this notion to the preservation of popular music and its culture, but maintains that popular music heritage is both tangible and intangible:

> By definition, music is intangible, as indeed are people's musical memories. But, neither music nor memory exists in an ontological vacuum. They are enacted and practised in material environments (venues, clubs, festivals, museums, galleries, pilgrimage sites and heritage trails), mediated through technologies (musical

instruments, radio, television, internet, portable media players such as the Walkman or iPod, record player, tape deck, etc.), and materialised in general items of assorted memorabilia (album covers, books, concert ticket stubs, autographs, photographs, home movies, diaries, letters and so on). In other words, to talk of 'intangible' music heritage in isolation from the 'tangible' and material makes little sense. (Roberts, 2014: 271).

Such a comprehensive definition of popular music heritage also demonstrates how heritage discourses are attached to contemporary cultural forms and technologies.

According to Lowenthal, a third explanation for the expansion of the field of heritage is an increasing focus on the more recent past. Indeed, in the case of popular music, it is not uncommon for museums to present memorabilia of living artists. As Reijnders (2010: 105) argues, this trend of 'collecting the contemporary' is part of a wider change in cultural policy to transform museums into more open and audience-centered institutions by connecting to the lived experiences of communities: "The great stories about heroes from the past have to give up an increasing amount of space to stories about and of 'ordinary people' in the here and now." Of course, these phenomena tie in with the attention paid to intangible heritage and cultures of everyday life in recent heritage practices.

So far, I have discussed how popular music memories have become part of the practices of the cultural and heritage industries. However, as I will discuss in the next section, music audiences and fans also participate in the 'heritagization' of popular music.

Audience participation and popular music memories

In 1992, Fiske coined the term 'textual productivity' to describe how fans create texts such as videos or adaptations of films that are related to their objects of fandom. In later years, this concept has been used to analyze 'digital fandom' and online textual productivity (Hills, 2013). Various developments on the internet, commonly described with the term Web 2.0 (Beer, 2008; O'Reilly, 2005), offer audiences new tools to create, share, distribute and interact about cultural content. How platforms such as YouTube and Wikipedia make it possible to 'harness the wisdom of the crowds' has been widely debated. In relation to this, Baym and Burnett (2009) explore how Web 2.0 allows music fans to become 'amateur experts' in the Swedish independent music scene. Meanwhile, writing about public, private, and third-sector institutions, Livingstone (2013: 26) notes growing public concern about questions of

participation, as they "have all responded with vigor, reorienting themselves to a newly visible public, developing consumer-facing strategies and social media platforms."

Museums and other heritage institutions have also initiated projects to increase their online visibility and engage audiences in new ways (Verboom & Arora, 2013). People are invited to share memories and annotate cultural artifacts (Snoek *et al.,* 2010). In relation to popular music heritage specifically, it has been argued that Web 2.0 has increased the opportunities to participate in the preservation of popular music's past (Cohen, 2013; Snoek *et al.,* 2010). Indeed, popular music memories are widely shared on weblogs, Facebook groups and the comment sections of YouTube.

In the field of popular music preservation, projects initiated by non-professionals like fans are described as DIY (Do-it-yourself) preservationism (Bennett, 2009) or DIY institutions (Baker & Huber, 2013).[3] Such 'bottom-up' preservation practices take shape in both the online and offline sphere. They might take the form of, for example, local exhibitions (Cohen, 2013), record labels (Bennett, 2009) and physical and online archives run by volunteers (Baker & Huber, 2013). Such fan or private collector activities often precede more institutional forms of popular music heritage and can be important when it comes to filling the gaps in museum collections or temporary exhibitions (Martin, 1999; Moore, 1997). As popular music memories are constructed, disseminated and given meaning in 'official' as well as non-professional organizations, I will examine both in this dissertation.

However, the continuing centrality of established cultural institutions and existing forms of cultural production should not be neglected (Hesmondhalgh, 2013a). In this dissertation, I acknowledge the importance of the professional expertise of the people, such as curators, who work in these organizations. Critical analysts of Web 2.0 have argued that the 'cult of the amateur' (Keen, 2007) tends to downplay the importance of professional standards in, for example, journalism and cultural production. Hills (2013: 131) distinguishes two positions in this debate on the extent to which Web 2.0 has altered producer and consumer roles:

> …'textual productivity', and its Fiskean lineage, have fed into a situation where digital populists applaud fans' web 2.0 creativity by marginalizing issues of skill, competence and (fan-)cultural distinction, whilst digital elitists seek to emphasize questions of skill

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[3] As a subcultural phenomenon, Do-It-Yourself has its roots in the 1970s. The DIY ethic of punk involved independent cultural production as a form of protest (Dale, 2008).

and competence in order to bolster a reactionary re-installation of professional / amateur.

Although Hills writes about digital fandom, this point is also relevant to studying how fans contribute to the construction and dissemination of popular music memories, be it on or offline. It highlights the risk of either too much optimism about these developments or neglecting how audiences participate in forms of cultural production.

2.3 The places of popular music and heritage

In the previous sections, I have discussed the relationship between popular music, cultural memory, heritage, and identity. I will now examine how this connects to the spatial dimensions of musical identities. As the literature that will be discussed in this section demonstrates, both popular music and heritage involve a sense of place. In relation to this, Bennett (2000: 52) notes that the term 'local' is sometimes used interchangeably with 'national', as opposed to 'global', while others use local to refer to processes of music production and consumption on urban and rural levels. Throughout the dissertation, I will state explicitly when I am discussing national identities; in all other cases, I will apply the term local to sub-national settings.

Music is always made, performed and consumed *somewhere*. These places of music's production and consumption are central to the meanings attached to music (Hudson, 2006). These meanings in turn shape the experiences of localities. As Cohen (1995) argues, music is involved in the sociocultural 'production of place'. Localities are associated with certain styles (Bennett, 2002), such as the 'Madchester' sound that emerged in Manchester in the late 1980s. When artists from a particular place become successful, record labels are eager to sign other bands from this city or region (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b; Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010). In many cases, the music press further perpetuates the identity of a place as the bearer of a unique sound (Cheyne & Binder, 2010), while artists contribute to the production of place with local references in their lyrics (Cohen, 1995; Reitsamer, 2014), art work and interviews. Eventually, these locations can become tourist destinations for fans (Gibson & Connell, 2007). Furthermore, researchers in the 'active audience tradition' of media studies have emphasized how a person's local and sociocultural situatedness affects their interpretations of

texts.[4] Chow and De Kloet (2008), for example, found that fans in the Netherlands attach 'typically Dutch' values like ordinariness and emotional honesty to the Dutch singer Marco Borsato. This exemplifies the connections between local identity and popular music consumption.

Heritage is also connected to a sense of place, observes Smith (2006: 75): "Not simply in constructing a sense of abstract identity, but also in helping us position ourselves as a nation, community or individual and our 'place' in our cultural, social and physical world." The 'discourse of heritage' that Smith identifies is strongly associated with the formation of nation-states. However, as a consequence of processes of intensive globalization, national identities have become a contested terrain. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, debates on what constitutes Dutch identity and heritage were high on the public agenda (Lechner, 2008). In 1999, the Council for Social Development explored the tensions between national identity and processes of internationalization at the request of the Dutch cabinet. Its report (RMO 1999) focuses on the consequences of European integration and the multi-ethnic society for notions of Dutch identity. The establishment of the European Union has spurred questions about European identity and heritage (Lähdesmäki, 2012). Moreover, Misztal (2003: 18) has observed "a fragmentation of national memory", because of the diversity of cultures, traditions and ethnicities in pluralist societies. At the same time, these sociocultural changes are contested, as they provoke attempts to revive or reimagine national identities and reinforce boundaries (Lechner, 2008; Morley, 2001). Accordingly, contemporary societies are characterized by the presence of multiple, potentially conflicting, 'heritages' on various geopolitical levels.

A concern with the meaning of place and local identity in times of globalization emerges from the literature on music and heritage. In this dissertation, I will bring these two strands of research together to explore the local aspects of popular music memories. To this end, I will draw on Massey's work (1991; 1995a; 1995b) in which she analyzes the meaning of 'place' under globalization by focusing on the interconnections of places: "Places [..] can be understood as articulations of social relationships some of which will be to the beyond (the global), and these global relationships as much as the internal relationships of an area will influence its character, its 'identity'." (Massey, 1995a: 186). She describes this as a progressive sense of place, because it is not self-closing but outward-looking (1991). Her

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[4] See Bennett (2000: 54-56) for a more detailed discussion of the relationship between active audience theory and the local situatedness of music consumption.

work elucidates the connections between identity and place without essentializing such connections. The identity of, for example, a city should be seen in relation to global forces that affect this local sense of place. This fits with an understanding of musical creativity as a dialogue between different cultures. According to Regev (2013: 8):

> Practically any given national, ethnic, local, and indigenous culture displays openness to forms of expression and aesthetic idioms exterior to its own heritage - especially to those forms and idioms that gain global institutionalized status as the frontiers of creativity in late modernity.

Furthermore, Massey's conceptualization of place highlights that the social relationships shaping local identities can shift over time, thus changing the character of places. In other words, the specificity of a place is not fixed, because different groups can have conflicting understandings of the identity of localities (Hudson, 2006; Massey, 1991). Therefore, as Massey (1995a: 186) argues, places have multiple pasts: "The identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant." This leads to the question of how popular music's past becomes part of such localized identities and memories.

2.4 Research questions, methodological considerations and structure of the dissertation

Research question

This dissertation is part of the research project 'Popular Music Heritage, Cultural Memory and Cultural Identity' (POPID), which is a collaboration between researchers from Erasmus University Rotterdam, Mediacult (Vienna) and the universities of Liverpool and Ljubljana (Brandellero, Janssen, Cohen & Roberts, 2014). Within the framework of the POPID project, my focus is on the following research question: *How do narratives of popular music heritage and cultural memory – as they are constructed and disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries and through grassroots preservation practices – resonate with cultural identities on personal, local, national, and European levels?*

In line with the aforementioned multilayered connections between identity and place, I will thus examine the meanings of popular music memories for the cultural identities of individuals and communities at various levels. Moreover, acknowledging the role of cultural industry workers as well as music fans in the construction of music heritage, my research

question follows on from the assumption that there is a continuum of memory practices, ranging from bottom-up activities of music preservation to institutional forms of popular music heritage (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014).

In this dissertation, I adopt the position that remembering and heritage are active cultural processes (Smith, 2006) of mediated action (Wertsch, 2002), in which memories and identities are linked to particular sociocultural settings by a variety of agents. Cultural and heritage industries and grassroots preservation practices presumably play a key role in such processes, as they mediate our attachments to popular music from the past. However, the narratives disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries are given personal meanings by individuals, because they relate them to their personal biographies and experiences. As Smith (2006: 66, my emphasis) argues: "Overall, acknowledging that heritage engages with remembering forces us to acknowledge that heritage is a culturally directed *personal* and *social* act of making sense and understanding." The research question of this dissertation addresses several levels of identification (i.e. personal, local, national and European), because identities are layered (Born, 2000; Smith, 2006). Particular forms of identification can become more salient depending on the sociocultural setting in which narratives of heritage and memory are shared.

The main focus of this dissertation is on the Netherlands. However, in line with Massey's conceptualization of places as interdependent locations where local and global influences intersect (1995b), I study Dutch popular music memories in relation to the transnational dimensions of this form of music. The Netherlands is a relevant case in point, because, as a small country, it has always been very open to musical influences from other places (Janssen *et al.,* 2008; Schuyt & Taverne, 2004).

Methodological considerations

The separate chapters of this dissertation will each have their own specific research question that covers aspects of the main question. I have chosen a qualitative approach to address these, because my aim is to conduct an in-depth study of the ways in which cultural and heritage industries mediate popular music memories, and I am interested in the meanings of these memories for identity construction. My findings follow on from almost 50 in-depth interviews with, among others, heritage practitioners and audience members (see Appendix A), workshops in Ljubljana, Liverpool and Vienna with local heritage practitioners, observations at various music exhibitions (Appendix D) and a knowledge exchange session

with music researchers, collectors and archivists.[5] I used topic guides for the semi-structured interviews (Appendix B), which I adapted to the different stages of my research.

The data collection and analysis in this study are largely based on the principles of the grounded theory method (Corbin & Straus, 1990; 2008). This approach seeks to generate and develop concepts and theories on the basis of the constant comparison of incidents, concepts and observations. These comparisons – the explorations of differences and similarities in the data – make it possible to identify regularities. The grounded theory method makes optimal use of the flexibility of qualitative research, because data collection and analysis are interrelated. When I observed certain patterns in the data, I was able to 'check' these assumptions by re-analyzing existing data and carrying out additional interviews. As mentioned above, it also allowed me to adapt the topic guide during the research process, enabling me to focus on specific themes that emerged from the analysis of previous interviews. An important principle in the grounded theory method is to approach the phenomena under study from different angles to facilitate the process of comparison (Corbin & Straus, 1990). Therefore, my dissertation covers different genres and time periods, ranging from rock music in the 1960s to dance in the 1990s.

To further enable the process of constant comparison, respondents were selected through a theoretical sampling strategy (Corbin & Straus, 1990). This means that the people I contacted had to be representative of the various aspects of the phenomena under study. I therefore aimed for variation in my sample. For example, I have interviewed people working in established cultural institutions (e.g. curators) as well as non-professionals like collectors, DIY preservationists and pirate radio broadcasters. This allowed me to compare understandings of popular music heritage of both professional and amateur initiatives in this field. In line with the theoretical conceptualization of remembering as a form of mediated action (Wertsch, 2002), I interviewed people involved in the production of memory practices next to audience members who actively give meaning to narratives of memory and heritage (see Appendix A). This approach acknowledges that processes of remembering take place in particular sociocultural settings in which such narratives are shared and appropriated by individuals and communities.

As the Netherlands is a relatively small country, I was able to interview many of the key players involved in the field of popular music heritage, including representatives of

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[5] Workshops with research and heritage practitioners took place in Liverpool (26 January 2010), Ljubljana (15 June 2011) and Vienna (19 October 2012). The knowledge-exchange session on DIY preservationism was held in Rotterdam on 30 January 2013.

central organizations such as the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Music Center the Netherlands, and the RockArt Museum. It should be noted that popular music heritage in the Netherlands is an emerging and dynamic field in which practices have not yet stabilized (cf. Brandellero *et al.*, 2014; Brandellero & Janssen, 2014). In recent years, there have been many new initiatives, but also institutions that merged or closed down. This was another reason to look at the breadth of activities and include novel and extant practices of popular music heritage.

Through these interviews, I have been able to learn about the practices, viewpoints and motivations of people working in the field of popular music heritage. Activities such as collecting music and illegal broadcasting (pirate radio) are more often carried out by men (Lijfering, 1988; Straw, 2013), leading to a gender imbalance in my sample. However, in the case of audience interviews, I have achieved a reasonable balance between male and female respondents. In these interviews, I explored the various music-related activities that the participants engage in, the meanings they attach to music from the past and the role of popular music-related memories in their lives. I have sought a balance between audience members who qualify as 'dedicated fans' and those who have a more 'casual engagement' with music.

For each substudy of this dissertation, specific respondents were selected and interviewed. However, as the various substudies are interrelated – they all address the relationship between popular music memories and identity –, interviews were re-analyzed and used for different chapters. More detailed explanations of my methodological decisions will be given in the method sections of the individual studies.

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is structured around a set of substudies that explore various facets of the main research question. However, these chapters can also be read as self-contained studies, because they have been written as separate articles.[6] The topics for the substudies were selected because they shed light on specific aspects of the central research question. Accordingly, all chapters share a concern with the ways in which narratives of popular music memory and heritage mediate attachments to place and resonate with cultural identities. Chapters 3 and 4 respectively focus on media and nostalgia in their relation to popular music

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[6] Chapter 3 has been published in *Media, Culture and Society*, Chapter 4 in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and Chapter 6 in the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. Chapters 5 and 7 are under review with two other international peer-refereed academic journals.

memories and identities. In Chapters 5 and 6, memory practices of the heritage industries are included in the analysis by examining popular music heritage in museums and archives. I now turn to a more detailed description of the substudies.

In line with the aforementioned definition of popular music as a commercial cultural form that strongly relies on mass media, Chapter 3 starts with the introduction of commercial music broadcasting by offshore radio stations. Through a study of the role of illegal radio in Dutch popular music, it explores the connections between music, media and memory. The question posed is: *How do current legal and illegal radio stations engage with the heritage of Dutch pirate radio to construct local cultural identities?* I find that the media and technologies for distributing and listening to popular music, such as pirate radio and transistor radios, have a special significance in the memories attached to popular music. At the same time, new technologies like internet radio are used to keep these memories alive. The safeguarding of the heritage of the pirates is largely a bottom-up process initiated by DIY preservationists, such as fans and other amateur heritage practitioners. This chapter concludes by highlighting the significance of shared memory practices for mediating personal and cultural memories.

To further explore the sociocultural embeddedness of popular music memories, Chapter 4 focuses on how cultural industries target ageing music audiences with commercial platforms for the re-enactment of the past. The main research questions reads: *How are cultural identities and cultural memories of the popular music of the 1990s negotiated at dance parties focused on that period in Dutch popular music history?* To answer this research question, this study draws on theories on the relationship between nostalgia and identity. On the basis of in-depth interviews with audience members, DJs and party organizers, I make an ideal-typical distinction between *early* and *decade*-parties to explore the various ways in which nostalgia operates. At *early-parties*, DJs and audiences return to the roots of specific genres and try to preserve these sounds. *Decade-parties*, meanwhile, offer an experience of reminiscence by loosely signifying the decade and its diverse mix of music styles and fashions.

In line with the different geographical levels of identification addressed in the central research question, Chapters 5 and 6 examine the relationship between local and national identities and the transnational dimensions of popular music.

Chapter 5, which has been co-authored with Amanda Brandellero, explores the meaning of place in the heritage practices of Dutch museums and archives: *How do museums and archives engaging in popular music heritage practices give form to understandings of*

place and local cultural identity? In this study, music preservation projects of both amateur archivists (i.e. DIY preservationists) and professional heritage practitioners are examined. From the analysis of these projects emerges a tension between the local and national orientations of museums and archives and the global circulation of popular music.

This tension is further examined in the next chapter, where I explore how popular music from the 1960s is remembered in Europe. I draw on literature on European identity and heritage, in order to discuss how the European Union uses its cultural policy to foster a sense of European identity. In so doing, I explore how popular music heritage relates to these policy objectives. Contrary to the previously discussed memory practices, which appear to resonate strongly with existing identities, notions of European identity and heritage are actively being constructed by the European Union. The central question of this study reads: *How do narratives of the popular music heritage of the 1960s – as they are constructed and disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries – resonate with cultural identities on local, national and European levels?* It is found that heritage and media institutions generally focus on the local and national aspects of the 1960s. However, in online heritage practices, narratives with a European vantage point are emerging.

Chapter 7 discusses findings that transcend the themes discussed in the previous chapters, by building upon the analyses of the four substudies presented in chapters 3 to 6. I draw on narrative approaches to memory and identity to theorize the relationship between personal and cultural memories. Furthermore, I examine how tensions between creativity and commercialism in the cultural and heritage industries affect narratives about popular music's past. From this vantage point, I argue that these narratives can both afford and constrain identity construction. They offer a sense of belonging, but I also discuss factors that compromise this potential.

In the final chapter, I sum up the main findings of the dissertation. I also explore possible directions for future research and reflect upon the practical implications of this study.

3

The popular music heritage of the Dutch pirates[7]

3.1 Introduction

By illegally using radio frequencies which belong to licensed broadcasters, pirate stations in Europe (e.g. England, the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden) were pivotal in the introduction and dissemination of music genres like rock'n'roll in the 1960s (Chapman, 1992) and black music genres during the 1980s (Hebdige, 1993). Although rock has achieved artistic legitimacy (Van Venrooij & Schmutz, 2010) and is now considered cultural heritage (Bennett, 2009; Kong, 1999), the illegal radio stations had to struggle to raise awareness of this genre. Public broadcasters largely ignored commercial popular music in the 1960s, because it was seen as 'lowbrow' culture and could undermine the authority of the political establishment by stimulating the rebellious fervor of the youth (Chapman, 1992; Dolfsma, 2004a; Rutten, 2001). In this chapter, I consider how the technologies for illegally distributing popular music become part of narratives of cultural heritage next to the music itself. In this context, heritage will be defined as the collective memories, traditions and customs that live on in the present and are recognized as belonging to the cultural identity of a group of people (Bennett, 2009; Graham & Howard, 2008; Kong, 1999; Van Dijck, 2007).

The chapter will explore the proposition that technologies for listening and distributing music are concurrently part of people's cultural memories and also help to shape these recollections (Neiger *et al.*, 2011; Van Dijck, 2007). As I will discuss below, memories often take the form of coherent stories that constitute cultural identities (Somers, 1994). I will examine how the remaining pirates and on-line radio stations that disseminate memories of the history of pirate radio bind people together by feeding into shared narratives of musical experience.

Before turning to the theoretical section of this chapter, I will give a brief introduction to the pirate radio phenomenon by making a distinction between the period of offshore radio, the local land-based pirates that followed on from them and the current period, in which active engagement with the memories of the previous periods can be seen.

3.2 The emergence of pirate radio in the Netherlands

Although illegal broadcasting already existed before the Second World War, the term 'radio pirates' commonly refers to the offshore radio stations that were broadcasting during the 1960s, such as for instance the Dutch Radio Veronica and English Radio Caroline (Kok, 2008; Rudin, 2007). By anchoring outside territorial waters these stations circumvented the laws that prohibited commercial radio. From their vessels they broadcasted rock'n'roll music, which could scarcely be heard on public radio stations at the time. Frith (2000: 40) argues that in Britain the record industry supported them, because "as the pirates developed their own musical ideology, so record companies had to start supplying the appropriate records." For the Dutch situation, Kok (2008) finds that offshore radio station Veronica also liaised with music industry representatives. With their rebellious character the pirates appealed to youngsters who were exploring the then emerging Anglo-American oriented 'beat culture' (Rutten, 2001). Stations like Veronica and Radio Northsea International gave a voice to young people and thus intensified the generation gap between adults and youth. In 1974 the Dutch government finally put an end to offshore radio when they ratified the Marine Offences Act (Kok, 2008; Van Elteren, 1994).

In the period following the closing down of offshore radio, the Netherlands saw the advent of land-based illegal broadcasters. During the 1970s and 1980s these land-based pirates wanted to recreate the sound of the offshore stations, were dissatisfied with the content of the public stations or used illegal radio to give a voice to local identities (Lijfering, 1988; Van Elteren, 1994). While the offshore radio stations of the 1960s and 1970s exercised a national appeal, introducing commercial and new music styles like beat music, the land-based pirates also became a platform for the construction of local identities. They often focused on local popular music and presented their programs in dialect. According to estimates of the Radio Communications Agency, between 10,000 and 60,000 stations were active in 1985 (Van Elteren, 1994). While the majority of these stations were small-scale local amateur initiatives, this number also includes professionally organized commercial pirate stations in the cities. In 2003 the Radio Communications Agency tried to 'clean up the airwaves', which led to a 73 percent reduction in the number of pirates (Lelieveldt & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

The succeeding period brought initiatives like legal internet radio stations, which try to recreate the sound of old pirates in the regions where illegal radio has disappeared. At the same time, illegal broadcasters in the Dutch countryside, where pirate radio has a long tradition (Lelieveldt & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Lijfering, 1988), try to resist the enforcement measures of the Radio Communications Agency. Remarkably, a young generation of pirates is

continuing this local cultural heritage. This third period, in which the heritage of the preceding periods of illegal radio is appropriated, will be the focus of this study. I address the following research question: *how do current legal and illegal radio stations engage with the heritage of Dutch pirate radio to construct local cultural identities?* The emphasis is on the connections between past and present in local settings since, especially in the case of the land-based pirates, the limited range of the transmitter implies that the pirates cater for audiences in circumscribed areas.

3.3 Theory: the narrative constitution of musicalized identities

To explore how pirate radio stations construct mediated spaces of belonging, the cultural practices by which the heritage of illegal radio is appropriated in specific localities need to be uncovered. The links between past and present in these cultural identities can be theoretically conceptualized by drawing upon the concept of narrativity (Brockmeier, 2002; Somers, 1994). Somers (1994: 614) contends that social life is storied because "people make sense of what has happened and is happening to them by attempting to assemble or in some way to integrate these happenings within one or more narratives." According to Somers, the narratives that constitute identities consist of relationships of events, which are connected in a causal way and embedded in time and space. In this manner the identity of the pirates and their listeners can be unpacked as a meaningful engagement with a sequence of cultural happenings and social relations, in order to understand the personal and cultural significance of illegal radio.

To guarantee the continuity of a group, community, subculture or even society, collective memories are of paramount importance since they bring together past and present in the cultural identity of a given collective (Brockmeier, 2002; Connerton, 1989). I consider the pirates as such a mnemonic community (Zerubavel, 1996) with their own narratives that inform particular identities. Members of these groups share stories that account for their founding myths and place in social life (Nelson, 2003). Thus, from the perspective of narrative identity, stories are the medium for mnemonic practices. Therefore narration is how meanings are attached to events, on both personal and collective levels. Hence, individuals weave their life-experiences together in a coherent story. This "presentation of self to self, the ability to mobilize and hold on to a coherent image of 'who one knows one is'" is what DeNora (1999: 45) calls 'introjection'. This fits an understanding of identity as a reflexive project of identity-work (Giddens, 1991). Individuals hold on to stories of the self for a

sense of continuity in their lives, but also exchange these stories with family and friends, as a means of expression and self-definition (Nelson, 2003).

Popular music is one of the means for the construction of autobiographical memory (DeNora, 1999). Van Dijck (2007) finds that the technologies for listening to music also become part of these memories. For instance, the apparatuses which were used to listen to music during one's youth might have a specific personal meaning or, as in the case of a record player, signify a particular era. These recollections are 'technologically enabled' (Van Dijck, 2007), which means for this study that the technologies of pirate radio (e.g. transmitters and transistor radios) are part of the narratives which constitute cultural identities, but also that digital platforms like internet radio make it possible to engage with these narratives.

This points to the social practices that allow people to share memories of the heritage of illegal radio. As Van Dijck (2007: 91) explains: "Memories attached to songs are hardly individual responses per se; recorded music is perceived and evaluated through collective frameworks for listening and appreciation." Owing to this 'cultural embedding' of the narratives, the stories attached to recorded music are hardly ever solely of our own making, because personal biographies interact with public narratives, for example those that are disseminated by the mass media or shared with others (Van Dijck, 2007; Wang & Brockmeier, 2002). This means that memory is social; personal recollections of events are affected by those of others (Jedlowski, 2001; Zerubavel, 1996). This illuminates how individual recollections relate to collective memories. Our personal memories of popular music might coalesce with historical accounts or the memories of a community. Moreover, by transmitting stories from generation to generation, either in everyday conversations or in mediated accounts, we can feel connected to events we did not actually experience ourselves. One can, for instance, have well-articulated ideas about popular music in the 1960s, while having been born after this period. Before turning to the narratives that sustain the cultural identity of the pirates, and the social-cultural practices by which these stories are shared, I will outline the methodological aspects of this study.

3.4 Background to the study

In order to explore the cultural identities constituted by the narrative of pirate radio, I have conducted qualitative interviews with 22 people.[8] In some cases, more than one person was

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[8] See appendix A: Interviews 1-11 and 13-16.

present at the interview. These semi-structured interviews lasted around an hour. Two shorter interviews were carried out by telephone. With the consent of the interviewees I recorded the interviews, which enabled me to transcribe the conversations.

For the analysis of the interview data, I have applied the procedures of the grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). By coding the transcripts with Atlas.ti, the data could be explored to find patterns and compare the different interviews. At first the codes were open, to make the variety in the data visible. In a later stage codes were grouped in order to examine emerging patterns in the interview data. The interaction between analysis and data collection in the grounded theory approach allowed me to test my own interpretations of an interview by incorporating these aspects into the topics for the next interviews. This method of continuously comparing concepts and their instances reduces the risk of biased interpretations by the researcher (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The respondents for the interviews were selected on the basis of theoretical criteria. The interviewees had to represent the different aspects of the pirate phenomenon, in order to examine the topic from various perspectives. This resulted in a sample comprising archivists of the history of pirate radio, fans, a representative of the Radio Communications Agency, a former employee of Radio Veronica who now preserves the heritage of this station, an editor of a popular pirate website, and broadcasters themselves. The latter group contains both (former) pirates and representatives from internet radio stations.

In the next four sections I will show how the legal and illegal radio stations engage with the heritage of pirate radio to construct local cultural identities. I will first consider the relation of the narrative of pirate radio to specific music genres. Thereafter the connection between pirate radio and local identity construction will be explored, followed by a discussion of the personal and cultural meanings of pirate radio. These sections shed light on the relation between the personal biographies of listeners and collective memories of illegal radio. Finally, the cultural embedding of the narratives will be analyzed. Here I will focus on the ways in which these narratives are shared to allow for an ongoing engagement with the heritage of pirate radio.

3.5 The dominant narrative of the pirates: playing disregarded genres

This section of the chapter considers how the remaining pirates legitimize and give meaning to their practices by building upon a long tradition of illegal radio. Over the past 30 years the Dutch government has struggled with measures to put a halt to the pirate phenomenon, but the

radio pirates are surprisingly persistent (Agentschap Telecom, 2010). Although, after years of enforcement measures, the authorities have managed to put an end to pirate radio in the western parts of the Netherlands, illegal radio continues to thrive in the less urbanized parts of the country, as will become clear hereafter. According to estimates of the Dutch Radio Communications Agency (Agentschap Telecom, 2010), there were still about 1800 pirates on air in 2009.[9] Ironically, the risk this hobby entails, like large fines and seizure of the equipment, is a driving force behind the pirates' ongoing investment of time and money. One of the main appeals of illegal broadcasting is the possibility of 'the knock on the door', the idea that at any moment the Radio Communications Agency could raid the studio. As a former pirate explains, this is a big difference from the internet radio streams he uses nowadays for broadcasting, because the pirates were banned from the air in the part of the country where he lives.

> *They can no longer get you, since you pay for the music rights and all that. But I would rather run the risk of a sudden raid. I have had it quite a few times that I lost everything, because they took all of my equipment. But that is … well, you have to experience it, I find it hard to explain. It is the excitement: are they coming tonight or not? (Interview 3, amateur DJ internet radio station, male, 43)[10]*

> *Before I was born, my father was a pirate on the medium wave. He has had several raids and has been imprisoned for this [laughs]. This was still possible during the 1950s. Because of his stories about this period I, as a boy of 11 years old, became curious. In the end you see the aerials and you ask yourself the question: what is this? (Interview 10, editor Etherpiraten.com, male, 49)*

These 'visits' of the agency have a pivotal role in the histories of the stations and in the stories that are shared among the pirates or between generations, as the second respondent indicates. This raises the question of what it is, besides the excitement of engaging in an illegal activity, that motivates the pirates in the eastern parts of the Netherlands to continue their practices while they face ever rising fines. For this reason I will now turn to the narratives by which the pirates are socialized into their cultural identity.

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[9] However, new enforcement measures have led to a further reduction of the number of pirate radio stations (Agentschap Telecom, 2013).

[10] All interview quotes are translated from Dutch by the author. The interview numbers refer to Appendix A.

The dominant narrative for the illegal radio broadcasters is that they play music which gets less attention on the regular stations. Obviously, this claim goes back to the heyday of pirate radio during the 1960s, when the offshore radio broadcasters played music that could not be heard on the public stations. This is a sequence of events that gives meaning to the activities of the remaining illegal stations. Thus these arguments form a narrative that is shared between pirates, voiced in journalistic accounts and disseminated in popular culture (Brockmeier, 2002).[11] The individual pirate stations appropriate these cultural narratives in local settings to legitimize their own practices. The following quote, from a history page on the website of former pirate Radio Stad Den Haag, shows how they construct their identity by locating themselves in the public narrative of pirate radio.

> *When new legislation forced the offshore radio stations to stop in 1974, many youngsters who were enthusiastic about music were left empty-handed. Nothing to choose from and those who wanted to discover new music, and of course tape it, were dependent on public radio. […] But on Friday morning they even broadcast classical music on the national popular music channel! Once again, different music was completely ignored. The younger generation rebelled against this, which led to the introduction of land-based pirates. During the 1970s Radio City Interlokaal was the first station that broadcast disco music.*[12]

The successor to this station, Radio Stad Den Haag, is typical of the other stations that were active during the heyday of the city-based pirates in the 1970s and 1980s. While these city-based pirates were progressively trying to attract attention to foreign music and new genres like dance, nowadays the same narrative of illegal radio is still being appropriated by the remaining pirates, who focus on the more traditional Dutch- language repertoire. These local illegal radio stations legitimize their activities by claiming to step into the void left by public and commercial broadcasters. Because, in their opinion, the regular stations do not play enough Dutch-language music, the pirates take up this task.[13]

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[11] The film The Boat that Rocked (2009) is an example of how the narrative of pirate radio is shared in popular culture.

[12] See: www.radiostaddenhaag.com/about-us (accessed July 2012).

[13] Interestingly, research (Ofcom, 2007; Schlosberg, 2011) shows that pirates in the United Kingdom have the same way of legitimizing their activities by pointing at their unique musical content. However, in the United Kingdom this narrative is appropriated by minority groups in the cities instead and revolves around emerging black music genres.

It is in particular the music I like. Of course the pirates occasionally play English music, and I don't mind some hard rock in between, but there is so much Dutch-language music that I do not hear elsewhere. (Interview 15, fan of pirate radio, male, 59)

You've got Radio NL [Commercial Radio Station-AvdH] and that is getting closer to what we are doing. But then you are already talking about the well-known artists. […] But there is a lot more.... Because every week about 20 new songs are released, but these are not played by them! (Interview 3, amateur DJ internet radio station, male, 43)

AvdH: So it was because of the illegal radio station of your parents that you became a pirate. Are there any other reasons?
R: No, not really. Well, it is also because of the love for the music you do not hear on the regular radio stations. (Interview 4, amateur DJ, male, 33)

The perceived lack of attention to their favorite music is a recurring theme in the interviews. The remaining pirates in the Netherlands describe this as 'defending Dutch-language music' (Lijfering, 1988). This style of music is so strongly intertwined with the medium of illegal radio that it is commonly referred to as 'pirate music.' These are schmaltzy songs, dealing with sentimental topics like love and loss, and have lyrics that are easy to comprehend with simple song structures and orchestration. They come close to the so-called *schlagers*, which are also played by the pirates. The social aspect is central in this style of music (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), hence the focus on the local community and the ways music can bring people together. In contrast to the more complex music genres, of which audiences expect an aesthetic experience, the music played by the pirates is rooted in everyday life. As the next interview fragment illustrates, it is the sheer simplicity of the music which appeals to this respondent and which he connects to his social attitudes.

I think you have to be quite ordinary to like this music. Although I do not want to label myself [laughs], but yeah, there is ordinariness involved. It is about not questioning everything in life. There is no need to argue about everything, there is an easy way as well. A lot of the records I played reflect this attitude. (Interview 2, former pirate, male, 30)

This putative simplicity of the music could also explain the lack of attention for this genre. In a study of classification processes in the music industry, Hitters and Van de Kamp (2010) showed that the major record labels are not very keen on working with the artists in this genre. Generally, this style of Dutch-language music is perceived as lowbrow, because of its strong ties to working-class cultures. For a long time it was 'not done' to listen to Dutch-language music, although during the mid-1990s it has become more popular (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011). As a reaction to this, new radio and television channels that focus on Dutch music have commenced broadcasting.

Nevertheless, the attention to local grassroots artists remains the domain of the pirates. Despite the possibilities of setting up legal on-line radio stations, the pirates still prefer the tradition of illegal broadcasting, because it arouses more excitement and reaches more people. Older listeners, in particular, are not familiar with on-line radio.

> *R: Illegal broadcasting is better.*
> *AvdH: Why?*
> *R: Because of the sensation it gives you and I have the impression that more people listen to it. […] Not everybody knows your internet radio station, but someone who turns on the radio will hear you right away. (Interview 4, amateur DJ, male, 33)*

Moreover, other broadcasters seem to lack the strong links to local communities that the pirates have. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the meanings people endow radio with need to be understood in relation to local contexts. Because of the limited range of the transmitters pirate stations always cater for local audiences. For this reason I will now turn to the ways in which the technology of pirate radio has contributed to feelings of belonging in local communities by offering a platform for the construction of cultural identities.

3.6 Place and identity

During the 1980s, local public radio was introduced as a reaction to the popular demand for radio that connects to local identities (Van Elteren, 1994). However, the respondents feel that these public stations are too much restricted by rules about the content of their programs. The 'free radio' of the pirates has its own distinctive style, not offered by the regular stations. It is their identity of amateurism (e.g. lots of echo), greetings from listeners and approachability which makes them so popular (Lijfering, 1988; Van Elteren, 1994). By playing local artists and announcing them in regional dialects a shared mediated space is constructed. The

customary greetings to neighbors that follow on from audience requests for songs further illustrate how pirate radio is embedded in local communities.

These ties to cohesive local communities also explain the pirates' persistence despite the raids of the Radio Communications Agency. The pirates work together to circumvent the regulations of the agency, and this has become a popular local pastime with a long tradition. When pirates receive notification of a fine at a certain address, they move the mobile aerial – for this reason often built onto a car – to a neighboring piece of land, which means that the agency has to send out a new warning. Thus the wide availability of land and the strong social networks in these rural parts of the Netherlands are beneficial in resisting the enforcement measures of the Radio Communications Agency. In addition, a younger generation is socialized in the narratives of the pirate identity, which further explains their continuity.

Although, for these reasons, the pirate stations remain rooted in local communities, the internet also enables a trans-local orientation. Together with transmission over the air some stations stream their signal on the internet. For other pirate stations, especially those in the urban parts of the Netherlands, internet radio is an alternative to broadcasting over the air. Due to the strict enforcement measures of the Radio Communications Agency against pirate radio stations, internet radio remains the only way of supporting the music of Dutch-language artists. Generally the pirates regret that audiences are no longer able to find them by tuning in to the radio. As Lelieveldt and Van Leeuwen (2006: 5) explain, the community aspect of pirate radio "disappears in the complex mishmash of (niche) Internet radios." Interestingly, although their activities on the internet are no longer illegal, these stations maintain their pirate identity. For instance, visual cues like the pirate logo are indicators of an illegal past, but also their names are often derived from the narrative of radio piracy. Often this is substantiated by a separate page with a story and photos to give an account of the history of the pirate station. The continuity in the narrative of pirate radio means that old and new media gradually converge. For this reason the practices on the internet derive their meaning from a history that stretches back at least 50 years. Over the years this has resulted in strong links between pirate radio and particular local cultural identities, as the case of Dutch-language 'pirate music' has illustrated.

Another example of this relation between place and illegal radio is the popularity of Italo disco in The Hague. During the 1980s, a local music collector specialized in Italo disco

records.[14] He made this genre popular by creating his own weekly Italo chart (I Venti d'Azzuro), which was broadcast by pirate station Radio Stad Den Haag. Eventually local record stores and parties also came to focus on this imported music. This dominant place of the charts in the format of Radio Stad Den Haag is illustrative of the commercial illegal radio stations that were active during the 1970s and 1980s. Contrary to the smaller pirates who play Dutch-language music, the larger pirate stations worked in the form of a commercial logic, in which the "sales charts become the measure, and the symbol, of 'good' pop music" (Frith, 1990: 99). Together with record stores and venues the pirates perpetuated this predilection for Italian music in The Hague. The next quote illustrates that the pirate stations, with their own musical style, became a marker for a local cultural identity.

> *During the 1980s Radio Stad Den Haag was different from just listening to the radio, it was part of being young. Every day you would listen to this station, because they had their own style. Moreover, you knew they were illegal, which made it even more exciting to listen. Even as listener you felt involved with this channel and all the disc jockeys were local heroes. (Interview 7, DJ internet radio station, male, 38)*

As a result of the local popularity of Italian music, this sequence of events is a common element in the personal narratives of people who grew up in The Hague at the time. For them it is a shared experience and part of their collective identity. This is further reflected by the regular Italo-parties in The Hague and its surrounding villages, where people who grew up at the time have the chance to relive these musical memories of their youth. In relation to this, the next section of the chapter considers how pirate radio has become part of the cultural identities of their audiences.

3.7 The personal and cultural meanings of illegal radio

To further explore the relation between pirate radio and identity, I will now examine the devices for listening to illegal radio. The notion of 'enabling technologies' (Van Dijck, 2007) clarifies how, for example, the apparatuses used for listening to the pirates can take on specific cultural meanings. These technologies are part of the narrative of pirate radio because they signify a certain era. For instance the transistor radio allowed young people to take

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[14] For the history of this station and the chart see: www.radiostaddenhaag.com/iventicharts.php and www.radiostaddenhaag.com/about-us/ (accessed September 2014). This collector now runs a record label which releases Italo music from the 1980s.

"control over one's sonic space" (Van Dijck, 2007: 88). Rudin (2007) contends that the transistor radio turned radio into an 'anytime, anywhere' medium, because this device enabled young people to listen to music outside the space dominated by their parents (Dolfsma, 2004a; Van Dijck, 2007). For this reason the transistor radio is a symbol of the freedom and independence that young people gained in order to negotiate identities revolving around their own musical subcultures (Fickers, 2009). When the aforementioned Radio Stad Den Haag, after several raids, was forced to collaborate with a local licensed radio station and broadcast via cable, it subsequently lost a large share of younger listeners:

> *The youth at the time usually did not listen to cable radio, because then you had to sit with your mum and dad in the living room. (Interview 7, volunteer internet radio station, male, 54)*

The illegality of pirate radio only added to the excitement and feelings of liberty. Part of the glamour of the pirates was that they did something they were not supposed to do. In the 1960s this was particularly interesting to a generation that was rebelling against their parents and politicians and claiming their own identity (Rutten, 2001). In this context the public broadcasters, with which the pirates competed, were considered a representation of the political establishment (Dolfsma, 2004a). For these reasons the offshore radio phenomenon is closely related to the cultural memories of people who grew up in the 1960s. These radio stations brought seminal music to a young audience. The next interview fragments illustrate how these cultural experiences coalesce with personal narratives of the listeners of pirate radio.

> *The pirates were interesting to me, because they played the music you liked. So when someone mentions one of those stations, it immediately takes me back to the time when I was between fourteen and sixteen and picking beans in the field. (Interview 11, listener offshore radio, male, 48)*

> *R: No, the last broadcast of Veronica I will never forget. It is simply something that is part of you and you still fondly remember.*
> *AvdH: Was it an important part of your daily life?*
> *R: Back then definitely, because I lived and breathed Veronica. And yes, there is something else; this was the first sign of a declining trust in politicians. Because they*

had promised to do something about the end of Veronica, but eventually nothing happened. (Interview 6, founder Offshore Radio Club, male, 53)

These autobiographical experiences are a determining factor in remembering popular music (Barrett *et al.*, 2010). Musical tastes developed during late adolescence or early adulthood have a particular capability to last and provoke fond memories or nostalgia during later years (Davis, 1979; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989). Holbrook and Schindler (1989) suggest this might be because musical preferences reflect periods of heavy involvement with social and political causes. Tellingly, the second respondent relates his memories of Radio Veronica to his political attitude. He mentioned earlier in the interview that he had participated in the strong protests that followed on from the government plans to put an end to offshore radio (Kok, 2008). For this reason, he associates these particular musical memories with his political socialization. This connection between music, illegal radio and youth culture during the 1960s and 1970s is illustrative of the intriguing relationship between personal and cultural narratives (Van Dijck, 2007). The final section of this chapter considers how these narratives are shared over time.

3.8 Memory practices: sharing stories

Although all the bigger pirate stations have ceased broadcasting, the memories of their shows live on. Given their personal and cultural significance, it is not surprising that there are myriad ways for audiences to relive or reminisce about these listening experiences. Hereafter I will examine the cultural embedding of the narrative of pirate radio. Digital platforms and festivals will be consecutively discussed as cultural practices by which shared identities can be kept alive.

Technology is not only part of people's memories (Van Dijck, 2007), as the case of pirate radio illustrates, but also makes it possible to share these recollections. The internet has ample opportunities for re-enacting and appropriating the narrative of pirate radio, and allows individuals to relate their personal experiences to wider cultural memories. An example of this is the next quote, taken from a participatory platform dedicated to youth sentiments, where visitors have created pages dedicated to illegal radio. This leads to a lively discussion in which memories are shared.

I also remember that my brothers and I would wake up early on Saturday morning to listen to a particular show. Unfortunately, sometimes we had come out of our beds to

find out that there was nothing on the radio or that the pirate was on another
frequency. But that also made it very special if you could hear them.[15]

People involved with the heritage of pirate radio recurrently point out how various initiatives to share memories of illegal radio would have been impossible without the internet. These interviewees refer to Web 2.0 applications such as social networking sites (Napoli, 2010) that bring people and old material together. Former employees and listeners of the pirates are a rich source of old recordings of radio shows, jingles and fan-mail. I consider these informal networks in which people negotiate their own understanding of what constitutes popular music heritage as an instance of Bennett's (2009) concept of DIY (do-it-yourself) preservationism. These DIY preservationists draw attention to (local) cultural phenomena which are overlooked in more 'official' narratives like books and documentaries. The internet enables them to exchange memories in order to tell the story of pirate radio in the Netherlands. Fans and other people involved with pirate radio collaborate to secure this heritage for future generations by digitizing and sharing it on the internet.

A common means to 'exhibit' this heritage of pirate radio is by utilizing what I would call 'heritage streams'. These are internet radio streams that broadcast old tapes or breathe new life into former pirate stations that were forced to close down years ago. Since on-line radio stations are relatively cheap to set up, it is an easy way to target specific local audiences with nostalgic content (Wall, 2004). Although for older audiences internet radio stations do not have the same personal meaning as transistor radios, they offer a platform to evoke memories of old technologies for listening to music. This attachment to devices of the past is what Van Dijck (2007: 87) describes as techno-stalgia: "People who use recorded music as a vehicle for memories often yearn for more than mere retro appeal: They want these apparatuses to reenact their cherished experience of listening." The heritage streams recreate the sound of the former pirate stations with old jingles, commercials and the particular music genres of that period or locality. So when listeners tune in to these internet radio stations they hear the familiar tunes of their youth. In the next quote a disc-jockey explains he still uses vinyl, clearly visible on the webcam for listeners, to create the atmosphere of the old times:

Our listeners like it that we spin these old vinyl records. It has the feel of disco music
during the 1980s. […] We are a retro radio station, so we live in the past when we do

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[15] See: www.jeugdsentimenten.net/2005/09/16/radio-piraterij-ii-illegale-radiostations/ (consulted July 2012).

this. A lot of our listeners have experienced this time, so they like to reminisce about old memories and stories. (Interview 7, DJ internet radio station, male, 38)

In some cases the heritage streams even use sound processing tools to replicate the sound of old equipment like radio-transmitters.

The radio broadcasts that allow audiences to engage with their musical memories and their attendant technology are an example of the social-cultural practices in which memories are shared and cultural identities celebrated. A musical about offshore radio station Veronica is aptly titled 'Do you remember this one?!', which refers to an expression of one of their disk jockeys. Cultural events like concerts, festivals and reunions – for example the previously mentioned Italo-parties in The Hague – are the frameworks in which identities that connect to the narrative of pirate radio are perpetuated. Hence, these events usually mark specific dates in the history of the pirate stations. The organization that secures the heritage of Veronica, for instance, organizes live broadcasts on 31 August. This is the date on which the offshore radio station was forced to stop broadcasting in 1974. For the occasion the former DJs of Veronica use the old studios, which are exhibited in the RockArt museum, to once more find an audience with their shows. This museum, a private initiative that turned from a form of DIY preservationism into an official museum, uses Veronica as a focal point in their collection to chart the development of Dutch popular music. In this setting the narrative of pirate radio becomes familiar to younger generations.

While this exhibition looks back upon the history of pirate radio, the remaining pirates in the countryside continue their struggles to illegally broadcast their favorite music. In order to keep a long tradition alive, they retain their social-cultural practices and resist the strict enforcement measures by the Radio Communications Agency. Instead of daily or weekly broadcasts, more and more stations opt for occasional 'radio marathons'. Thus they pick a few consecutive days on which to broadcast, sometimes in conjunction with a festival where local artists perform. In some cases the Radio Communications Agency issues a temporary frequency for these radio marathons. Besides a social event, this is also a form of techno-stalgia, because of the feelings that broadcasting over the air evokes. Remarkably, a lot of these pirates are quite young. Despite new technologies such as internet radio, they are still interested in this local heritage of illegal radio.

For Fickers (2009) it is no coincidence that technical radio terms like 'fine-tuning', 'wavelength' and 'interference' have found their way into everyday language. The pirates themselves struggle to find words to explain the excitement they feel when they turn on the

transmitter and risk a raid by playing their favorite songs. Of course this piece of technology is nothing more than a few electronic components, but from the narrative of pirate radio it derives its special cultural meanings.

3.9 Conclusions and discussion

My main aim in this chapter was to explore how both current illegal radio stations and internet radio stations appropriate the heritage of pirate radio to negotiate cultural identities. To understand this relation between past and present I have drawn upon a narrative approach to identity (Brockmeier, 2002; Nelson, 2003; Somers, 1994). The theoretical assumption underlying this chapter is that identities are derived from narratives which place actors in relation to events that are embedded in time and space. Within this theoretical framework I considered the cultural narratives that give meaning to the current practices of the remaining pirates, on-line radio stations and the memories of their audiences.

Because the pirates introduced particular musical styles to local audiences, their histories are a common reference point for the people who grew up with the illegal radio stations. This implies that not only has popular music become part of the heritage discourse (Bennett, 2009), but also the technologies for distributing this music. The audience members feel attached to the medium which enabled them to discover new music when they were younger. Especially during the 1960s the excitement of illegal radio appealed to a young generation that was struggling to negotiate their own identity against the background of the then emerging beat culture (Rutten, 2001). As a consequence of these personal and cultural meanings of pirate radio, various platforms for sharing memories have been established in the places where the pirates have ceased to broadcast.

I have examined pirate festivals, museum exhibitions and radio broadcasts as the cultural embedding of the narrative of pirate radio. These are the cultural practices by which the story of pirate radio is passed down to new generations in order to preserve this heritage. Those parts of the Netherlands where the Radio Communications Agency has managed to get the pirates off the air, have seen the advent of mediated platforms for sharing the musical memories of this period. Except for offshore radio, which was a more national phenomenon, most of these platforms are instances of DIY preservationism (Bennett, 2009). In informal networks fans and other enthusiasts preserve these 'small heritages' (Harvey, 2008). For instance, former pirate stations set up what I have called on-line 'heritage streams' to broadcast old tapes with programs, jingles and commercials. Technologies

such as internet radio streams facilitate an ongoing interaction with the narrative of pirate radio and thus provide a means to engage with musical memories and the diverse identities constituted by these recollections.

The theory of narrative identity made it possible to disentangle how these ongoing practices evoke memories of the past by building upon a long tradition. I have shown how old and new technologies constitute communities by feeding into shared cultural narratives. The radio broadcasts of the stations discussed resonate with the personal biographies of the listeners because it gives them the opportunity to relive particular experiences of their youth. This illustrates how music memories are concurrently very personal and also widely shared. The findings of this chapter thus corroborate the theory that individuals define who they are through the consumption of popular music (DeNora, 1999). However, frameworks through which cultural narratives are disseminated also shape how people conceive of their own experiences (Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Somers, 1994). In the next chapter, this will be examined further by studying the phenomenon of 1990s dance parties as commercial platforms that provide a sense of nostalgia and continuity in identity.

4

Dance music and the cultural meanings of decade-based nostalgia[16]

4.1 Introduction

> *House the 90s is the party that takes you back to the atmosphere of the 1990s with all of the big house hits from the period in one of the best venues out there (Noa). Were you at Thunderdome in '96, going crazy to house classics or singing along to Life's like a dance and Luv you more? If so, then this is the party for you. (House the 90s, Leeuwarden)*[17]

This quote is taken from a website promoting one of the many Dutch parties that focuses on music from the 1990s in particular. At these events, disc jockeys (DJs) mix songs from the period for those who grew up in or are otherwise interested in this decade. As Kotarba (2002: 400) notes, the segmentation of music history in discrete periods like the 'nineties' is often used by the cultural industries "as a simple and convenient framework for portraying history in a nostalgic framework." In this chapter, I consider how popular music memories of this decade are constructed at 1990s-orientated dance parties. Bennett (2009) showed that rock music has become part of cultural heritage discourses; the memories of music scenes and traditions are preserved as cultural heritage because they give shape to collective identities. Against this backdrop, several researchers have examined both the attachment of music audiences to the sounds of their youth (Bennett, 2006; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989; Mulder *et al.*, 2010) and the manner in which popular music is positioned as cultural heritage (Bennett, 2009; Burgoyne, 2003; Kong, 1999; Schmutz, 2005; Van Dijck, 2007).

I aim to contribute to these debates by exploring how dance music becomes part of narratives of cultural memory and examining the ways in which these memories are commercially valorized by DJs and party organizers. Outside the domain of historical investigation and traditional institutions like museums (Burgoyne, 2003; Kong, 1999) and cultural education (Bevers, 2005), the cultural industries contribute to representations of

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[16] An almost identical version of this chapter has been published in *the International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 2014, 20(3): 316-330, doi: 10.1080/13527258.2012.738334.

[17] All Dutch quotes have been translated by the author.

popular music history by 'marketing memory' with products like reissues, flash-back parties and documentaries (Baer, 2001). Since cultural industries function as disseminators of narratives of cultural memory, it is timely to study how they provide spaces in which links to the past can be retained. Moreover, in the existing literature, there has been very little discussion of the ways audiences consume and give meaning to popular music heritage.

These considerations lead to the following research question: *how are cultural identities and cultural memories of the popular music of the 1990s negotiated at dance parties focused on that period in Dutch popular music history?*[18] Following on from the success of DJs and dance music in the 1990s, this chapter explores how local popular music heritages are constructed at flashback dance parties. Such popular dance parties are organized on a weekly basis throughout the Netherlands, by professional event production companies as well as dedicated music fans.[19] On the basis of qualitative interviews with both audience members and cultural industry workers, I examine how audiences' memories interact with the practices of DJs and the organizers of these dance events. The chapter focuses on dance-parties, because such events are an opportunity for audiences to get together and celebrate a collective identity (Bennett, 2006). Moreover, they provide a platform for the reenactment of memories (Wu, 2010). In the next section of the chapter, I will discuss how other researchers have conceptualized this engagement of audiences and cultural industries with music of the past.

4.2 Theorizing popular music of the past

Popular music as cultural heritage

The study of popular music has always been closely associated with the study of youth (Bennett, 2006; 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2005). This is unsurprising given the important role that popular music plays in young people's lives. Music is particularly powerful in aiding identity construction during teenagers' formative years:

> It facilitates the choice of an identity, as well as its expression, and by enabling experimentation it serves as an imaginative platform on which to perform, construct

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[18] To my knowledge, these parties are also organized in Australia, the UK, and Belgium.
[19] See http://partyflock.nl/party/nowandsoon (accessed September 2014) for the frequency of these dance events.

and negotiate one's own identity, and situate oneself in the social world. (Mulder *et al.*, 2010: 69)

Since every generation grows up with different styles of music, popular music makes it possible to identify a group of people as being part of a particular decade. For instance, the beat music of the 1960s was intertwined with the youth culture of the post-war generation and helped these young people to claim their own identity and rebel against their parents and the authorities. As Bennett thus argues, "rock is now embedded firmly in the cultural memory of an ageing baby-boomer generation […] as a key element in their collective cultural awareness and a major contributor to their generational identity" (2009: 478). For this reason, several authors examine how the attachment to popular music develops when people get older (Bennett, 2006; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989; Mulder et al,. 2010). Given the fact that popular music is so important in the lives of young people, researchers are interested in how these audiences engage with their music memories during adulthood. This means that the attention of authors starts to shift towards older music audiences and the ways in which cultural industries shape popular music memories.

Bennett (2009) contributes to these debates by showing how various actors (re)position rock music as part of narratives of cultural heritage. Print and visual media have retrospectively consecrated the work of artists in order to establish their historical importance and give them a place in the rock canon (Schmutz, 2005). Likewise, museums and other institutions shape our understanding of popular music heritage by putting it on display and thus endowing particular events with historical relevance (Burgoyne, 2003). Here, 'vernacular memories', which are the first-hand experiences of particular communities, coalesce with official memories offering authoritative narratives of popular music history (Burgoyne, 2003). Moreover, Bennett (2009) shows how fans engage in discussions of what are defining moments in rock history. As 'DIY preservationists', they make use of digital tools such as weblogs to draw attention to alternative understandings of popular music's past. Finally, commercial products give form to renderings of popular music as heritage. The music industries and the aforementioned print and visual media rummage through popular music history to produce commercial memories that preserve cultural heritages.

Since affluent adult consumers are an interesting group to target with music from their youth (Bennett, 2009; Holbrook & Schindler, 1989), older music fans have become an important market for the cultural industries. Moreover, people who do not have first-hand experience of a particular musical period are also part of the target population. For young

people, these memory products are a way to 'catch up with' popular music history. Bennett (2008) describes this process, through which they construct their own understanding of a decade of which they have no living memory, as 'received nostalgia'. So, both younger and older audiences are interested in products like reissues, performances of 'classic' albums and the 1990s parties that are the subject of this study. Audiences buy these items or attend those events in order to explore popular music history and use them as cultural tools to relate their autobiographical experiences to public accounts of the past (Van Dijck, 2007; Wertsch, 2002). Thus, cultural industries offer cultural narratives with which audiences can identify. In relation to this, Burgoyne (2003: 211) contends that "perhaps even more influential than official memory in the present day, commercial culture engages the discourses of memory by invoking commercial products and representations as an aspect of national heritage."

This recycling of the past by the cultural industries is often conceptualized as nostalgia (Bennett, 2008; Hayes, 2006). Reynolds (2011: ix), for instance, argues that nostalgia has become such a ubiquitous feature of popular culture that "we live in a pop age gone loco for retro and crazy for commemoration." Reynolds blames the music industry for being so preoccupied with old styles that this hampers creative innovation. This is in line with the argument of Pickering and Keightley (2006: 935), namely that music is more likely to induce feelings of nostalgia than other forms of media because "it can carry a powerful affective or sensuous charge." In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss existing theories of nostalgia as cultural memory in order to situate my own research.

Popular music and nostalgia

In Yearning for Yesterday, Davis (1979: 18) defines nostalgia as "a positively toned evocation of a lived past in the context of some negative feeling toward present or impending circumstances." This definition highlights that nostalgia is related to both the past and the present. People hold on to it, in order to retain links to the past. On a personal level, nostalgia is a tool through which we can experience continuity in our lives (Sedikides *et al.*, 2008). Individual identities are rooted in the past and nostalgia makes an ongoing engagement with bygone days possible. For this reason, listening to popular music is closely related to autobiographic remembering (DeNora, 1999; Janata *et al.*, 2007). Moreover, by means of selection, nostalgia helps us to identify particular generations. Nostalgia selects "those scenes, events, personalities, attitudes, and practices from the past

that make an identifiable generation of what would otherwise remain a featureless demographic cohort" (Davis 1979: 111). In this selection process, the happy memories often prevail. In this conception, nostalgia thus functions as a rose-tinted representation of the past that enables us to forget a less attractive present or future. Feelings of nostalgia are thus bound up with transitions on a societal and individual level. For this reason, nostalgia is often understood in connection to modernity and accompanying feelings of loss in the face of a society that continuously discards the past for the sake of progress (Grainge, 2000; Pickering & Keightley, 2006).

As a result of these putative negative contexts that give rise to nostalgic feelings and a manufactured understanding of the past, nostalgia is commonly associated with negative terms suggesting that it is an impediment to progress or reactionary (Pickering & Keightley, 2006), or that it leads to creative bankruptcy or postmodern amnesia (Baer, 2001; Grainge, 2000). The latter two negative connotations, in particular, become apparent in Reynolds's (2011) book on the current state of the music industry. Reynolds (2011: xiv) asks provocatively, "Is nostalgia stopping our culture's ability to surge forward, or are we nostalgic precisely because our culture has stopped moving forward and so we inevitably look back to more momentous and dynamic times?" This frames feelings of nostalgia not as an adaptation to the feelings of loss we have experienced, but as an indication of cultural amnesia (Grainge, 2000). This interpretation suggests that our culture trivializes history by randomly recycling bits and pieces of the past. Jameson (1985; 1991) claims that this split between signifier and what is signified leads us to a state of depthless presents. The unceasing revivals and recycling of old fads and fashions make it hard to distinguish between then and now. Ironically then, the preoccupation with the past implies a waning of historicity because it understands the past solely in the context of the present (Jameson, 1985). Moreover, when following this line of thought, nostalgic understandings of the past are skewed because they only focus on its positive aspects. Postmodern accounts of memory highlight how cultural recycling through pastiche and stereotyping compromises the historical accuracy of popular cultural forms like television, movies and music (Hoskins, 2001; Pickering & Keightley, 2006). These are sentiments that are echoed in Reynolds' contention (2011) that nostalgia hampers musical creativity because of its obsession with the past.

In response to these negative understandings of nostalgia, Pickering and Keightley (2006) contend that the meaning-making processes of audiences should also be considered to see how they actually engage with the past. These researchers shift the focus from the

nostalgic content to the meanings that audiences attach to memory products. In a similar vein, Grainge (2000) argues that nostalgia should not be reduced to mere categories of cultural longing or postmodern forgetting, as Davis (1979) and Jameson (1991) do, respectively. Instead, we have to look at how traces of the past prevail in our culture and how these are used by audiences and cultural industries to construct cultural narratives. Pickering and Keightley (2006) thus argue that researchers should move beyond conceptions of nostalgia in which audiences are viewed as passively absorbing nostalgic content. In other words, media and cultural industries do not disseminate "nostalgic narratives" that remain unchallenged by their audiences:

> An investigation of the ways in which audiences may actively engage in the cultural making of meaning is not considered. We need to investigate the interaction between different sites of meaning-making if we are to move nostalgia away from a nebulous characterization of a particular orientation to the past, and engage instead with the distinct and specific ways in which contemporary interaction with the past is enacted. (Pickering & Keightley, 2006: 929)

This is in accordance with approaches to heritage that emphasize the active processes of remembering that occur at heritage sites (Smith, 2006). Bagnall (2003: 88) contends that heritage is not uncritically consumed by audiences, but that heritage sites "allow visitors to connect to personal and cultural memories and biographies, and to practice and perform a form of reminiscence." This frames heritage as a physical and emotional experience from which visitors derive personal meanings.

However, while the evoked feelings and memories might relate to individual biographies, they nevertheless arise in sociocultural settings. According to Van Dijck (2007: 78): "Remembrance is also embedded, meaning that the larger interpersonal and cultural worlds stimulate memories of the past through frames generated in the present." Since music fosters a sense of belonging, people form communities with shared heritages or a common past which they nostalgically cherish. At the same time, individuals have agency to appropriate this heritage in a personal way. As Bagnall (2003: 96) argues that: "This reflects the tension in contemporary western society between reflexivity of behavior and the degree to which such behavior is socially embedded, located in social relations and routines." Individuals do not passively absorb accounts of the past, but always engage with their personal biographies in relation to existing cultural narratives. People draw on cultural tools such as museums, heritage sites and documentaries, which mediate their experiences of the

past (Smith, 2006; Wertsch, 2002). At the same time, these tools are used to exchange memories and constitute collective identities (Van Dijck, 2007).

This leads me to investigate the processes of remembering at 1990s-orientated dance parties. A study of the content of autobiographical musical memories shows that a majority of these recollections are related to dancing and the social contexts in which people enjoy listening to music (Janata *et al.*, 2007). I would thus suggest that the dance floor is also a place where people go to collectively remember the music of their youth. Bennett (2009) demonstrated how live reproductions of classic rock albums contribute to the position of popular music as cultural heritage. I will extend this argument to the dance floor to examine how it functions as a stage for the collective reenactment of the past (Wu, 2010).

To be clear, I will not study these parties solely in terms of nostalgia; a broader theoretical framework has been utilized because there are different perspectives on the past (Lowenthal, 1989). The commodification of popular music memories by the cultural industries makes it difficult to demarcate nostalgia and heritage as two discrete phenomena. As Atkinson (2008: 388) argues in his study of new articulations of heritage:

> This more encompassing approach to memory also draws other forms of remembering within the academic purview. While earlier scholars might shun any mention of emotive phenomena like nostalgia, it is today assessed as a significant cultural phenomenon that exposes the plural and overlapping histories of places.

The concepts of nostalgia and heritage are thus related and need to be studied on this basis.

4.3 Data and method

In order to examine how the cultural industries feed into the cultural memories of the 1990s, I conducted interviews with party organizers, DJs, and audience members, employing a theoretical sampling strategy to explore the variety of meanings that these dance parties have for their visitors (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This produced a sample consisting of interviewees aged 21–43 and, in case of the audience members, people who visit different kinds of parties. Some of the interviewees particularly like chart music, while others focus more on non-mainstream genres (i.e. 'underground styles'). The respondents, who were approached through Facebook and a virtual community of the dance scene, also represent

various degrees of involvement with popular music and have different educational backgrounds.

I conducted 17 semi-structured in-depth interviews lasting between 30 min and an hour each.[20] I spoke to three respondents by telephone and did two double interviews. All other interviews were face to face with one person. The sample consists of 14 male and 5 female respondents. I transcribed and coded all of the interviews using Atlas.ti. This enabled me to compare the content and find patterns in the material. Following on from this analysis, I made an ideal-typical distinction between two ways in which memories of popular music from the 1990s are shaped. I will present this categorization of early-parties and decade-parties after first introducing the heritage of dance music in the Netherlands.

4.4 Background to the study: the heritage of dance music

To understand dance music's position as cultural heritage, I will briefly consider its legacy in the Netherlands. The history of dance music stretches back to the 1970s in terms of the meaning of dancing in a disco. During the early to mid-1980s, DJs in Chicago adapted disco by blending European electronic music and soul to the genre currently known as house music (Rietveld, 2011). Nowadays, the term clubbing is used to describe the activity of dancing to a wide array of dance genres and sub-genres like acid house, drum-n-bass, minimal techno, gabber, techno and rave (McLeod, 2001). These labels mark differences between genres and are illustrative of the current fragmentary nature of dance music. As Bennett (1999, 2001: 125) notes:

> […] the splitting and resplitting of dance music genres has ensured that those who once mixed in the common space of the dance floor are now able to find musics and clubs that cater more specifically for particular 'types' of clubber.

This has consequences for the dance crowd's feelings of 'togetherness':

> [E]xpressions of 'collective' identity articulated through dance music are largely confined to the temporal setting and atmosphere of the club, the club crowd consisting of individuals whose socio-ethnic origins are often mixed and whose paths rarely cross outside the club setting. (Bennett, 2001: 127)

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[20] See appendix A: interviews 16-32.

If the crowds who follow dance music are indeed so fleeting and unstable, whose heritage are we talking about here? Graham and Howard (2008) contend that heritage presumes a group of people who exclude others because they do not share the values and beliefs of the in-group. As I will explain below, certain dance communities have a strong sense of collective identity and distinguish themselves from outsiders based on their musical taste (Thornton, 1995). Moreover, although dance music crowds are fragmented, memories of local dance cultures are increasingly preserved because of their cultural contributions and relevance to a generation that grew up with these styles. Using Harvey's (2008: 33) terminology, these are the "small heritages" that will "[perhaps] form the basis of the material, the thoughts, practices and plans that we pass on to the next generation."

From the 1980s onwards, house travelled over the globe, leading to house scenes and local adaptations by DJs in various European cities. These contributions to the global development of house are now cherished as local heritage and documented in books, exhibitions and documentaries. For instance, in 2001, the Amsterdam Historical Museum gave the career of local DJ Eddy de Clercq a prominent place in its exhibition on 100 years of dancing in the city.

A pivotal Dutch influence on the development of house is the so-called hardcore (gabberhouse) music. Disaffected by the media attention paid to the house scene in Amsterdam, DJs from Rotterdam created a harder house style that "illustrates the age-old rivalry between the artistic, extravagant Amsterdammers and the plain, hard-working Rotterdammers" (Verhagen *et al.*, 2000: 149). Reynolds (1999: 283) describes the nihilistic pounding of gabberhouse as "an ultrafast super-aggressive form of hardcore techno developed by the Dutch in the early 1990s that has since spread throughout the global rave underground." This youth culture of the gabbers, as they were called, had a clearly distinguishable style, with tracksuits by the brand Australian, Nike Air Max trainers and, usually, having completely shaved heads.[21] Gabberhouse became popular with the general public when the more commercial, radio-friendly happy hardcore hit the charts (Reynolds, 1999). At that point, media parodied the remarkable style of the gabbers, and children's songs were eagerly reworked into happy hardcore tracks by companies looking to make easy money. Because of this mainstream appropriation, the scene collapsed and 'went

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[21] For a more comprehensive overview of the youth culture of the gabbers, see Verhagen *et al.* (2000) and Reynolds (1999).

underground' again (Verhagen *et al.*, 2000). In the remainder of this chapter, I will explore how the current 1990s parties relate to these musical developments.

4.5 Research findings

Ways of remembering: early-parties and decade-parties

> *R: Which music do I like? Particularly early hardcore, early rave and happy hardcore. Though the real happy hardcore of the 1990s, not the commercial happy hardcore.*
> *AvdH: The real happy hardcore?*
> *R: Yes, not the commercial hits that were in the charts at the time … you know, but the old happy hardcore CDs … with the music that isn't known to a mainstream audience. (Interview 22, audience member, male, 34)*

The quote set out above illustrates that fans of hardcore still take great pains to distance themselves from the commercialization of the genuine hardcore sound. By using the term 'mainstream', this respondent distinguishes himself from people who do not possess this subcultural knowledge of early happy hardcore styles (Thornton, 1995). This perceived opposition between the 'mainstream' and the 'early sounds' is still notable in the way that parties now engage with the musical heritage of the 1990s. Table 4.1 shows an ideal-typical distinction between 'early-parties' and 'decade-parties.'[22] The early-parties go back to the roots of house music and focus on periods that preceded the mainstream appropriation of particular sub-genres. Here, the music is celebrated as having an 'authentic' underground style that retains its relevance outside the domain of mainstream attention. The attendees at the early-parties are still committed to the gabber identity and, as I will explain below, emphasize the endurance of this collective identity. Following Boym's (2001) distinction of two kinds of nostalgia, the early-parties can be seen as restorative nostalgia and the decade parties as reflective nostalgia. As Boym (2001: 41) argues, "The first category of nostalgics do not think of themselves as nostalgic; they believe that their project is about truth." At the early-parties, the DJs try to restore the 'authentic' sound of a period, before allegedly disruptive external influences had an impact on the development of particular

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[22] Needless to say, the artistic legacy of gabberhouse is also audible at parties with more recent genres like hardstyle. However, in this chapter, I focus on parties that explicitly engage with music from the 1990s.

house genres. Here "nostalgia functions as a form of romance in which musical memory idealizes the past, excavating and anchoring perfect zero moments, whilst forgetting the incidents, the messy mistakes, the experiments, the accidents" (Rietveld, 2011: 17).

Table 4.1 - Ideal-typical distinction between 'early-parties' and 'decade-parties.

	Early-parties	Decade-parties
Music	'Underground': early rave, early hardcore	Mainstream': music from the charts
DJ-style (Reynolds, 1999)	DJ-Auteur: re-creative artist, actively producing new work	'Passively' playing and mixing records of other artists
Level of subcultural identification (Bennett, 1999, Muggleton, 2000: 52)	Modern: strong collective identity, high degree of commitment, stylistic homogeneity	Postmodern: temporary identifications, stylistic heterogeneity, post-subcultural
Type of nostalgia (Boym, 2001)	Restorative nostalgia	Reflective nostalgia

In contrast, the reflective nostalgia of the decade-parties does not pretend to offer accurate, untainted musical memories. During these evenings, references to the 1990s are made in a playful and humorous way, ironically reflecting on the passing of different fashions. These decade-parties offer a blend of chart hits, with the only rule of thumb being that the music should be danceable and recognizable. This approach to the decade is so popular that party organizers lavishly copy this format for events with names like 90s now, Remember 90s and Best of 90s. A typical evening consists of styles ranging from hip hop and boy bands to rock. Here, one is also likely to hear the commercial happy hardcore tracks so despised by the hardcore connoisseurs at the early-parties. From the interviews, it becomes clear that this is a reason for the 'genuine' house fans to avoid these events. Typically, at the decade- parties, the 1990s are invoked in a stereotypical way by signifying the fads and fashions of that period. For instance, these parties often mock the appearance of gabbers. The rapid turnover of popular styles is reflected in the transient experience of these evenings. In some cases, a video jockey will be present, who blends recognizable excerpts of commercials, music videos and films. Together, these elements give party-goers the feeling of a 1990s experience. In line with the variation of musical styles, my own observations suggest that the decade-parties attract a more diverse crowd than the early-parties when it comes to socio-economic backgrounds and lifestyles. Likewise, the strong sense of collective identity of the early-parties is missing here. Since these events are not tied to a particular style, they are more accessible.

What the two types of party have in common is the central role of the DJ, although they use different kinds. Reynolds (1999) makes a distinction between DJs who 'just' play records produced by others and the DJ-auteur who creates new records by remixing existing music. On the one hand, the decade-parties are often hosted by a DJ who, as a living golden-oldie jukebox, seamlessly blends the songs of various artists into one long mix. At the early-parties, however, the DJ-auteurs are celebrated as pioneers of particular styles. While the independent DJ-culture initially developed outside the scope of the major record labels (Hitters & Van de Kamp, 2010), DJs have now become global stars and are regularly conferred with the critical acclaim previously reserved for rock artists (Bennett, 2001). By using a remix aesthetic, taking bits and pieces (i.e. samples) from both older and contemporary music, DJs create new assemblages (Bennett, 2001). Reynolds (1999: 274) notes that they do not uncritically recombine records though, because "the best DJs are constructing a sort of argument about the historical roots of the music and where it should head in the future." Rietveld (2011) further argues that creating this new mix, the third record, is also a curational practice, as the DJ selects records from the past that are worth remembering:

> Through the creation of the third record in the DJ's mix, the recombination of (at least) two recordings, as well as a revision of disco's archival canon, house music may be perceived as a fluid musical archive, operating between the mediation of recorded musical production and lived cultural memory. (Rietveld, 2011: 8)

At the 1990s parties, this third record develops in interaction with the shared memories of the crowds. Rietveld (2011) argues that these mixes can contain nostalgic references to old tracks as well as innovative reinterpretations of existing records. However, the number of songs a DJ can choose from at 1990s parties is limited, because they have to take audience expectations into account.

The audiences at 1990s parties

> *In my opinion, but that's how I see it, you're doing this for them. They buy a ticket because they expect you to give them a nice evening. Of course you can explore the boundaries, but we communicate this thing … and if you aren't doing that, you're delivering a bad product so to speak. (Interview 18, creative director event production company, male, 32)*

In this quote, a party organizer reflects on his responsibility to give the crowd the music they hope to hear. Familiarity and recognizing things from the past are pivotal elements of the 1990s-themed parties. For the majority of the people I interviewed, recognizing old tunes is essential if they are to derive pleasure from the events. This observation – that respondents particularly like the music they grew up with – is in line with a study of the consistency of musical preferences (Mulder *et al.*, 2010). The authors report that particularly people who favor dance music are likely to listen to the same style of music when they get older. In general, they found that "the majority of adolescents and young adults display high consistency in their preferences for music broadly divided into styles, and moderate to high consistency at the genre level" (Mulder *et al.*, 2010: 79). Moreover, after asking 100 participants between the ages of 16 and 86 to rate excerpts of music, Holbrook and Schindler (1989) found that the subjects particularly liked the music that was popular during their late adolescence or early adulthood. In general, the people I interviewed have the same attachment to the music from this period of their lives, but the reasons given for enjoying these familiar songs are diverse, with the explanations ranging from new dance music being too slow to it being a poor derivative of hardcore or just too extreme. However, it should be noted that for many, the light-hearted decade-parties are an occasional nostalgic experience. From the interviews I conducted, it is apparent that the parties are part of a more varied repertoire of music consumption. Most respondents also go to concerts, club nights or dance events that are not focused on a specific decade. Certainly, nostalgia parties are one of the many experiences on offer by the cultural industries. The 1990s events are "funny", a respondent (interview 27, male, 21) casually remarked, and something you go to "every now and then". While some indulge in nostalgia at the 1990s themed-parties, they also emphasize the importance of openness to new genres. Nevertheless, the pleasure that audiences derive from these parties can only be understood by looking at how these representations of music history resonate with the cultural memories of ageing music consumers. In the next section of this chapter, I will further explore how the 1990s-themed events relate to the cultural biographies of the visitors of these events.

Popular music and the life-course

For older audiences, attending 1990s parties is a way of engaging with their own biographical experiences; they see the events as taking them back to a time when they had

fewer responsibilities. A female respondent (interview 28, aged 31) describes going to the parties as an 'eye-opener', making her realize that she now belongs to a generation that goes to these kinds of events. The parties make those in attendance aware of their former selves, particular periods in their lives and the ways in which their current identities are rooted in these pasts. A male interviewee (interview 23, aged 39) explained to me that being a gabber is part of his personality, and he feels as if he is "marked" by it. This is translated into him having a tattoo of party organizer and record label Thunderdome. Expressing a commitment to the legacy of this organization in such a way is so common that people with a Thunderdome tattoo even get free entry to their parties through a separate entrance. Like the other gabbers, this respondent emphasizes the continuing significance of gabber music, both culturally and personally. These strong attachments to one particular genre are, however, more common with visitors of the early-parties. Nevertheless, the gabbers I interviewed were more likely to reveal their gabber identity at the actual parties than on a typical weekday. The Thunderdome tattoo of the respondent cited above, for instance, is small and on his arm so that he does not get into trouble at work. Like the punks that Bennett (2006) studied, the gabbers are still committed to this style without necessarily expressing it visually. They feel that this is no longer appropriate now that they have children or a career.

The engagement with popular music revolves around life transitions such as relationships, having children or meeting new friends. These turning points marked transformations in the role of popular music in the everyday lives of my respondents. When people get older, they often still like the artists they used to listen in their youth, but the intensity of their fandom has diminished. Some of those I interviewed, especially the ones who go to the decade-parties, have left behind a time of major involvement with music as dedicated fans and are now more casual consumers. Nevertheless, they cherish the memories of these former periods as part of their personality. As a female respondent (interview 26, aged 24) explains: "It was during my teens that I really loved the music of Di-rect, now I'm no longer able to become such a big fan of something. Well, I hope not, because it was quite extreme." However, she insists that she will not throw away her scrapbooks and photos of this period, because of their personal relevance. As Van Dijck (2007: 1) observes, "we commonly cherish our mediated memories as a formative part of our autobiographical and cultural identities." Individuals are confronted with the task of reflexively finding a thread in their lives. DeNora (1999: 45) convincingly demonstrated that music can be used as a tool to acquire such a coherent understanding of the self:

Equally significant is a form of 'introjection', a presentation of self to self, the ability to mobilize and hold on to a coherent image of 'who one knows one is'. And this involves the social and cultural activity of remembering, the composting of past experiences, for the cultivation of self-accountable imageries of self. Here music again comes to the fore, as part of the retinue of devices for memory retrieval (which is, of course, simultaneously memory construction).

In that sense, the 90s parties are mediating between former and current identities. In the next quote, a Dutch DJ describes an emotional reaction to one of his most popular songs. This shows how memories become part of narratives of the self and connect to highly personal experiences.

> *I was playing at a party in Switzerland ... I think it was in 2000 ... at the end of the set I played the hardcore version of Wonderful Days. During the song I saw a girl crying, standing against the barrier. This really touched me, so after the set I went to see her and asked what happened. She said that the first time she'd kissed her boyfriend this song was playing and he also proposed to her with the same song. (Interview 20, DJ)*

These personal memories point at a tension between personal and collective identities. A female respondent explains what she has in common with the other party-goers, even though their lives might have gone in different directions. On a cultural level, their biographies overlap, but when it comes to personal experiences they diverge:

> *AvdH: What is it that you share?*
> *R: I guess our music taste ... that's it ... and the time you grew up in, which is the same period. You've experienced similar things. I often see people who also went to parties back then. For some life turned out well, they are married with children and someone else is as desperate as before. (Interview 28, female, 31)*

Tellingly, DeNora (1999: 45) describes integrating experiences to a personal narrative as a "social and cultural activity." Although the meanings of songs can be very personal, the memories they invoke are also a shared cultural heritage (Van Dijck, 2007).

With their appeal to shared memories, the parties function as a framework through which recollections of the decade are negotiated. In particular, the early-parties play a pivotal role in preserving the musical legacy of the gabbers. The collective identity of the

visitors of the early-parties is further enhanced by their clothes and way of dancing. The striking accentuation of the beat by quickly kicking the legs forward invokes typical gabber memories of the 1990s. Remarkably, a younger generation of gabbers maintains the appropriate style with completely shaven heads and the right tracksuits and trainers (Verhagen *et al.*, 2000). Some of my respondents acquired the original 1990s tracksuits by buying them on auction sites. Moreover, using social media, meetings are organized at parties so that photos of large groups dressed in the old style can be taken. In this way, early-parties mediate between different generations. As noted above, the reflective nostalgia (Boym 2001) of the decade-parties does not entail such a rigid understanding of the musical past. The representations of the decade at these parties are instead humorous and exaggerated, and it is customary to wear some of the clothes that refer to fads and fashions of the past. Unlike the clothes of those at the early-parties, these garments are worn just for the occasion. In their playful approach to memory, these evenings resemble the 'I love the decade' series on television:

> Frothy and fast-moving, the I Love … programmes featured an array of second-division comedians and minor celebrities quipping facetiously about the mass-cultural fads and follies of a particular decade: TV soap operas, hit movies, pop songs, hairstyles and fashions, toys and games, scandals, slogans and catchphrases. (Reynolds, 2011: 27)

Similarly, the 1990s-themed parties are not about mere historical accuracy, but rather about the pleasure of sharing happy memories. Just like old friends do when they see each other again, the parties tend to idealize the past. However, this cultural style of surface and referentiality, which is equated with a loss of historicity by postmodern accounts of memory (Jameson, 1985), does not imply that these parties are void of any serious personal meanings for audiences and lack a relationship to actual historical events. At the 1990s parties, fragments of the past that are usually just below the surface of our cultural identities temporarily take center stage.

4.6 Conclusions

The aim of this study has been to explore how Dutch cultural industries feed into the attachment of music audiences to the popular music of the 1990s with parties dedicated to this decade. At these parties, local popular music heritages are presented to dance

crowds. I also examined how audiences appropriate these memory products. The research to date has tended to conceptualize the 'marketing of memory' as sheer nostalgia that hampers creative innovation. However, little attention has been paid to the actual meanings of memory products to audiences beyond traditional understandings of nostalgia as cultural longing or amnesia (Grainge, 2000; Pickering & Keightley, 2006). This study has drawn, therefore, upon theories that conceptualize the consumption of heritage as a performance, involving active processes of remembering (Bagnall, 2003).

To highlight the different ways in which musical memories are invoked at dance events, I made an ideal-typical distinction between decade-parties and early-parties. This corroborates the claim of Pickering and Keightley (2006) that nostalgia has multiple manifestations and encompasses various forms of engagement with the past. While the 'reflective nostalgia' of the decade-parties playfully refers to the passing of popular styles, songs and fashions, the 'restorative nostalgia' (Boym, 2001) of the early-parties aims to excavate original house sounds. The diverse mix of music at the decade-parties is reflected by the stylistic heterogeneity (Muggleton, 2000) of their attendees. What makes these events attractive to audiences are their familiarity and the sensory experience of reminiscing. Since this ensures a steady flow of visitors, the format of the decade-parties is frequently employed by clubs. I found that the visitors and organizers of the early-parties have a stronger sense of collective identity and are more committed to the heritage of specific genres. These parties are thus a framework through which particular cultural identities are constructed and maintained.

On a personal level, the nostalgia of these events allows people to engage with the ways in which their present identities are rooted in the past. Moreover, the parties mediate between different generations. At these events, younger audiences are familiarized with the musical heritage of the 1990s. In relation to this, I highlighted the role of the DJs curating the evenings by remixing archival material to produce cultural memories or "new musical forms based on reinterpretations of recorded memory" (Rietveld, 2011: 17). By recombining existing recordings, the 'DJ-archivist' creates a fluid musical narrative (Rietveld, 2011) of the 1990s with which the dance crowds can identify. This shows that the nostalgia of these parties not only looks back in a regressive fashion, but also is also capable of offering fresh perspectives on the musical heritage of this decade.

5

The localized popular music heritage of the Netherlands in museums and archives[23]

5.1 Introduction

Whereas the previous two chapters largely focused on memory practices in the realm of the music industries, this chapter will examine the role of heritage institutions and bottom-up heritage initiatives in local (i.e. urban, regional or national) cultural identity construction. Traditional notions of heritage as the exclusive domain of high art and tangible objects are progressively replaced with new conceptions that include contemporary popular culture (Moore, 1997). This follows on from the blurring boundaries between high art and popular culture and the ensuing artistic legitimacy of cultural forms such as music and film (Bennett, 2009; Schmutz *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, in recent decades, initiatives seeking to democratize heritage practices, such as community archives and the social history movement, have ensured a growing attention to 'history from below' (Flinn, 2007; Moore, 1997). Consequently, a burgeoning number of both private and public heritage practices engage with the contributions of popular music to the cultural landscape and everyday life of communities. Among these, exhibitions and archives typically frame popular music's past from a local perspective, focusing on the music histories of specific places (Brandellero and Janssen, 2014; Cohen, 2013).

This narrow local orientation contrasts with the strong international dimensions of Dutch popular music history. As the Netherlands is a small country, Dutch post-war popular music has proven to be open to influences from other countries (Janssen *et al.*, 2008; Schuyt & Taverne, 2004). This makes the Netherlands an interesting country to study, because here processes of popular music production are closely intertwined with global developments. As local popular music traditions are combined with foreign genres, the global and the local continuously intersect (Kong, 1997). This manifests itself, for instance, in the indigenization of global cultural styles (Regev, 2007) and the reassertion of place-bound identities in light of a perceived threat by globalization to local cultural uniqueness (Achterberg *et al.*, 2011). Thus

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[23] An almost identical version of this chapter, which has been co-authored with Amanda Brandellero, is under review.

the local situatedness of popular music, be it in its processes of production or consumption, is inseparable from global dynamics.

This chapter examines these connections between the local and the global, by addressing the following research question: *How do museums and archives engaging in popular music heritage practices give form to understandings of place and local cultural identity*? To answer this research question, this study draws upon interviews with curators, archivists and collectors. Heritage research to date has tended to focus on heritage practices solely from an institutional perspective (Smith, 2006). Therefore, this study examines both established heritage organizations and initiatives from the bottom-up. As amateur and professional curators and archivists in the Dutch field of popular music heritage often collaborate, this provides an apposite vantage point to explore the ways in which, independently and collectively, museums and archives give place meaning through their popular music heritage practices.

The chapter is divided into four parts. In the first part, extant literature on heritage institutions and the changing relations between heritage, identity and place are introduced. It then moves on to a discussion of the different archives and exhibitions that were examined. Next, it deals with processes of belonging and distinction fostered by popular music as heritage. Finally, the chapter considers how the local is positioned and framed within international dynamics of popular music as a global cultural form. This leads to a discussion of how Dutch popular music is presented in relation to an international playing field of popular music.

5.2 Theory: museums, archives and identity construction

Museums and archives form the institutional backbone of heritage practices around the world, providing an integrated approach to cultural heritage. In so doing, they act as instruments and arenas of formation and legitimation of identity and of the production of memory (Featherstone, 2006; Newman & McLean, 2006), elevating personal memories to a shared heritage (Kong, 1999). Traditionally, museums have invoked a sense of national identity and participated in the governance and regulation of social order (Bennett, 1995). Similarly, in the nineteenth century, archives partook in processes of nation building, evolving from the sites where official records and documents on population and territories were stored to "the repository of the national history and national memory" (Featherstone, 2006: 592). More generally, museums and archives are understood as sites of collective memory, rendering

identity concrete through the preservation of "the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity" (Assman & Czaplicka, 1995: 130).

Via the active process of framing the past through preservation and display, archives for instance "are often the tools or building-blocks upon which memory is constructed, framed, verified and ultimately accepted" (Flinn, Stevens & Shepherd, 2009: 76, referring to Piggott, 2005). By valuing and preserving the buttresses through which identity is constructed, archivists and curators validate its authority through historical evidence and documentation (Kaplan, 2000). Moreover, through preservation, layers of meaning become "naturalized, internalized, and thus remain unquestioned" (Schwartz & Cook, 2002: 18). Meaning is also produced through classification and display (Lidchi, 1997), providing a system of representation.

In recent decades, parallel movements towards enhanced democratization in museal and archival activities can be observed, with the rise of the social history museum and community archives respectively (Crane, 1997; Featherstone, 2006; Flinn, 2007; Hall, 2001; Moore, 1997). Museums invite visitors to contextualize their own personal experiences, while providing opportunities to engage and comprehend the views and experiences of others (Walsh, 1992). From this perspective, museums and galleries are cultural tools to help remember and define one's sense of social and geographical place (Wertsch, 2002).

The impetus behind the constitution of community archives is generally understood as rising from an enthusiasm to document a group's history "*on their own terms*" (Flinn, Stevens & Shepherd, 2009: 73, italics in original), while addressing the lack of representation and visibility of the community concerned within mainstream institutional frameworks (Hall, 2001). Community archives are the "grassroots activities of documenting, recording and exploring community heritage in which community participation, control and ownership of the project is essential" (Flinn, 2007: 153). This "will to archive" is recognized as a significant extemporization in contemporary culture (Featherstone, 2006: 595; Nora, 1989). In describing how "a multiplicity of voices now engage in debates around definitions of history, culture and heritage that previously were confined to the realm of intellectuals and experts", Bennett (2009: 482) employs the term DIY preservationism. This point brings us to a fundamental iterative involvement of users and audiences of both archives and museums, as they become increasingly participatory heritage environments (see Moore & Pell, 2010).

This archival drive plays an important role in the construction of place, insofar as by "connecting stories of past experiences to present localities, public histories give places meaning" (Moore & Pell, 2010: 260). Consequently, while archives "bridge publics'

constructions of the past and their imaginations of the future" (Moore & Pell, 2010: 256), they also allow for an active engagement with the present through the layering of meanings associated with them (Hall, 2001). Similarly, through exhibitions, museums put forward narratives of time and space (Newman & McLean, 2006: 57), engendering changes to the valuation and understanding of places (Moore & Pell, 2010). The shared past is not simply retraced by genealogy or tradition, but embodies a "moral imperative" for one's belonging to a group or community (Ketelaar, 2005: 50).

Traditional conceptions of heritage as the expression of identities fixed in a given place are challenged by theories which argue that contemporary society is characterized by mobility and therefore identities are less embedded in bounded localities (Appadurai, 1990). Global migration patterns transform the spaces of belonging and identity (Morley, 2001). Appadurai (1990: 20) thus argues that "configurations of people, place and heritage lose all semblance of isomorphism." As people become more mobile, communities increasingly transcend particular territories. On different geographical scales, from local to trans-national, social groups make claims to cultural heritage as belonging to their community. Furthermore, cultural globalization and the exchanges of cultural goods, people and ideas calls for an understanding of culture as linked to ever more transnational fields of production and consumption (Crane, 2002), challenging spatially-bounded notions of cultural heritage.

Notwithstanding the increasing transnational flows of cultural goods and people, this focus on mobility might exaggerate the "disembedding" of identity from geographical localities (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007). Morley (2001: 427) points to "the simultaneous process of 'reterritorialization' […] whereby borders and boundaries of various sorts are becoming more, rather than less, strongly marked." Heritage could be used to reassert the identities of communities who feel their culture is threatened by the disrupting forces of globalization. Communities experiencing changes affecting their identity have been noted to develop an interest in their history (Flinn, 2007).

The changing relations of communities to place call for new ways for museums and archives to think about and address their audiences' attachment to localities (Hoebink, 2011). Technological developments and the wide availability of digital media resources to preserve and present heritage on the internet (Flinn, 2007) have greatly facilitated alternative heritage practices, overcoming issues of geographical proximity and tangibility of material. Beyond a spatial bond, disparate communities and audiences are also brought together through shared tastes that are symbolically or historically attached to places forming so-called lifestyle groups. Bennett (2002, 2009), for instance, uses the term 'virtual scenes' to describe how fans

from different countries use the internet to preserve the music heritage of the city of Canterbury. These music fans draw upon various digital communication methods to construct and share their understanding of the sonic history of this place. The emergence of social media, such as blogs and video-sharing websites, facilitates new possibilities for audience participation (Baym & Burnett, 2009; Cohen, 2013). On these so-called web 2.0 platforms, ranging from individual initiatives to community archives (Flinn *et al.*, 2009), visitors are invited to upload memories or annotate archival material (Cohen, 2013; Snoek *et al.*, 2010). By digitizing documents such as photos, audio tapes or videos it becomes easier to explore local content and share it with others. Such grassroots preservation activities, often happening outside established heritage institutions, offer the possibility of presenting 'hidden' or alternative histories of particular places (Bennett, 2009). Therefore, community archives and community histories diversify the remembered voices, while enhancing the spectrum of what is kept (Flinn *et al.*, 2009: 83).

In view of the changing positioning of archives and museums in relation to their audiences, this chapter looks at how understandings of place and of local cultural identities arise through the framing of popular music as cultural heritage. In doing so, it sets itself in the context of the recognized increasing cultural legitimacy of popular music in its relation to heritage practices and institutions (Leonard, 2010). Through the prism of popular music, it addresses how the preservation and display of this cultural form mediates attachment to place and reflects a local/global nexus, where the local histories and lived experiences of popular music reverberate in the framework of wider global cultural developments.

5.3 Methodology

This chapter is based on 14 semi-structured interviews with museum curators, and amateur and professional archive curators in the Netherlands (see table 5.1). Three of the interviews used in the chapter on illegal radio were re-analyzed for this study. As discussed in Chapter 1, broadcasters such as Radio Veronica have become part of Dutch narratives of popular music heritage. For this reason, various archives are dedicated to their heritage, while also museum exhibitions pay tribute to 'the pirates'.

The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and an hour and a half. All interviews were conducted face-to-face with the exception of two phone interviews. The sample was selected on the basis of theoretical sampling, in order to compare a diversity of cases and develop an analytical frame to interpret the gathered data (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This allowed us to explore the variations in museums and archives in terms of their focus on

popular music, level of institutionalization and geographical scale. Table 5.1 below offers an overview of the museums, archives, and exhibitions that were represented in the sample of interviewees. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded using Atlas.ti. Quotes in Dutch were translated into English. The interviews were supplemented with visits to the museum exhibitions and (online) archives, noting observations and taking photographs (see Appendix D). The resulting data were analyzed and compared, in order to group the emerging conceptualizations of how museums and archives frame popular music in relation to local social histories and wider sociocultural developments.

Table 5.1 - Overview of the museums, archives and exhibitions represented in the interview sample of curators and archivists

Museums / Exhibitions	Description	Year[24]
Museum RockArt (Hoek van Holland)	Private museum with a permanent exhibition, tracing the history of Dutch popular music from 1950 to nowadays, and occasional temporary exhibitions on prominent national and international artists and movements.	1994
'Geef mij maar Amsterdam' (Amsterdam Museum)	Temporary exhibition on the history of the city of Amsterdam through song from the seventeenth century to nowadays.	2006/2007
God Save the Queen – Art, Squatting, Punk: 1977-1984 (Centraal Museum, Utrecht)	Temporary exhibition providing local, national and international perspectives on the visual arts, music and social movements of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The exhibition used materials from the 'Stempel Broodje' collection (see below).	2012
Special request -Cuby and the Blizzards in the sixties (Centraal Museum, Utrecht)	Temporary exhibition on the Dutch blues band Cuby and the Blizzards, curated by an employee of the Utrecht Centraal Museum in honour of 25 years in service. The exhibition is primarily based on collector loans and material from the Cuby and the Blizzards museum in Grolloo.	2012
POPstudio (Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, Hilversum)	Permanent exhibition of audiovisual material on Dutch popular music, taken from the video archives of the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, where POPstudio is housed.	2010
Drents Museum (Assen)	Museum of Drenthe, a rural province located in the North-East of the Netherlands. The museum acquired a private collection on the Dutch blues band Cuby and the Blizzards.	2012
Golden Earring – Back Home (Historical Museum, The Hague)	Temporary exhibition on the band Golden Earring, which originated in The Hague. The exhibition showcased material from the archives of the RockArt Museum, as well as from other collectors.	2011/2012
Archives	**Description**	**Year**
Pop archive Achterhoek / Liemers	Group of music experts and fans, connected to the local heritage organization, charting the music history of the rural region of Achterhoek en Liemers. They have published the gathered knowledge in a number of books.	1998
Stempel Broodje	Private collection on the punk movement. One of the founders (Stempel) is involved in the Offshore Radio Club (see below). Their material was used in the travelling Europunk exhibition and the punk exhibition in Centraal Museum Utrecht (see above).	2011

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[24] Indicates year of exhibition, or in the case of archives, year of establishment.

Music Center the Netherlands	Resource, research and promotion center and archive for Dutch music. Closed in December 2012 due to its public subsidies being cut. MCN was formed in 2008 following the merger of a number of genre-specific institutes, including the National Pop Institute which was founded in 1975.	2008
Stichting Norderney	Foundation curating an online archive of audio-visual material and broadcasts from the offshore radio station Radio Veronica, from 1959 to 1974. The website has a members-only, subscription-based section.	1999
Streektaalzang	Online archive on Dutch dialect music, organized by region, curated by a private individual.	1996
Het Geluid van Rotterdam	Organization aiming to preserve and promote music from Rotterdam.	2011
Offshore Radio Club	Online archive, finding and preserving recordings, photos and histories from all European offshore radio stations programmes from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. The website has a restricted section for members only.	2001
Zaanse pophistorie	Online archive providing information and visual resources on the bands and music venues of the Zaanstreek region located North of Amsterdam, from 1958 to nowadays.	2005

As seen in Table 5.1, the institutional set-ups of the organizations differ. From the funding perspective, the table shows the variation from temporary exhibitions in publicly-funded museums and collections in subsidized institutes, to privately-driven collections and archives. The impetus behind the setting-up of archives is often provided by avid collectors and fans, most frequently working independently and driven by their own personal interest. The smaller-scale initiatives corroborate the finding of Flinn *et al.* (2009: 78) that "most of these archives generally reflect the founding ideals and motivations of a few key individuals." In this respect, a varying degree of professionalization and institutionalization of amateur preservation practices among the archives can be observed, particularly in the cases where the sheer size of some private collections called on respondents to address practical issues of conservation and sustainability. A frequent level of collaborations between amateurs and professional institutions was noted, as in the case of the mobilization of knowledge and resources of fans and private collectors in museum exhibitions. For example, the director of the Museum RockArt was guest curator of the Golden Earring exhibition in the Hague Historical Museum, participating in the ideation, planning and implementation of the project, while also providing the vast majority of items on display. The organizations also range in terms of their geographical and historical remits, from rural areas to cities, from time and place-bound exhibits to country and century spanning collections. Now follows the analysis of the research findings.

5.4 Music and place

In the practices of museums and archives, music is used to present local histories, drawing on the musical memories attached to specific places.

> *We collect everything related to the history of this province, which also applies to music. […] Of course, Muskee and Cuby is extraordinary for Drenthe, especially if you look at it from the vantage point of the 1960s. They had a very important role in the emergence of blues in the Netherlands. (Interview 39, deputy director Drents Museum)*

> *We are a city museum, so our mission […] is (to) present the story, or the many stories, because there are more, of the city in connection to the people who live here. [...] Of course, if you look at a city there are many aspects to it that represent the identity or the cultural expressions, and looking at The Hague one of the typical things that is often said of its modern history is that it is also an important musical city. (Interview 37, curator Historical Museum of The Hague)*

In contributing to the delineation of local histories, as the director of Museum RockArt (interview 14) describes, music functions as a 'timeline', giving an overview of sociocultural developments in the Netherlands and the ways in which music is connected to these happenings. The term timeline is telling, because it designates that popular music is bound up with changes and important events in social-cultural life. Therefore, re-listening to old music might evoke memories of long gone times and places. This could be on an individual level (DeNora, 1999), when music invokes personal memories of childhood or previous places of residence. However, these recollections might also be widely shared because they constitute the cultural life of a generation (Van Dijck, 2007). In this respect, Bennett (2009: 486) describes how rock has become part of the trans-national cultural heritage of the baby-boomer generation, understood as a significant turning point in Western culture of the late twentieth century, beyond its association with memories of youth. However, in the heritage practices studied in this chapter, these memories of the baby-boomer generation are generally presented from a local perspective, focusing on Dutch bands, radio stations, music magazines and countercultural activities in the Netherlands of the 1960s.

While providing a timeline, music draws a map filled with spatial references embedding cultural memories in places, be they still existing or remembered. Songs are an essential part of these collections, because they often relate to local themes and events. An

exhibition on music and architecture,[25] for instance, presents songs that have engaged with processes of urban regeneration and their social effects. Thus, music and lyrics are able to represent for instance the cultural landscapes or city life of particular periods (Cohen, 1995). These are "the narratives that are carved out in the streets, houses and squares" (Reijnders, 2010: 109). Furthermore, since music is consumed in concert halls, houses, cafes and festival sites, it is part of the built environment of places. The intensity of musical experiences in these places, as well as their emotional and cultural relevance, explains that archivists and collectors take great pains to record their histories. In his motivation for documenting the music history of the Zaanstreek, a region in the north of the Netherlands, this archivist explicitly refers to these places of musical activity:

> *Zaanstreek is seven small towns, but in the 1960s there were big venues in the small towns. Small cafes on the streetsides, but then at the back would be a big venue. A lot of big bands from the Dutch scene in the 1960s came to the Zaanstreek to play, a lot of action. (Interview 38, editor Zaanse Pophistorie)*

Like similar initiatives, the website of this archive features personal memories, tickets and photos of these places. Although in many cases the venues no longer exist, their legacy is preserved through the practices of these archives.

By recording local histories museums and archives actively contribute to the identity of particular localities and as such 'produce places' (Cohen, 1995; Hudson, 2006). Thus, popular music heritage is related to shared experiences which foster a sense of belonging in local communities. Areas or cities are often known for particular genres and musicians originating from these localities. Museums and archives preserve and present music-related memories and thus perpetuate what Bennett (2002) calls the myths of these places. Volendam, for instance, is known for its Palingsound ('Eel sound'), which refers to the economic activity of fishing in this village as well as the 'sleek' sound of the artists from Volendam (Schuyt & Taverne, 2004). This label was first used in the 1960s (Mutsaers, 2001) and journalists still employ it to describe current artists. In a museum located in the attic of a local seafood restaurant, the history of the Palingsound is presented to tourists visiting Volendam. Another example of the production of place is the popularity of blues in Drenthe, a province in the north-east of the Netherlands. In particular, the band Cuby and the Blizzards has contributed to the music culture of this province. A farm in the small village Grolloo, where the band

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[25] Design as Politics, an exhibition held in Rotterdam in 2012.

recorded the critically acclaimed and aptly-titled album *Groeten uit Grollo* ('*Greetings from Grolloo*'), now hosts a museum dedicated to their legacy.

Thus, these practices of museums and archives could foster a sense of belonging in local communities (Long & Collins, 2012). Concurrently this demarcates how a place differs from others. The curator of the Cuby and the Blizzards exhibition at Centraal Museum Utrecht, for instance, reflected on how the band is bound up with distinctions between the cultural center of the Netherlands and the more rural region the band is from.

> *I like it that they started in the 1960s, and in the 1960s the pop music was The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and they came from out of the bush. The farmers they said here, but the farmers played the whole nederbeat down, they were the best. (Interview 47, curator exhibition 'Special Request', Centraal Museum)*

According to Schuyt and Taverne (2004: 411), "Cuby developed an entirely individual, sober variant of the blues, which fans quickly identified with the rural and provincial culture of Drenthe, devoid of metropolitan hecticness." Echoing this, the director of Museum Drenthe, a local historical museum which acquired a private collection of Cuby and the Blizzards material, further explains how this distinction from other localities is related to a sense of pride and local identity.

> *Everyone was proud of Muskee and his group; in that sense this transcends the music itself. Their local roots in the province of Drenthe are very important, perhaps also for the self-awareness of the region. [...] This has to do with pride and a certain mentality. This group has been very important in that respect and this is why their LPs and singles, and the rest of the collection, belong to the cultural heritage of Drenthe. (Interview 39, deputy director Drents Museum)*

Regev (2007: 133) argues that these claims for difference and recognition can be understood as a consequence of the fragmentation of national identities into a multiplicity of identities based on, amongst other variables, ethnicity and lifestyle: "The growing quantity and diversity of groups or identities seeking recognition within national contexts (or across them) imply that collective entities are intensively engaged in the invention, creation and construction of their own sense of modern cultural uniqueness." Although in the case of Cuby and the Blizzards this sense of pride concerns an urban/rural divide, music is also mobilized in the rivalry and distinction between cities. For instance, contrary to 'rival city' Amsterdam, Rotterdam is not readily recognized for its cultural achievements (Van Ulzen, 2007). For this

reason, the project description of a popular music archive in Rotterdam states "fostering a sense of pride" as one of the main aims (Van der Most, 2011).

Generally, the promotion of local cultures is also about remembering different things from the well-known national histories. In particular the local community archives focus not just on the popular artists, but also the unknown and long-forgotten ones. The democratization of heritage practices allows these community archives to question received narratives as they are presented by nationally oriented media. Archivists and curators want to represent the musical diversity of specific localities by giving detailed overviews of the music histories of specific places. An archivist of Pop archive Achterhoek/Liemers explains that in their publications they also raise awareness of artists that usually get less attention:

> *Enough has been written on Normaal[26] and Vandenberg,[27] so for once we wanted to move the spotlight on bands which are under the radar...It's surprising what you come up with. (Interview 46, volunteer Pop archive Achterhoek/Liemers)*

In an encyclopedic fashion archivists try to collect and preserve all the information about local music history. This shows how popular music is mobilized to put places on the map and promote the cultural accomplishments of these localities.

5.5 Popular music between the local and the global

So far, this study has looked at the meaning of the practices of museums and archives for places within the Netherlands. According to Cohen (2013: 590), popular music transcends the local: "As a global, mass-mediated and highly mobile, travelling culture, it also has iconic and transnational appeal, and has inspired multiple, hybrid and cosmopolitan cultures and identities." The remainder of this chapter will examine how museums and archives relate to these international aspects of Dutch popular music history. This leads to a discussion of the role of museums and archives in representing the musical connections between places on different geographical scales.

Dutch artists have always closely followed the musical developments abroad and have been heavily influenced by sounds coming from other countries (Schuyt & Taverne, 2004). In the 1950s, rock'n'roll music was introduced in the Netherlands by the Dutch-Indonesian Tielman Brothers. When Indonesia became independent from Holland the Tielman family

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[26] Normaal gained national fame in the Netherlands with their rock songs sung in a local dialect.
[27] Hard rock band Vandenberg scored an international hit with *Burning Heart.*

emigrated to Europe. At the 1958 Brussels World's Fair they showcased their mix of Indonesian music styles and American popular music. They had heard the latter in Indonesia on radio stations broadcasting from the Philippines and Australia (Mutsaers, 1990). Following on from the success of the indorock bands in the 1950s and early 1960s, Dutch artists imitated the sound and style of artists from the US and UK. Therefore, during the 1960s most Dutch beat groups sang in English. It was only later that Dutch artists developed their own music styles. However, this was often by appropriating foreign genres. For instance, dialect bands were successful with a combination of foreign genres like tex-mex and rock'n'roll and lyrics consisting of local themes and references (Grijp, 2007). This exemplifies the artistic relations between local and global cultural forms.

Contributions of Dutch artists to the international development of popular music are cherished as part of local music history. Museums and archives give places meaning by engaging with the ways in which international developments such as punk and hippie culture resound into specific localities. Moreover, as argued above, the musical successes of places feed back into the current meanings attached to them. This is even more so when it concerns fame abroad. Therefore, international success is often used as a measure to assess the significance of Dutch artists, as exemplified in '50 years of Nederpop', a canon of Dutch popular music history put together in collaboration with Music Center the Netherlands (Stichting 50 jaar Nederpop, 2008). In the canon, the international success of Dutch artists is commemorated with entry titles such as "the whole world sings Ramona",[28] "guitar God from the Netherlands"[29] and "photographer of the stars."[30] Likewise, The Hague proudly remembers the flourishing beat culture of the 1960s. In recent marketing initiatives this has been used to promote the city[31] and the local festival Beatstad ('beat city') also builds upon this heritage. As a result of the international success of bands like the Golden Earring and Q65, The Hague has often been described as 'the Liverpool of the Netherlands.' Furthermore, feelings of pride are derived from visits of foreign artists to the Netherlands. For instance, the shows of the Rolling Stones and the Beatles in 1964 are often commemorated. The main item in of a Dutch exhibition marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Rolling Stones is the drum kit used by Charlie Watts during his first show in the Netherlands. Alkmaar, the place where

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[28] A song by the Blue Diamonds.
[29] This refers to Jan Akkerman, guitarist for Brainbox and Focus.
[30] Photographer and director Anton Corbijn.
[31] www.3voor12.vpro.nl/lokaal/den-haag/nieuws/2008/juli/gemeente-den-haag-steekt-ton-in-talentenjacht-rtl-5.html (Accessed August 2012).

supposedly John Lennon's first guitar was built, even has its own Beatles museum.[32] This international orientation is telling, because in particular the United States and the United Kingdom have been very influential on Dutch popular music history (Schuyt & Taverne, 2004).

Although place is often used to define the boundaries of collections and exhibitions, this focus on "isolated" localities can also be restricting. As the aforementioned examples indicate, what is happening in a place cannot be separated from developments in other localities. Two recent punk exhibitions show how popular music heritage practices might trace the artistic and social relations between places. In 2011 the travelling exhibition Europunk explored the visual aspects of punks, while another Dutch punk exhibition focused on its relation to squatting and art. In the next quotes, the curator of the latter exhibition and a collector who lent material to both presentations, reflect on the added value of bringing music artefacts from different places together.

> *I was interested in giving international connections, because I didn't want the image as if the Netherlands was a sort of island, an isolated island. The Netherlands has always been a haven, a harbour for all kinds of influences, and especially in music it is very strong. Of course you can't think of, you know, of all these bands here without the bands in New York, especially New York, London or in Germany. (Interview 34, Curator exhibition 'God Save the Queen', Centraal Museum)*

> *When you are in the Netherlands you do not notice that there are so many similarities between things happening in separate places. […] If you compare the posters or fanzines from Italy with those from the UK or the Netherlands the similarities are striking.*
> *(Interview 6, punk collector)*

These arguments are in accordance with Massey's (1995b: 59) conception of place "as a meeting-place, the location of the intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influences and movements." She argues that places should not be conceptualized in a conservative way, constituting neatly circumscribed identities with a focus on their boundaries, but instead regarded in their connections to other places.

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[32] www.beatlesmuseum.nl/ (Accessed August 2012).

Exploring these musical links between places is enhanced by bringing geographically dispersed material together. Either physically, as in the case of the Punk exhibitions, or virtually by digitizing archives. The wide availability of software tools to digitize and present heritage has fuelled a renewed interest in archives (Flinn, 2007; Van den Broek *et al.*, 2009). The digital archive could prevent fragmentation because it clusters the activities of geographically dispersed collectors and brings private collections into the public domain.

Needless to say, these virtual archives often relate to physical collections. However, their on-line presence renders them more visible and accessible to journalists, musicians and people who have moved to other places. Moreover, on-line archives enable visitors to add their own input. It has become common practice to allow visitors to upload their personal memories, stories and photos. Thus, these websites function as a platform where audiences, collectors and heritage organizations collaborate and share knowledge. This is important, because the objects in archives need to be annotated and curated in order to give them meaning. An Archivist of the Norderney Foundation explains that this task requires collaboration:

> *In the past things were not always extensively written down on tapes and videos. So, someone needs to check what's on them. […] And then you are dependent on people with the knowhow or fans who still remember it. Otherwise it is just lying there and nobody knows what it is. (Interview 5, former employee Radio Veronica, founder Norderney foundation)*

This comprehensiveness is vital for accommodating the multiple identifications groups have with places. By meticulously mapping the history of popular music, archives and exhibitions do justice to the diversity of local music cultures and their reciprocal interrelations.

5.6 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to examine how the collection and display of popular music heritage in Dutch archives and museums shapes understandings of place and local cultural identity. This study follows on from debates in both popular music research and heritage studies on the meaning of place and identity in times of globalization (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007; Bennett, 2002; Smith, 2006). Notions of heritage as the expression of a fixed, national identity have been called into question because national cultures have become more open to influences from other countries through mass media, the circulation of cultural products and migration. Global cultural forms such as popular music become indigenized (Regev, 2007) resulting in

hybrid forms such as dialect rock and nederpop (i.e. Dutch beat music). Therefore, several authors argue that as a result of this international orientation the identifications with popular music have become more likely to transcend local or national identities (Bennett, 2009; Regev, 2007).

The findings of this study confirm that popular music heritage and its practice implicates a reciprocal relation between the global and local. When presenting the ways in which trans-local cultural phenomena such as punk or pirate radio reverberate in particular places, museums and archives engage with the global communality of experience as a source of pride, showing localities as active participants in wider cultural transformations. Nevertheless, place is often used to define the boundaries of collections and in order to frame the history of popular music from a local perspective. As a global cultural form, popular music is appropriated in particular places and acquires specific local meanings which are shared by communities. This echoes Kuipers' (2013: 25) contention that "even with growing transnational integration, national institutions remain central hubs, gatekeepers and orientation points for international connections." Dutch museums and archives strongly connect to experiences of popular music consumption in everyday life, for instance by presenting Dutch media such as radio stations, television programs and magazines, through which foreign artists reached audiences in the Netherlands.

Consequently, popular music heritage positions communities in physical place. As carriers of memories, buildings and streets are a source of identity (Gieryn, 2000). Through the local consumption of popular music in pubs and music venues, it becomes part of the built environment and the cultural memories attached to these places. Furthermore, museums and archives present popular music cultures and local histories, as they materialize in for instance songs, lyrics, clothes and LPs. As such, popular music heritage provides a timeline of the sociocultural developments in particular places.

The results of this study indicate that popular music heritage practices relate to a sense of cultural pride. Local archives and museum aim to preserve and present popular music heritage as an expression of place-bound cultural identities. This corroborates Regev's (2007) contention that in a world culture, where global cultural styles are absorbed into specific local and national heritages, the struggle for recognition of the uniqueness of local and national cultures is of vital importance. In the current study it was found that popular music heritage is about communicating musical successes and the contributions of specific places to the general development of popular music. Moreover, often archivists and curators want to show that their local music culture is richer and more diverse than is generally thought. This

presentation of local cultural uniqueness and identity manifests itself in urban-rural divides, rivalry between cities and even in the music styles associated with particular neighborhoods. Thus, attachments to place are invoked to mark differences between communities. As such, popular music heritage is about the relations between places on local, national and global levels and the continuous intersections of identities and cultural styles.

6

Popular music and memory in Europe[33]

6.1 Introduction

In order to examine further the tensions between local identity construction and the transnational aspects of popular music noted in the previous chapter, this study considers how popular music from the 1960s is remembered in Europe. In particular, it will explore how memories of the 1960s connect to local, national and European identities. Whereas the previous chapters predominantly discussed memory practices that strongly resonate with existing identities, the sense of European identity that will be considered in this study is actively being constructed by the European Union.

Traditionally, European identity and cultural heritage are seen in connection to high culture (Cohen, 2013; Lähdesmäki, 2012). More recently, however, various studies (Bennett, 2009; Brandellero & Janssen, 2014; Reitsamer, 2014) have demonstrated that due to the blurring of the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture and the attention paid to social history, heritage discourses increasingly include popular music as an expression of shared identity. Nevertheless, the European dimensions of popular music heritage have thus far been largely neglected in the scholarly literature (Cohen, 2013 being a notable exception). This is surprising because, as Green and Marc (2013: 4) argue, Europe is "a shared contemporary geopolitical reality within which coexist diverse languages and cultural and musical histories linked by organizational structures, common economic policies and cultural affinities that in many ways facilitate more dynamic musical exchange than with other spaces."

Cohen (2013) argues that the attention paid by the cultural and heritage industries to music of the past can be explained in terms of pan-European trends in cultural policy such as the marketing of cultural memories and the preservation and promotion of local distinctiveness and cultural diversity. The European Union regards the creative and cultural industries as an important economic sector, and uses its cultural policy to foster a sense of belonging in an imagined European community (Lähdesmäki, 2012; Sassatelli, 2002; Tsaliki, 2007). These policy initiatives aim to support, for example, intercultural dialogue, co-

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operation between cultural organizations and the promotion of a European cultural heritage. This chapter explores how the popular music memories of the 1960s relate to these pan-European policy initiatives.

The late 1950s and the 1960s saw the advent of a transnational youth culture (Schildt & Siegfried, 2006). According to Marwick (2006: 44), "the central component was pop/rock music, which became a kind of universal language, its performers being young in comparison with the crooners and band leaders of the 1950s, and the audiences mainly (though far from exclusively) being very young." In this period, the music and alternative lifestyles of young people spread across Europe and, despite the differences between Eastern and Western European countries, connected their respective youths (Siegfried, 2008). However, national governments on both sides of the iron curtain tried to control what people heard on the radio, fearing that popular music would have adverse effects (Chapman, 1992; Ryback, 1990). The lack of attention paid to new music genres on the state regulated public radio stations provided the impetus for the European phenomenon of offshore radio (i.e. pirate radio)(Rudin, 2007; Siegfried, 2008). Furthermore, rock music was a significant aspect of the counter-cultural activities that culminated in the protests of 1968. As Siegfried (2008: 65) argues, "because certain aspects of rock music, such as spontaneity, physicality, activism, violating the rules, and questioning authority, corresponded with the formal aspects and content of the protest movements, pop and politics became closely intertwined in the everyday lives of many participants."

This chapter explores how these developments are remembered in Europe, focusing on the tensions between the various geographical levels (i.e. local, national and European) at which popular music memories are constructed and disseminated. These memories of the popular music from the 1960s not only encompass the music itself, but also, for example, the reception of popular music via pirate radio and youth–oriented music magazines. To be clear, this chapter does not provide a historical overview of popular music in the 1960s, but instead focuses on how the memories of this period are constructed and represented by actors and institutions in the cultural and heritage industries. Due to its broad appeal, this decade offers "rich opportunities to see, in real time, the operation of historical memory and of memory politics – how a past is evoked, constructed, appropriated and contested" (Varon *et al.,* 2008: 2). By studying the actors and institutions involved in such memory practices, I examine how the music and memories of this period are given cultural and political value (Street, 2013). Although there is much research on the global flows of music, the international aspects of

policies on popular music and popular music heritage receive less attention (Homan *et al.,* 2013).

In the next section, I will review current theories on popular music, memory and European heritage, on which I will draw to analyze the ways in which popular music from the 1960s is remembered in Europe. My analysis will focus on the relationship between local memories of this period and the pan-European aims of the European Union's cultural policy.

6.2 Theorizing music, memory and heritage

Music and memories are able to constitute imagined communities (Anderson, 1991; Kong, 1997; Turino, 1999). As Eder (2005: 205) argues about the meaning of collective memory: "Remembering the past means creating a particular social relationship with those who equally share a significant reference to that past." This sense of community could, for example, be present when a large number of listeners from a specific country tune in to the same radio show (Van Dijck, 2007). Neiger *et al.* (2011) demonstrate how popular music is used as a 'mnemonic cultural object' on Israel's Memorial Day for the Holocaust and the Heroism. The songs broadcast on local radio stations during this public mourning ritual commemorate a shared past and give shape to the national culture of Israel. This example illustrates the pertinence of memory practices to cultural identity construction. Furthermore, as a ubiquitous cultural form, music is able to evoke the general mood of a particular era (Van Dijck, 2007), personal experiences (DeNora, 1999), historical events (Kotarba, 2002) and a sense of nostalgia (Barrett *et al.*, 2010). In relation to this, Turino (1999: 235) describes how musical signs operate as a form of 'semantic snowballing'. Music refers to many aspects of social life, has multiple meanings, and the memories and associations attached to it are ever expanding (Turino, 1999). The cultural and heritage industries further cement the connections between music and memory through their presentation of popular music as a form of cultural heritage (Cohen, 2013; Roberts, 2014).

Following on from the increasing cultural legitimacy of popular music, which is manifest by its inclusion in cultural policies (Looseley, 2011; Nuchelmans, 2002; Van der Hoeven, 2012) and the coverage given to the arts and culture in elite newspapers (Janssen *et al.,* 2011; Schmutz *et al.,* 2010), popular music has become part of heritage discourses (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014). Bennett observes how the rock aesthetic that emerged in the 1960s is strongly connected to the identity of the baby-boomer generation:

The heritage rock discourse is very much part of the ageing rock audience's reassessment of rock, not merely as something particular to their youth, but rather as a key element in their collective cultural awareness and a major contributor to their generational identity. (2009: 478)

However, younger generations are also attracted to the musical heritage of the 1960s (Bennett, 2008; Hayes, 2006). Furthermore, narratives of popular music heritage are not only connected to generational identities, but are also linked to notions of place. For example, museums (Burgoyne, 2003), documentaries (Reitsamer, 2014) and tourist organizations (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014) give shape to popular music as a form of local and national heritage.

Such heritage practices invoke memories as building blocks of cultural identities. Therefore, heritage not only concerns the past, but also serves needs in the present (Smith, 2006). This implies that narratives of the past are not fixed; their form depends on the ways in which memories are given meaning in the present. These political claims on the past are manifest in the European project (Lähdesmäki, 2012).

The European Union mobilizes cultural heritage in order to construct a European identity that is grounded in a shared past (Bee, 2008). However, this idea of a common European heritage has been criticized because it essentializes European identity into a homogenous narrative, ignoring the diversity of European cultures (Lähdesmäki, 2012; Sassatelli, 2002). Delanty (2000: 235) argues that social integration and cultural cohesion is impossible if we take the plurality of the different member states into consideration: "The idea of cultural cohesion presupposes too much homogeneity, such as that associated with national identity and which is unrealistic as well undesirable as a model of Europeanization." This tension between unity and diversity has been resolved in the communications of the European Union with the motto 'United in diversity' (Bee, 2008; Lähdesmäki, 2012).[34] In relation to this, article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty (European Commission, 1992) states that "the community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore."

These complexities of a European identity are apparent in the Eurovision Song Contest, which has been organized by the European Broadcasting Union since 1956. According to Sandvoss (2008), this contest "forms visions of Europe for those on the inside as

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[34] www.europa.eu/abc/symbols/motto/index_en.htm (accessed February 2013).

much as on the outside of the continent." These visions encompass contested notions of the relationship between national and European identities: "Paradoxically, while Eurovision seeks to invoke the imagery of a transcendental European culture, it actually reinforces national caricatures. The contest's amorphous internationalism draws attention to the reality of European cultural fragmentation, rivalry, and economic ambition" (Coleman, 2008: 131).

Although various authors have explored the tensions between national and European identities in the European Union's cultural policies (Dittmer, 2014; Gordon, 2010; Lähdesmäki, 2012; Tsaliki, 2007), less is known about the role of popular music's past in these debates. Most research on popular music heritage has focused on the connections between popular music memory and national identity. However, referring to music's transnational reach and ability to call forth personal and collective memories, Cohen (2013: 590) concludes that "popular music contributes to cultural memory in distinctive and multifaceted ways, and therefore has a specific significance for cultural policy and the new Europe."

The popular music of the 1960s is a relevant starting point for such an inquiry because of the international character of the developments in this decade. As the editors of 'The Sixties' argue in the first issue of this journal (Varon *et al.,* 2008: 5), in times of globalization it is important to understand "the means of connection, mutual influence, and tension between nations, geographies, and cultures." Although popular music is a very mobile cultural form, which easily crosses boundaries of all types (Frith, 1996), language barriers and cultural differences complicate the transnational exchange of musical experiences (Marc, 2013). These considerations lead to the following research question*: how do narratives of the popular music heritage of the 1960s - as they are constructed and disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries - resonate with cultural identities on local, national and European levels?*

6.3 Background to the study

Wertsch (2000) argues that memories rely on cultural tools that mediate active processes of remembering. For example, documentaries and museum exhibitions provide narratives with which audiences can identify. As Brandellero and Janssen (2014: 224) found, "heritage is both a source of identity and a receptor of value attributed to it by communities, institutions and people." I will therefore explore how practices of the cultural and heritage industries resonate with cultural identities and give the music from the 1960s political and cultural value (Street, 2013).

In order to obtain a comprehensive view of the ways in which popular music from the 1960s is remembered in Europe, I looked at memory practices taking place in established institutions (on EU, national and local levels), as well as heritage and preservation initiatives by amateur-experts such as DIY archivists and bloggers. The data upon which this chapter is based have been collected in the context of the research project 'Popular Music Heritage, Cultural Memory, and Cultural Identity', which aims to assess the role of popular music in the negotiation of cultural identity in a local, national and European context. The research for this project was conducted at Erasmus University Rotterdam, the universities of Liverpool and Ljubljana, and Mediacult, Vienna. Workshops held with local heritage practitioners in each of the countries helped me to familiarize myself with different preservation and heritage practices across Europe. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the editors of the websites Europopmusic.eu (based in the Netherlands) and Ready Steady Girls (Brighton, United Kingdom) and representatives of Museum Bokrijk (Belgium), Museum RockArt, Limburgs Museum Venlo (both in the Netherlands) and Europeana (The Hague, The Netherlands). The interviews with the editor of Ready Steady Girls and two representatives of Museum Bokrijk were conducted by telephone; all of the others were 'face-to-face'. Furthermore, I attended 1960s-related exhibitions in the York Castle museum (United Kingdom), Limburgs Museum Venlo and Museum RockArt (see Appendix D). These visits allowed me to see how the music from this period is represented in a museal context.

In the next section, I give a brief introduction to the musical developments in Europe in the 1960s and the sociocultural themes with which the decade is associated in narratives of cultural heritage. This leads to a discussion of the ways in which this heritage is represented by the cultural and heritage industries, focusing on the tensions between identities on local and European levels.

6.4 Remembering the 1960s: music and memory in Europe

Cultural industries use a focus on decades – the 1960s in this case - as a way to segment popular music history in discrete and identifiable periods (Kotarba, 2002). Through numerous books, documentaries, exhibitions and magazines, the 1960s have been heavily mythologized (Varon *et al.,* 2008). Indeed, for baby-boomers and younger generations alike, this decade is perceived as a golden age of popular music, full of musical experimentation and development. In this period, album-oriented rock musicians started to distinguish themselves from the more commercial chart music (Bennett, 2009). According to Bennett (2008: 266), the rock heritage discourses position particular rock musicians of the late 1960s and early 1970s "as key

contributors to the essential character of late twentieth-century culture per se and an integral aspect of the way in which this era of history is to be remembered, represented, and celebrated." As a consequence, these musicians are not only revered because of their role as counter-cultural icons, but also for their musical accomplishments (Bennett, 2009).

The main reference points in any narrative of the 1960s are the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. In the 1960s, beat groups from Britain dominated the European radio airwaves and record sales. These bands combined American music styles with influences from Europe (Pells, 1997). Frith (1989) highlights the connections between Britain and continental Europe in the period before British beat groups became popular in the United States:

> Before then (something conveniently forgotten now) British cover versions of rock'n'roll were as unconvincing as those of any other European country (so that Johnny Halliday was, for example, rather better than Cliff Richard at being Elvis Presley). And British pop fans were certainly less cool, less hard than their European peers — the Beatles, after all, learned what live rock'n'roll really meant in Hamburg, and the mod look was rooted in a fantasy of Frenchness, in the allure of the 'discotheque'. The stylishness with which British bands played American music might have been a result of their art school education, but their look was clearly continental — by David Bailey from a film by Jean-Luc Godard, by John Stephens from a street in Rome. (Frith, 1989: 168)

In particular, the Beatles paved the way for the plethora of beat groups emerging on the continent. Although British musicians were at the forefront of the cultural revolution of the decade, other countries also cherished their own successful bands. While musicians on continental Europe initially mainly copied their British heroes, they also developed their own styles, for example by singing in their native languages and dialects (Cohen, 2013; Schildt and Siegfried, 2006). In France, artists like Johnny Halliday mimicked Anglo-American hits and gave them French lyrics (Looseley, 2005), hence the label yéyé music, which refers to the Anglo-Saxon 'Yeah, yeah!'. In Eastern Europe, bands that were heavily influenced by the Beatles, such as Illés in Hungary, Olympic in Czechoslovakia and Czerwone Gitary in Poland, targeted local audiences (Ryback, 1990). In the Eastern bloc countries, this music was part of the continuous struggle with communist leaders who tried to repress rock music. According to Ryback:

In a very real sense, the triumph of rock and roll in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has been the realization of a democratic process. Three generations of Soviet-Bloc youths have compelled governments to accept step by step a cultural phenomenon long decried as an outgrowth of Western capitalism. In the course of thirty years, rock bands have stormed every bastion of official resistance and forced both party and government to accept rock-and-roll music as part of life in the Marxist-Leninist state. (Ryback, 1990: 233)

This shows that music is connected to developments in the arts, fashion, media and the counter-cultural politics that together shaped the identity of the post-war baby-boomer generation (Bennett, 2009). According to Klimke and Scharloth (2008: 6): "The synesthaetic nature of rock music served as the colorful display and global transmitter of […] new symbolic forms of living and communication." The curator of the 1960s exhibition 'Flower Power' in Limburgs Museum Venlo explains how they deliberately presented music in relation to such sociocultural developments:

We wanted to make an accessible, big exhibition. Flower Power can be approached from different vantage points. You could focus on one theme, the fashion or art of that period, but our starting point was the flower as a symbol of peaceful protest. We found that there are a lot of themes which are all related to each other. Peaceful protests, then you also think of music and youth culture. But youth culture is inseparable from music and clothes; art is closely related to that, and new ideas about sexuality and societal developments as well. This is all related. You could highlight one theme, but we wanted to keep it broad. (Interview 42, curator 'Flower Power' exhibition, Limburgs Museum Venlo)

This echoes Turino's (1999) observation that music, as a form of semantic snowballing, has multiple layers of meaning. As narratives of the 1960s are strongly related to the identity of the baby boomer generation, their presentation in, for example, exhibitions, books and documentaries, often features objects such as mopeds, magazines, transistor radios and furniture. These objects are transnational symbols of the increased prosperity and independence of this generation (Marwick, 2006). Interestingly, the 1960s' exhibitions in Bokrijk, Venlo and York all lead visitors through various shops such as fashion boutiques and a record store. This seems to signify the advent of a consumer culture revolving around a shared lifestyle. Young people became more independent and mobile now that they possessed

their own mopeds. Furthermore, with transistor radios, they were able to receive the pirate stations that broadcast youth-oriented programs: "Although these radio stations mostly stayed away from explicit politics, their youth-specific, frequently unconventional, and at times subversive aura helped ensure that contemporary ideals ranging from individualism to rebellion would reach a large number of European youth" (Siegfried, 2008: 61).

In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine the institutional settings in which these events are remembered. I discuss consecutively how (EU) cultural policy, heritage organizations and media negotiate the connections between the popular music heritage of the 1960s and cultural identities on local, national and European levels.

6.5 The 1960s as cultural heritage

EU cultural policy

According to the Eurobarometer (European Commission, 2013), close to 6 in 10 respondents regard themselves as citizens of the European Union. It has been argued that identification with Europe is widespread, but not as strong as the identification with national governments (Delanty, 2005; Fligstein *et al.*, 2012). For this reason, the European Union uses its cultural policy to foster a sense of belonging to the European community and to construct a European cultural identity (Lähdesmäki, 2012; Sassatelli, 2002). This has to ensure that Europe is not reduced to just an economic entity (Tsaliki, 2007). The three main objectives of the EU Culture Program between 2007 and 2013 were the promotion of intercultural dialogue, the transnational mobility of people working in the cultural sector and support for the transnational circulation of cultural and artistic works (European Commission, 2010). In line with these objectives, the European Music Office aimed for the conception and implementation of a coordinated music policy (European Music Office, nd).[35] According to the EMO Secretary General, Jean-François Michel, music is the best form of art to enhance social integration and develop intercultural dialogue: "The millions of people who travel to foreign festivals, who buy foreign records or simply play foreign music show that music breaks national borders, and eventually that music is making Europe" (EMO, nd). Specific music projects used by the EU to support intercultural dialogue are the European Talent Exchange Program and the European Border Breakers Awards. Both projects aim to increase

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[35] As of November 2013, the European Music Office closed down. See: http://www.musicexport.at/the-end-of-the-european-music-office/ [Accessed June 2014]

the transnational mobility of musicians and their works. However, these initiatives focus on contemporary artists, meaning that, currently, a European popular music heritage is not explicitly part of the EU's cultural policy. Similarly, Brandellero and Janssen (2014: 228) found that at the national level "music heritage and popular music heritage in particular remain relatively undefined." As a quite recent phenomenon, popular music heritage is rarely explicitly mentioned in cultural policies. However, as an outcome of EU cultural policy, the 1960s popular music heritage is indirectly remembered and preserved.

Cohen (2013) demonstrates how Liverpool's year as the European Capital of Culture in 2008 was used to raise awareness of the city's local popular music heritage. The aim of the European Capital of Culture award is to highlight both the diversity of European cultures and their relationship to a common European cultural heritage. However, Cohen (2013: 578) demonstrates that the various activities in Liverpool presented the music from this city as local heritage in order to brand the city and potentially improve its economy: "The organisers thus used the event to celebrate Liverpool's rock past and future, particularly the city's connection with the Beatles and the continuation of that legacy through contemporary rock bands such as the Wombats." This resembles the findings of Sassatelli's (2002) analysis of the European Capital of Culture in the year 2000. To mark the new millennium, the title was awarded to nine cities. Sassatelli found that, predominantly, the specificities of the different cities were promoted and less attention was paid to the European dimension of their heritage. In that sense, the European Capital of Culture project is in line with the EU's United-in-Diversity motto (Lähdesmäki, 2012).

Another instance of 1960s' popular music heritage as the indirect outcome of EU policy is the website Europeana. This project, which is co-funded by the European Union, is an online portal that provides access to Europe's digitized cultural and scientific heritage. Europeana aggregates the information that describes the digitized objects in the collections of European heritage organizations and makes it available in a multilingual environment. Purday (2009) explains that Google's plans to digitize the printed word in collaboration with libraries from the UK and US provided the impetus for the Europeana project; it was feared that Google's focus would be on Anglophone content. At the launch of Europeana in 2008, José Manuel Barroso, the president of the European Commission (quoted in Purday: 931), explicitly connected the potential outcomes of this project to the meaning of cultural heritage for a sense of European identity: "I believe that Europeana has the potential to change the way people see European culture. It will make it easier for our citizens to appreciate their own past, but also to become more aware of their common European identity." The Europeana

database comprises a wide range of 1960s-related photos and videos. A representative of Europeana explains the importance of music in its collection:

> *It's very popular with the users. I think, we don't really, there won't ever be equal representation, but we would just like it to be, you know, for there to be a good cross-section of music that represents European culture or the individual culture of each country. And music is a really important part of that. So we would like that to be represented and equally represented across the European countries. […]. And music is something that people relate to a lot and it is something that people actively search for. That is, you know, one of the areas where its importance lies. (Interview 43, business developer Europeana)*

The majority of these music-related items in the Europeana dataset come from the sub-project Discovering Music Archives (DISMARC).[36] This aimed to further enhance the visibility of Europe's music heritage, and has added the content catalogues of music archives to Europeana's database.

Local and national heritage institutions

Heritage institutions on national or sub-national levels, such as museums, archives and libraries, give shape to popular music as a form of cultural heritage (Burgoyne, 2003). Mass-produced cultural forms like music have found their way into museums following the increased legitimacy of popular culture (Bennett, 2009; Brandellero & Janssen, 2013). However, in Europe, there are notable differences in the way popular music is positioned as twentieth-century cultural heritage (Cohen 2013). As suggested by a study of popular music coverage in elite newspapers (Schmutz *et al.,* 2010), the extent to which popular music gains cultural legitimacy in a given country depends on the size and centrality of the cultural production there and the openness to popular culture in its cultural policies and education. Whereas the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have museums dedicated to popular music, Zevnik (2014) notes a lack of popular music heritage initiatives in Slovenia. Furthermore, in Austria, the national identity is more associated with classical than popular music. Nevertheless, also in this country, the desires of ageing musicians and producers "to consecrate the music of their youth as well as their involvement in the cultural industries and

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[36] www.dismarc.org/info/ (accessed March 2013).

the state cultural bureaucracy seem to have a profound impact on the national, regional and local cultural policy, including (rock) heritage policy" (Reitsamer, 2014: 340).

Generally, national, urban and regional heritage institutions engage with the global and local dimensions of the 1960s instead of the decade's European aspects. As discussed in the previous chapter, museums and archives present popular music's past as local heritage and address how global music genres resounded in particular localities. The native languages in which music is sung, the places where artists are from and the local topics addressed in lyrics resonate with cultural identities connected to specific localities (Van der Hoeven, Janssen & Driessen, forthcoming). As a consequence, both music and heritage offer a sense of place (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014). Moreover, heritage institutions often have a specific geographical remit, as laid down in the organization's aims. An example of this is the Belgium open-air museum Domein Bokrijk, which opened a permanent 1960s village in 2012. The coordinator of this exhibition explains why the focus is on Belgium:

> *Bokrijk tells the story of everyday life in the past. We talk best about Flanders and Belgium, because that is what we can acquire and find. It would not make sense to all of a sudden present the big American story in Bokrijk. It would be nice, but then we need to look for other material and it would be a change of style from the open-air museum. (Interview 41, coordinator 'the Sixties', Domein Bokrijk, Belgium)*

This does not mean that the international aspects of the 1960s are absent in local exhibitions such as the one in Bokrijk. However, the focus is generally on the local appropriation of global events. For example, the histories of local youth cultures and protest movements, such as the mods in England and the nozems in the Netherlands, are presented. The Beatles and the Rolling Stones are also a recurring theme in exhibitions along with local bands that appropriated their style. Furthermore, these exhibitions focus on the local reception of media that were used to discover new music. Each country had different youth magazines, television shows or (pirate) radio stations (Schildt & Siegfried, 2006). Even in the case of transnational media, the focus can be on local reception. A 2012 exhibition organized by the Luxembourg Embassy in Warsaw and the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of Warsaw University,[37] for example, looked at the sociocultural role of Radio Luxembourg in Poland during the cold war. This exemplifies how local museums and archives generally relate to

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[37] 'Remembering Radio Luxembourg in the People's Republic of Poland':
www.varsovie.mae.lu/en/Remembering-Radio-Luxembourg-in-the-People-s-Republic-of-Poland-Wspominajac-Radio-Luksemburg-w-PRL (accessed May 2013).

place-bound reference points.

Media

Media are pivotal in negotiating a sense of belonging in what Anderson (1991) has defined as imagined communities. For example, television, radio and the internet disseminate cultural memories that constitute cultural identities. These media enable people to connect their personal experiences to a collective cultural memory. Thus, in relation to the popular music of the 1960s, media provide narratives of popular music's past, with which audiences can identify. Reitsamer (2014: 340), for example, analyzes two Austrian multi-media projects which demonstrate "how the global circulating discourse of 'rock as heritage' has been translated into the national context with the aim of constructing an Austrian 'rock heritage' and inscribing it historically as an integral aspect of the Austria's national cultural heritage."

On a transnational level, a European communicative space could contribute to the constitution of a shared European collective memory of popular music from the 1960s. In relation to this, Eder (2005: 213) argues that "the more people share a communicative space that transgresses the confines of old memories, the more these memories are reorganized on a higher level, so that these memories make sense as a whole." However, the European public sphere remains very small compared to national communicative spaces: "While European transnational communication space is growing and attracting influential elite audiences, the role of transnational media in reaching out to the broader European public remains very modest" (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2009: 707). Interestingly, this is, to a certain extent, in contrast with the 1960s, when European citizens in various countries listened to the same offshore pirate radio stations to discover new music (Schildt & Siegfried, 2006), and young people in Eastern bloc countries tuned in to Western radio stations like Radio Free Europe and Radio Luxembourg (Ryback, 1990). However, mediated narratives of the 1960s often revolve around particular countries. For example, television documentaries commemorating the 1960s are produced by national or sub-national broadcasting organizations, targeting domestic audiences.

Exceptions are the earlier mentioned Europeana, which is a multilingual online access point to Europe's cultural heritage, and the European cultural television channel ARTE. Although ARTE focuses on Germany and France, its 'summer of the sixties' series presented

documentaries, concerts and television programs from a transnational vantage point.[38] However, language barriers and cultural differences remain an obstacle to European media (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2009; Dittmer, 2014). This scarcity of European narratives of popular music history, combined with a personal interest in the Eurovision Song Contest, led two music fans to establish an online magazine and encyclopedia about European popular music:[39]

> *We found out that if you search for particular artists, like who is it and who is behind it, not much information is available. And, if there is any, it is in that specific language. [...] So you have to translate it. (Interview 40, editor Europopmusic.eu)*

Also for the website Ready Steady Girls, which focuses on European female singers from the 1960s, the Eurovision Song Contest was an impetus behind the European vantage point.[40] Ready Steady Girls documents the musical exchanges between European countries, like the French yéyé phenomenon which also reached Spain. Yéyé girls adopted Anglo-American musical songs with lyrics in their own language. An exponent of this style is the French singer France Gall, who, representing Luxembourg with the song *Poupée de cire, poupée de son*, won the 1965 Eurovision Song Contest.

These websites are examples of DIY preservationism (Bennett, 2009). According to Bennett (2009: 483), "such instances of DIY preservation are becoming increasingly common, to the extent that they can no longer be regarded merely as isolated incidents of fan innovation, but they constitute a globally connected informal network of activity orientated towards a re-writing of contemporary popular music history." Similarly, Cohen (2013) argues that such projects could challenge dominant representations of popular music's past. She explains that these 'micro or hidden musical histories' have been enabled by new digital tools for sharing information on the internet (e.g. web 2.0, social media) and are emerging in many European cities. Although most discussions of DIY preservationism focus on its role in narrating and preserving local music histories and identities (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014; Cohen, 2013; Roberts 2014), such activities also offer opportunities to chart musical exchanges and connections between countries. As a translocal medium, the internet enables fans and music enthusiasts to explore Europe's popular music heritage and present particular music histories that are overlooked by established media. Other examples of such an approach

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[38] www.arte.tv/de/tv-programm/3204632.html (accessed February 2013).
[39] www.europopmusic.eu/ (accessed March 2013).
[40] www.readysteadygirls.eu/ (accessed March 2013).

are the websites dedicated to offshore radio in Europe. These sites contain histories, recordings, jingles and photos of these pirate radio stations and make them available online.[41] As the website Offshore Echo's states:

> *The offshore stations, set up on board ships and forts, are at the heart of modern radio in Europe. They were extremely popular throughout the 1960s & 70s and into the 1980s, when they were the only stations to provide young people with an exclusively music format. The listeners called them 'Free Radio stations' - the authorities 'Pirate Radio'. While famous offshore radio stations like Radio Caroline no longer broadcast freely from international waters, the memories of offshore radio are far from dead.*[42]

For these online platforms, language is no obstacle to engaging with Europe's popular music heritage. In contrast to traditional media such as newspapers or television, they are able to present their content in English or even in a multilingual digital space. Although these amateur-led projects may not have the same legitimacy and standards as established media and heritage organizations (Roberts & Cohen, 2014), they do diversify the narratives of the popular music of the 1960s.

6.6 Conclusions

The aims of this chapter were to examine the ways in which popular music from the 1960s is remembered in Europe and how these relate to local, national and European identity construction. Although this chapter has discussed many public and private initiatives to preserve and document the popular music heritage of this period, it concludes that cultural policies on the preservation of popular music are underdeveloped to date. Like earlier research has demonstrated for specific countries (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014; Zevnik 2014), on a European level there is neither a clear agenda on popular music heritage nor a coordination of activities in this field. Even though the cultural policy of the European Union indirectly leads to the preservation of popular music through projects such as Europeana and the European Capital of Culture, European narratives of the 1960s are scarce in comparison with the many local accounts of this period. Books, documentaries and exhibitions on the popular music from the 1960s generally focus on specific countries. As a consequence, the memory practices of the cultural and heritage industries tie in more strongly with local and

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[41] See www.offshoreradio.org, www.azanorak.com/ and www.soundscapes.info/ (accessed March 2013).
[42] www.offshoreechos.com/About us.htm (accessed March 2013).

national identities than with a European perspective. This mirrors the variation in musical reference points in different European countries. Although all countries have seen the emergence of a youth culture influenced by music styles from the US and UK, each country also has its own local musical heroes and media through which it familiarizes itself with new musical styles. This divergence of experiences of the 1960s can be neatly summarized with the European Union's United in Diversity motto.

The plurality of musical identities on the national level should temper the expectations of a coherent European narrative. However, as Eder (2009: 444) argues in a study of European identity, the plurality of narratives does not preclude a shared European perspective: "Instead of imposing a hegemonic 'grand narrative', Europe can live with a diversity of stories that need only one property: to offer nodes as docking stations for other stories." To give a musical example of such a 'narrative network' (Eder, 2009), the travelling Europunk exhibition examined the visual expressions of punk in its international dimensions. The accompanying catalogue (De Chassey, 2011), which is published in three languages, shows how the visual culture of punk music spread across Europe in the 1970s. It contains illustrations of posters, apparel, fanzines and record covers from local music scenes and their visual approaches to punk. Like some of the websites and historical works discussed in this chapter, Europunk explores the connections between European countries. It overcomes a narrow focus on one place by also looking at the sociocultural associations between places. As Green and Marc (2013: 4) argue, "to fail to approach anglophone music, and contemporary popular music in general, as part of a multi-lingual and multi-cultural web is to miss a great deal of the evolving, complex reality of the production and consumption of this branch of human activity."

As popular music heritage is also taking shape in the digital sphere, online exhibitions could be another way of overcoming physical and lingual barriers. Websites such as Europeana and EUscreen (De Leeuw, 2011) experiment with virtual exhibitions that showcase the richness of Europe's digital heritage by focusing on specific pan-European themes. Although this chapter found that a European perspective is largely absent in traditional media and heritage organizations, various private online initiatives aim to preserve European popular music histories. Collaborations between these DIY preservationists and heritage practitioners could enhance the further understanding of the cultural connections between European countries and their shared musical past. Furthermore, the European Parliament aims to raise more awareness of Europe's history with the House of European

History, which is to be established in Brussels.[43] Future research might show whether this museum is able to 'Europeanize' the local experiences of the popular music from the 1960s.

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[43] www.europarl.europa.eu/visiting/en/visits/historyhouse.html (accessed February 2013).

7

The narrative fabric of popular music memories[44]

7.1 Introduction

Building on the analyses of the substudies, this chapter examines the narrative fabric of popular music memories. It considers findings which transcend the themes discussed in the previous chapters. To examine the relationship between cultural identity and popular music memories, I draw upon theories that highlight the importance of narratives in our experience of identity (Brockmeier, 2002; Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001; Van Dijck, 2007; Wertsch, 2002). In so doing, I will specifically look at how the cultural and heritage industries mediate attachments to popular music's past.

This perspective enables me to theorize the temporal aspects of identity and the relationship between personal and shared popular music memories. Narratives make causal connections between events and thus allow us to give meaning to past experiences. Furthermore, this approach takes into account that narratives of the past are always selective and change according to needs in the present (Brockmeier, 2002). This challenges conceptions of memory as the 'storing' of experiences (Brockmeier, 2010). Metaphors, such as memory as a 'hard drive' or 'archive', imply that when memories are stored and retrieved they remain untainted in the process of remembering. However, narrative studies demonstrate that even our personal cultural memories are dependent upon cultural practices that shape recollections. Although this raises important questions about who narrates popular music's past and the accuracy of memories (Wertsch, 2011), the narrative approach has rarely been applied to the study of popular music (notable exceptions are Negus, 2012 and Van Dijck, 2007). Nevertheless, these are apposite questions for a cultural form that is closely related to expressions of identity and distinction, but is, at the same time, riddled with myth and nostalgia. Accordingly, I set out to examine how narratives of popular music's past both afford and constrain identity construction.

Many researchers have convincingly shown the meaning of popular music memories as building blocks for identity (DeNora, 1999; Roy & Dowd, 2010; Van Dijck, 2007). So far,

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[44] An earlier version of this chapter is under review. To avoid repetition, the final two sections of that version are omitted here, although parts of these sections return in the conclusions to this dissertation.

however, there has been little discussion about the factors that might constrain this relationship. This chapter draws upon work that moves beyond an understanding of music as a resource for personal identity construction (DeNora, 1999), and highlights the connections of such individual music practices to wider social dynamics (Hesmondhalgh, 2008, 2013b; Roy & Dowd, 2010; Van Dijck, 2007). In order to understand how popular music is remembered, and how this matters for our sense of self and cultural identity, one needs to consider the relationship between popular music memories and tensions between commercialism and creativity in the cultural and heritage industries. Among other factors, as I will argue in this chapter, copyright and nostalgia affect how popular music's past is narrated.

The next section provides an overview of the literature that explains how narratives enable people to grasp the temporal and historical dimensions of human life. Subsequently, I apply this narrative approach to the study of popular music memories. In particular, I consider how the relationship between popular music memories and identity affords a sense of self, time and place. However, as I will discuss thereafter, narratives of popular music memories can also confine identity construction. These constraints will be examined against the background of a tension between commercialism and creativity in the cultural and heritage industries.

7.2 Narrative approaches to cultural memory and identity

Music has narrative aspects, as songs and lyrics tell stories (Negus, 2012), but I will focus here on narratives *about* music and their relation to the narrative structure of memories and identities. Of course also other (non-narrative) experiences of music, memory and identity exist (Strawson, 2004; Wertsch, 2011). Nevertheless, as I argue herein, this theoretical vantage point enhances our understanding of the relationship between cultural identity and the meanings attached to music from the past. Following Somers' (1994: 616) definition, I will conceive of narratives as "constellations of relationships (connected parts) embedded in time and space, constituted by causal emplotment." In this dissertation, I use this concept to refer to stories about popular music's past and their relation to identity on both personal and collective levels. These narratives range from personal memories, like experiences of love and loss associated with particular songs, to widely shared cultural narratives. However, as will become clear, even personal memories are strongly connected to social memory practices (Van Dijck, 2007).

Narratives are expressed through "culture's countless discursive registers" (Brockmeier, 2002: 27), such as documentaries, blogs, everyday conversations, and museum exhibitions. Often, they narrate similar or overlapping stories, because the same narrative can be expressed through different media, genres and formats. Brockmeier (2002) argues that these narratives give meaning and coherence to what would otherwise be isolated events. Moreover, they enable us to relate our identities to wider cultural narratives: "The stories we tell ourselves about ourselves and others organize our senses of who we are, who others are, and how we are to be related" (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001: 10). Members of a community, for example a music scene or locality, share such stories to give an account of their identity. Furthermore, narratives provide a sense of continuity as they link the past to the present; they enable individuals to see their experiences from a historical perspective: "This is narrative's distinctive capacity to give shape to the temporal dimension of human experience. Put differently, narrative endows the inherent historicity of human existence with cultural meanings" (Brockmeier, 2002: 27). Arguing that recollections and identities are constituted by narratives has important theoretical implications for the study of cultural memories. Below, I will discuss consecutively the selectivity of cultural memories, their reliance upon shared memory practices and their dynamic nature.

Although they are cultural tools for remembering, narratives are also intrinsically intertwined with forgetting (Brockmeier, 2002). According to Wertsch (2000: 515), this relates to the affordances and constraints of narratives: "The constraints in this case involve the fact that any act of emplotment inherently limits one's perspective and results in neglecting information that is available and might be included in another narrative account." However, forgetting does not only have negative consequences. Apart from the fact that it is impossible to remember all past experiences, selection allows us to express what we find important, what is worth remembering, and what has special significance for us. As Brockmeier (2002: 22) argues: "Because remembering as selecting always creates gaps, distortions, contradictions and other incoherences, it is also reconfiguring: by closing or ignoring gaps and omissions, it arranges new orders and creates new coherences." Moreover, it enables us to downplay less favorable experiences. Notwithstanding these positive aspects of forgetting, its potential adverse effects on identity should not be neglected either. This is particularly the case when certain voices are marginalized (Couldry, 2010). Furthermore, this is a question about what is considered to be heritage and what is not (Smith, 2006). What is included in a narrative depends upon the contexts in which narratives are constructed and shared.

To elucidate the differences between individualist and collectivist approaches to memory, Olick (1999) made a distinction between 'collected' and 'collective' memories. Collected memories are theorized as an aggregate of individual memories without presuming that there is a collective memory that transcends the individual. This approach therefore focuses on the remembering subjects. The other theoretical position, which is more in line with the approach taken in this dissertation, emphasizes the social aspects of remembering. Following the latter approach, remembering cannot be reduced to what happens in individual brains, as memories rely on, for example, mnemonic technologies and shared social practices for their recall.

Musical memories, as Van Dijck (2007) contends, are always embedded. They are invoked in specific social settings or through particular mediums, such as exhibitions, documentaries and nostalgic dance parties. These are spaces where personal narratives and wider cultural stories come into dialogue with each other (Rowe *et al.*, 2002). As a consequence, even our autobiographical memories are strongly related to social memory practices: "At issue, then, is a sense of belonging that binds the individual into a culture while binding the culture into the individual's mind." (Brockmeier, 2002: 18). However, this does not mean that individuals passively absorb cultural narratives. Although this dissertation emphasizes the role of the cultural and heritage industries in mediating between cultural narratives and identities, audiences of course have the agency to construct their own readings of these narratives. Audiences will interpret the narratives offered by, for instance, documentaries and exhibitions against the background of their own biographical experiences (Rowe *et al.*, 2002). According to Brockmeier (2002), there is a continuum between personal and social memories. People might, on the basis of their personal experiences, argue with the narratives of the past that are offered to them (Bagnall, 2003). On the other side of the continuum, people could confuse cultural narratives with their own experiences.

How we think about the past is thus strongly related to the ways in which memories are recalled in the present (Van Dijck, 2007). Narratives are socially constructed and might change according to the sociocultural contexts in which they are invoked. Furthermore, the objectives of a particular narrative affect its content. To understand this, we need to think of narratives as an action, namely a process in which meanings are communicated (Brockmeier, 2002). Apart from conveying information or offering entertainment, narratives could, for example, be used to foster a sense of belonging to a community or nation (Wertsch, 2002) or boost a local tourist industry (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014. Typically, a narrative will combine several functions. A documentary maker may seek to give a compelling and accurate

account of past events, but is also expected to engage an audience. Arguably, a music documentary produced for a public television broadcaster will have a different balance between information and entertainment than one for a commercial channel (Long & Wall, 2010). Accordingly, to examine how the past is narrated, we need to look at dynamics in the cultural and heritage industries, because these shape popular music memories in key ways.

7.3 Popular music memories and the cultural and heritage industries

Cultural and heritage industries cater for the interests of both younger and older audiences in music of the past with, for example, music exhibitions, nostalgic documentaries and magazines about 'classic rock'. Like other forms of cultural production, these memory practices can be analyzed through a focus on the tension between creativity and commerce and the widespread conviction that these two forces pull in opposite directions (Hesmondhalgh, 2013a).[45] Producers of cultural content tend to rely on genres and formats that have proved to be successful in the past in order to avoid failures and to give audiences an indication of what to expect of a cultural product (Bielby & Bielby, 1994; Hesmondhalgh, 2013a). Documentary makers, for example, will be aware in the creative process of the prevailing conventions for documentaries and the expectations audiences have about their content. Indeed, they face the challenge of catering for both well-informed music fans as well as a wider audience that may have less critical knowledge of popular music history (Long & Wall, 2010). This is also true for heritage institutions like museums, which use music to reach audiences who are less likely to visit more 'traditional' exhibitions (Leonard, 2010). In these cases, there might be a trade-off between audience maximization and the information value of narratives about popular music's past.

In the field of popular music, this tension between creativity and commerce is often captured in the alleged opposition between the 'mainstream' and 'underground' (Wall, 2003). In this context, underground commonly refers to alternative acts on independent record labels, while mainstream concerns widely known artists with a mass appeal. Although this distinction is too simplistic to capture the field of popular music production – independent and major labels in fact rely on each other in all sorts of ways (Hesmondhalgh, 1999) – it is real in its consequences as a vernacular term that gives meaning to practices of music consumption (Wall, 2003). Halnon (2005) analyzes the appeal of underground music as the expression of

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[45] Of course, creativity and commercial imperatives are not necessarily incompatible. See Hesmondhalgh (2013a) for a further discussion of this tension.

feelings of alienation in a society dominated by commercialism. Even if those 'indie' or 'alternative' acts actually sell millions of albums, they retain a great capacity to attract teenagers who want to distinguish themselves from their mainstream peers.

This opposition between underground and mainstream also gives meaning to the way people engage with music from the past. As discussed in Chapter 4, fans of hardcore house claim that the 'radio-friendly' renditions of hardcore, which had to appeal to a wider mainstream audience, made the music more 'commercial'. A music scene revolving around 'early hardcore' aims to go back to the original sounds of this genre. Similarly, on the production side of music memories, record labels and fan communities dedicated to specific genres attempt to raise awareness of overlooked histories of popular music or 'forgotten artists' (Bennett, 2009). Baker and Huber (2013: 525) highlight the role of affect and the love of music in such practices: "We can think of DIY museums and archives, then, as places in which affect is produced and made possible through community and the process of remembering, and made again through encounters with objects that inspire both these things." Leaver and Schmidt (2010), meanwhile, make a similar observation about music tourism, describing how in the not-for-profit segments of this sector conservation and authenticity are valued above the commercial exploitation of an artist's heritage through place marketing. These studies demonstrate that the meanings attached to music from the past are strongly related to dynamics in the cultural and heritage industries. In the remainder of this chapter, I will analyze how this bears upon the ways in which narratives afford and constrain identity construction.

7.4 How narratives afford identity construction

A sense of self and identity

Unlike the consumption of other cultural forms such as, for example, books and theatre, the experience of listening to a song can be easily repeated, which makes it possible to summon the memories it evokes with very little effort. On hearing a specific song, events are recalled that have shaped the very meanings attached to that piece of music. According to Van Dijck (2007: 86): "Our personal musical repertoire is a living memory that stimulates narrative engagement from the first time we hear a song up to each time we replay it at later stages in life." Researchers on 'media memories' have found that mass media, such as those used to consume music, becomes part of people's life-stories (Bourdon, 2011). Through such

narratives, people articulate what music means to them and how this relates to their sense of self. The interviews that I conducted as part of my dissertation research provide many instances of how such self-narratives are employed to 'organize experiences' (Bruner, 1991) and present a personal identity in relation to music tastes and personal memories. The following two interview quotes below are examples of this:

> *AvdH: Of course I already have an idea of what kind of music you like, because I have read your blog, but could you, anyway, describe your taste in music?*
> *R: Well, then the question actually should be which music I come from, where it began. Because I have a very broad taste in music...I like a lot of different music genres and I believe every music genre has its gems. You would almost limit yourself by not listening to other genres. That can be anything, but where I come from, where I have seen the light, are the alternative bands from the mid-1980s. That is the foundation of my love for music. In 1986 the New Musical Express published a list of the 150 best songs of all time, which I completely devoured. Through this I have developed a very broad taste in music. This list made me think there is so much more. (Interview 31, blogger and organizer dance parties for older music fans, male, 42)*

> *AvdH: Could you tell me something about which music you like?*
> *R: At the moment I particularly like frenchcore, tribecore, tekno and 'early day'. That's also how it started actually, because for years I have been an early gabber so to speak. I also went to all parties related to early gabber and bought everything related to early... aussies[46]... everything I collected. (Interview 21, male, 20)*

In his narrative, the first respondent recalls a specific event (reading the NME list from 1986) and relates this to his openness to a wide range of music genres. Later on in the interview, he explains that his taste in music has recently broadened to include dance music. Thus, he presents himself as a "rounded, musically sensitive" individual (Hesmondhalgh, 2008: 339) who is open to new aesthetic experiences and avoids nostalgia and snobbery. Furthermore, these narratives reveal the temporal aspects of identity. The question about music taste is, for these respondents, related to their sense of self as it has developed over time. Bourdon (2003) finds changes in media consumption patterns to be often related to major transitions in people's life-cycles. He maintains that the memories associated with those forms of media

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[46] Aussies refers to the specific brand of tracksuits that gabbers wear.

offer a sense of time. As the second respondent explains in the quotation above, his identity of being a gabber determined for years the clothes he wore and the parties he attended. For many adolescents, affiliations with music scenes such as gabber, metal or punk provide a stable identity in the transitional period of the teenage years. Generally, the music listened to during such formative experiences and transitional periods retains a special personal meaning (Holbrook & Schindler, 1989). While young people use music to construct an identity, for those who are older it also evokes those very experiences and offers a sense of continuity (DeNora, 1999). As will become clear in the following sections, this engagement with music from the past goes beyond these personal meanings.

A sense of cultural change and nostalgia

Narratives about popular music's past offer a timeline of sociocultural developments, connecting events that exist in a temporal and causal relationship with each other. So, music history is a succession of technological, sociocultural and artistic developments that have shaped popular music as we know it today. By means of its relation to, for example, old fashions, musical objects such as vinyl and devices like transistor radios, music signifies the passing of time. Music, in other words, evokes a sense of what things were like in the past and thus how things have changed. Against this background, claims that music from the past is more authentic and less commercial can be understood. As Hayes (2006: 52) argues about the 'pro-vinyl youth' who buy LPs from the past in search of a more authentic musical experience:

> Through their retrogressive tastes and practices, these youth effectively disrupt the music industry's efforts to define and regulate their consumer identities, thus restoring a degree of autonomy to an economic relation widely perceived to be over-determined by corporate objectives, youth-oriented marketing campaigns, legal action and other forms of control advocated by the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA).

Similarly, certain music audiences loathe voice enhancing tools like auto-tune or the advent of electronic music. Such narratives give an account of how technological developments are incorporated in the daily lives and consumption patterns of media users (Bourdon, 2011).

Others, in contrast, regard this resistance to contemporary musical developments as nostalgia, namely a rose-tinted understanding of the past that follows on from negative feelings about the present (Davis, 1979). Vinyl buying youths might underestimate the extent

to which artists from the past were also subject to economic rationales (Hayes, 2006). Irrespective of the question of whether things were better back then, this demonstrates how older musical forms are used as resources to produce narratives that question contemporary sociocultural practices. As such, nostalgia is a way of engaging with cultural change, offering people a sense of continuity in their identities by connecting past and present cultural practices (Davis, 1979).

A sense of place and local identity

As a 'mnemonic cultural object' (Neiger, Meyers & Zandberg, 2011), popular music evokes memories that constitute local communities. Furthermore, songs might elicit memories of what places were like in the past. This could, for example, be related to a lost sense of community in working class areas after processes of urban regeneration or deindustrialization. Roberts (2014) gives the example of Birmingham in the UK, where music, the local steel industry and history give form to a local heritage that is celebrated in music archives and the 'Home of Metal' exhibition.[47] In particular, he finds that the "interweaving of local music heritage with industrial heritage and social history can give voice to working-class communities and identities that would otherwise struggle to secure a stake in more official forms of local heritage discourse" (Roberts, 2014: 268).

The capacity of this heritage to give a voice to working-class communities highlights the importance of popular music heritage in terms of recognition and a sense of belonging. Furthermore, such narratives are used to underline the cultural achievements of particular localities. These local identities typically take on their specific meaning in relation to other places that are more readily recognized for their cultural value. This is epitomized in a quote by record label owner and journalist Tony Wilson: "But this is Manchester: we do things differently here." This phrase, positioning Manchester in relation to England's cultural center of London (Redfern, 2005), now adorns mugs and bags that can be bought in Manchester's Visitor Information Centre. Brandellero and Janssen (2014) demonstrate that local music heritage is used on tourist websites and in city guides to market places. By using these narratives to frame local music practices, journalists further perpetuate such local identities.

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[47] www.homeofmetal.com/ (accessed June 2013).

7.5 Constraints on narratives and identity construction

Notwithstanding the many positive contributions of music to identity, various factors might negatively affect this relationship. Given music's role in negotiating recognition and a sense of belonging, it is crucial that narratives adequately represent the diversity of musical experiences.

In this section, I will discuss how copyright, a lack of accuracy, and the relationship between narratives and place might constrain engagement with popular music's past. These three aspects manifest a negotiation between commercial imperatives and established narratives on the one hand, and opportunities for new narratives that question received notions of popular music's past on the other.

In her analysis of a Dutch multimedia event revolving around music history, Van Dijck (2007: 97) highlights "the importance of public space for sharing personal stories and constructing a collective musical kinship, which in turn feeds individual creativity and identity." The development of such a space for the exploration of a common past can be hampered by a too strict copyright regime. Although copyright is central and vital to the way in which the cultural industries operate, as it aims to ensure fair remuneration for producers of cultural content, it might also limit access to those very cultural products. Heritage practitioners and others working with material from the past are dependent upon the cultural artifacts available to them. When it is too expensive to get permission to use the material or find the copyright holders, it cannot be used in, for example, exhibitions or documentaries. Larsen and Nærland (2010: 54) found that "copyright has implications not only for creative choices but also for the kinds of stories documentarians choose to tell." In my interviews, curators and archivists made similar claims that copyright has prevented them from presenting certain material to the public. This problem is even more salient for independent producers and DIY preservationists, as they often do not have sufficient financial and legal resources to reuse cultural content such as music and archival footage (Larsen & Nærland, 2010). However, their work is particularly vital when it comes to the diversity of the voices narrating popular music's past.

A second issue that concerns the content of narratives about music's past is the reliability and accuracy of personal memories and public accounts thereof; memories are not fixed, but change when they are being recalled (Van Dijck, 2007). In his discussion of a re-enactment of David Bowie's last concert as Ziggy Stardust, Reynolds (2011) provides an illustrative example of how media shape personal recollections. To recreate this concert, artists Iain Forsyth and Jane Pollard used footage from a documentary by D.A. Pennebaker:

'Pennebaker's film makes the gig look red,' says Forsyth. 'It turned out to be something to do with the 16-mm film that he used. But we decided to have the lighting make the gig look red, because even people who had gone to the original gig, through watching the movie over and over, it had distorted their memory.' (Reynolds, 2011: 45-46).

This is of course a harmless example, but music's relation to nostalgia can also involve more seriously 'colored' conceptions of the past. For example, rock's alleged connection to protest and individualism might cloud how these values have been incorporated into discourses of commercialism and hedonistic self-realization. As Hesmondhalgh (2008: 335) argues: "When dozens of nostalgic rock documentaries look back to the glory years of rock rebellion, they provide a comfortable picture of bohemianism for older viewers now immersed in a very different kind of autonomy." This highlights the importance of counter-narratives, which problematize prevailing notions of the past. An example of this is the BBC documentary *Why I Hate the Sixties: The Decade That Was Too Good to Be True*, which purports to uncover the myths surrounding this period. Similarly, an exhibition on this decade in York Castle Museum questions the pace of the cultural changes that took place and the extent to which emancipatory ideals spread across British society.

In terms of the music of this decade, curators of 1960s exhibitions have to take the expectations of their audiences into account. In the next quotation, a coordinator of an exhibition at Bokrijk, a Belgian open-air museum, explains that the conceptions people have of the 1960s are not always representative of this period:

> *We deliberately decided to not let the sound of the Beatles and the Stones dominate. Although that gives the feeling of the 1960s people now have, and what everybody still knows, we deliberately also give attention to the Elvis of the early 1960s, Italian music, German language music and orchestral music, which was often used in television shows. (Interview 41, coordinator 'the Sixties', Domein Bokrijk, Belgium)*

In their construction of the popular music heritage of the 1960s, curators need to strike a balance between offering the well-known stories and evoking memories that have become less salient over the years.

Narratives might also constrain identity construction when they obscure the diversity of experiences in a given locality. The reliance on established genres and conventions in the cultural and heritage industries might impede the narration of alternative conceptions of

popular music's past. Narratives about the alleged connections between a place and certain sounds can become a kind of myth, drawing attention away from the actual musical diversity of a locality. This is particularly the case when more attention is paid to the musical legacy of a city than to its contemporary music culture. Furthermore, an essentialist notion of local identity obscures how places in fact change over the course of time. A patriotic focus on the cultural identity of a particular locality neglects the fact that musical creativity is often the result of artistic influences from other places. As Massey (1995a) argues, places are the products of shifting interrelations and are thus always under construction. Patterns of migration bring new sounds to urban settings and may alter or diversify the musical cultures of a given locality. In relation to this, Khabra (2014) notes how the sense of Britishness constructed at the British Music Experience at the O2 Arena in London fails to engage with the contributions of the Indian community to this popular music heritage:

> Notably, this exhibit marginalises Bhangra music, constructing a narrative that includes significant mentions of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Glam Rock, Punk, Reggae, the 90s Manchester music scene and Britpop. It becomes clear from progressing through the exhibit that this is a narrative of British popular music that British Bhangra is not a part of. (Khabra, 2014: 349-350).

Moreover, such a canonized narrative of rock music might overlook the contributions of other genres, local artists and bands without major record label deals to the development of popular music (Hayes, 2006). This highlights what are both the strengths and weaknesses of narratives. As 'cultural tools' for remembering (Wertsch, 2011), they give coherent and compelling accounts of the past. However, these narratives also smooth out contradictions and reduce the past to a single viewpoint (Long & Wall, 2010). As Wertsch (2011: 28) asks with reference to the affordances and constraints of narratives: "By emplotting events in one way, are we blind to seeing them in others?"

8

Concluding remarks and practical implications

In this chapter, I reflect upon the main findings of this study. I will first return to the central research question and discuss the scientific contributions, before then exploring directions for further research and, finally, discussing the practical implications of my work.

8.1 Conclusions

In this dissertation, I have examined the relationship between popular music, memory and identity by addressing the following research question: *How do narratives of popular music heritage and cultural memory – as they are constructed and disseminated by the cultural and heritage industries and through grassroots preservation practices – resonate with cultural identities on personal, local, national and European levels?* To provide a response, I have used a narrative approach to memory and identity (Brockmeier, 2002), which looks at remembering as a form of 'mediated action' (Wertsch, 2002) that links personal biographies to collective experiences. This perspective entails three theoretical notions that I have developed further in relation to popular music: cultural memories are selective, they rely upon social memory practices and, accordingly, their content is affected by the sociocultural contexts in which they are invoked. This narrative approach to memory allowed me to theorize how individual biographies connect to wider cultural narratives. People have the agency to appropriate such narratives in personal ways, but do so in the context of memory practices in which narratives are shared. Therefore, I have studied the actors involved in producing memory practices as well as the audiences who participate in such practices. In so doing, I conceived of music as a resource that is implicated in both the reflection of existing identities and the construction of new ones (Born, 2000). In line with this, I have examined the ways in which the cultural and heritage industries and grassroots preservation practices mediate attachments to popular music from the past.

Following the definition of popular music as a commercial cultural form that is highly dependent on media for its production, distribution and consumption, the first substudy started off with the introduction of commercial radio in the Netherlands by 'pirate station' Radio Veronica. This chapter demonstrated that the media used for listening to popular music have become part of localized heritage practices. In the following chapter, I addressed how, besides

the music itself, also popular music memories are commercially valorized by the cultural industries. From this study of nostalgic dance parties follows a distinction between *early* and *decade* parties. The former actively seeks to re-construct musical identities, while the latter offers a more transient musical experience. This shows that the relationships between memory, identity and nostalgia can take different forms depending on the particular sociocultural setting.

The subsequent two chapters focused on the relationship between local and national identity and popular music as a global cultural phenomenon. Chapter 5 examined the role of heritage institutions and bottom-up heritage initiatives in the construction of popular music as a form of cultural heritage. This study contributes to the existing literature on heritage by exploring how place is given meaning through music exhibitions and archives. These practices offer a sense of pride in local communities and provide a timeline of sociocultural developments. To further examine the connections between place and popular music heritage, the next substudy focused on the tensions between the local and transnational aspects of popular music heritage by exploring how 'the sixties' are remembered in Europe. This chapter concludes that the local and national framing of popular music's past is in many cases at odds with the European Union's cultural policies that seek to construct and foster a sense of European identity. Although this chapter discussed impediments to a European memory culture of the sixties, it also introduced nascent memory practices that offer more international accounts of this period. Travelling exhibitions and multi-lingual heritage websites such as Europeana provide transnational platforms for the narration of popular music's past. While many of the examined memory practices in this dissertation are manifestations of local and national identities, this chapter thus discussed attempts to construct transnational narratives of memory and identity.

On the basis of these substudies, I conclude that popular music memories enable a sense of self, time and place. Interestingly, in many cases it is not the music itself that has the most dominant place in popular music memories. Narratives of popular music heritage and memory often revolve around music related objects and stories that are connected to the ways in which popular music is consumed, produced and distributed. Although I conclude that popular music memories contribute to a sense of identity, I also find that tensions between creativity and commercialism in the cultural industries can constrain engagements with popular music's past. Strict copyright regimes, the inaccuracy of memories, and narratives that misrepresent the diversity of musical experiences in a place are examples of such potential impediments. In other words, cultural industry workers and heritage practitioners

face the task of striking a balance between attempts to construct innovative narratives on the one hand, and to reach a wide audience on the other. This reminds us that popular music memories, like any other engagements with popular music, are shaped by wider sociocultural forces (Hesmondhalgh 2013b).

Now I turn to my findings and reflections on DIY preservationism and local identity, because these two aspects of the central research question merit closer attention.

DIY preservationism

In this dissertation, I found that practices of popular music remembering often involve making distinctions between what audiences describe as 'mainstream' or 'commercial' music and the music they would like to preserve. Although these terms might be regarded as commonplace notions that do not do justice to the complexities of cultural production, they do give meaning to the ways in which people engage with popular music (Wall, 2003). The narrative of the pirates, for instance, is that they play the music that is neglected by the established media (Chapter 3), while the audiences at the early parties discussed in Chapter 4 distance themselves from the commercialization of hardcore music. Furthermore, practices of DIY preservationism aim to raise awareness of lesser known artists and narratives (Bennett, 2009).

Communities or music scenes that feel that their heritage is not fairly represented can take it upon themselves to narrate histories that are under the radar of media and heritage institutions. As this dissertation demonstrates, non-professionals such as fans have a pivotal role in the construction of popular music as a form of cultural heritage. Instances of DIY preservationism discussed in this dissertation are the 'heritage streams' used to broadcast old recordings of pirate radio stations, websites narrating local music histories, and grassroots archiving practices. Moore and Pell (2010) highlight the role of archives in recording histories that might counter prevailing narratives. As places where views of the past are negotiated, archives might eventually change public knowledge of music history. DIY preservationists often use the internet to make their archives accessible to a wider audience. In relation to this, it is argued that the internet, through its 'new technologies of voice' (Couldry, 2010), further increases the number of voices narrating popular music's past (Cohen, 2013).

Undoubtedly, developments in the online sphere have enhanced access to popular music from the past (and present). Old video clips, interviews and recordings are digitized and shared, DIY preservationists record local music histories on a very detailed level, and fan communities collate a wide range of digital artifacts on their websites. From indo-rock in the

1950s to early hardcore house in the 1990s, every community or scene has at least one place on the internet to present its legacy. This allows people to share collective memories that constitute generational and local identities. Furthermore, the internet offers plenty of platforms to share autobiographical memories. An example is BBC Memoryshare, where people are invited to tell their stories. However, this does not necessarily mean that all those voices are also being heard by the public, historians or heritage practitioners (Macnamara, 2013). Practices of popular music heritage in established cultural institutions can have more cultural legitimacy. As a result, the voices of DIY preservationists – be it online or offline - will not always resonate beyond the confines of their own community. Of course, projects of DIY preservationism often have a different scope from the established media and cultural industries in terms of commercial objectives and professional standards (Brandellero, Van der Hoeven & Janssen, forthcoming). In bottom-up preservation practices, the social rewards of such activities, as well as the affective connections between people and music, are more important than commercial imperatives (Baker & Huber, 2013; Baym & Burnett, 2009).

Place and identity

The connections between popular music memories and local identity are another central aspect in this dissertation. The substudies presented in Chapters 3 to 6 elucidate and qualify the meanings of place in the memory practices of both the cultural and heritage industries and DIY preservationists. They often frame narratives from a local or national perspective. As such, popular music memories offer a sense of place and local identity. Museums and archives provide 'timelines' of local developments through their memory practices. These connect to local references such as historical events, the built environment and sociocultural life in particular communities. When narratives function as a timeline, they highlight how places have developed over time. This often involves a sense of cultural pride in the musical accomplishments of a region, city or country.

Accordingly, I conclude that narratives of popular music memory and heritage in many cases revolve around local and national identities. Generally, these have a higher salience for audiences, because they resonate with local and national 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991). In that sense, many of the memory practices studied in this dissertation reproduce existing identities. Of course, this does not mean that transnational aspects of popular music are absent in Dutch popular music memories. Indeed, the international canon of popular music has a significant place in Dutch narratives of memory and heritage. Moreover,

I have also discussed examples of transnational memory practices that seek to construct a European identity. In the chapter on the popular music heritage of the 1960s, I examined how DIY preservationists use the internet to present transnational narratives of popular music's past. Notwithstanding these developments, I find that local and national identities remain dominant in the ways in which cultural and heritage industries mediate popular music memories. The international aspects of popular music are represented through a local lens. These geographical levels resonate with the lived experiences of their audiences and the local embeddedness of these institutions. Pirate station Radio Veronica, for example, is a Dutch reference point in the advent of popular music in the Netherlands. Dutch popular music heritage is inseparable from global developments in popular music, but this does not mean that globalization erodes local (musical) identities; local and national institutions still matter (Calhoun, 2007). In the case of popular music memories, they provide temporal depth to the ways in which cities, regions and countries are experienced. In other words, popular music memories both constitute and are constituted of local and national 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991).

To theorize this relationship between music and place, I drew on Massey's (1995a) conceptualization of place, because her work focuses on the meaning of local identities, while not losing sight of their interconnections to other places. This is vital because it sensitizes one to the ways in which places change over time, and local identities are also formed by contacts that transcend the local. In relation to popular music memories in particular, I have used this theoretical perspective to argue that narratives might constrain identity construction when they neglect how local musical identities are shaped by the ever-evolving and changing interactions between people, places and cultures. As popular music memories matter to our sense of self and identity, it is important that they represent the diversity of musical experiences in and between localities.

Scientific Contributions

This dissertation adds to the field of heritage studies an understanding of the ways in which popular music, as a commercial form of entertainment, has become part of heritage discourses. This study has brought together literature from different academic fields in order to explore the links between memory, heritage and identity. It extends our knowledge of how narratives of popular music memory and heritage function as 'cultural tools' (Wertsch, 2002) for remembering. Furthermore, this study has explored new memory practices, such as

nostalgic dance parties and 'heritage streams' to broadcast old radio recordings. In so doing, it has provided empirical evidence of the role of bottom-up memory practices in preserving musical identities. I moved beyond existing knowledge on music's contribution to identity construction by looking at factors that can constrain this relationship. Narratives of heritage can legitimize certain experiences and identities, but also neglect the sociocultural significance of other memories and communities. Finally, my research demonstrates that because music is a commercial form of culture, dynamics of production and consumption in the music industry affect how narratives of popular music heritage take shape.

To the field of popular music studies, this dissertation has contributed by examining how musical identities develop over time. Due to its ubiquitous presence in our everyday lives –both in happy and sad times–, music has a particularly strong relationship to memory. Popular music memories connect the past and present and make people aware of how their lives have evolved. These findings are in agreement with the growing attention paid to questions of ageing in studies of media and popular culture (Harrington & Bielby, 2010). My research supports the contention that popular music should not be studied as something that is exclusively associated with youth culture (Bennett, 2006). Indeed, older people also have strong attachments to popular music. The number of adults going to popular music concerts has increased, particularly in the 35-65 age group (Van den Broek *et al.*, 2009), while many young people are very interested in the music their parents grew up with (Hayes, 2006). The memory practices of the cultural and heritage industries feed into the popular music memories of these audiences. Cultural and heritage industries mediate narratives with which people can identify, because these memories resonate with their biographical experiences. My dissertation demonstrates how for younger audiences, who might have no living memory of particular musical events, the memory practices of the cultural and heritage industries function as a form of socialization. In that sense, popular music memories bridge generations (Van Dijck, 2007). In multi-generational music communities, memories are a medium for continuity. In Chapter 4, for example, I examined the meaning of nostalgic dance parties when it comes to maintaining musical identities. These parties, although the same holds true for other memory practices discussed in this dissertation, pass popular music heritages on between generations. This explains the relative consistency of the styles and appearances of some music cultures.

8.2 Discussion and future research

This dissertation focused on the relationship between music, memory and identity. However, as Negus and Roman Velazquez (2002) remind us, music is more than identity. Accordingly, in this section, I reflect on a number of themes that relate to the main findings, but fall outside the scope of this study due to my theoretical and methodological focus. I will also provide directions for future research based on the conclusions of this work.

My dissertation shows that popular music memories relate to people's sense of self and the ways in which they present themselves to others; they appropriate narratives of cultural and heritage industries on the basis of their own biographical experiences. Further research is required to establish how people's engagement with popular music from the past is related to patterns of cultural taste. How does nostalgic cultural consumption fit into the musical habitus (Rimmer, 2012)? Are cultural omnivores more inclined to combine the consumption of music from the past with contemporary music? And how are representations of popular music heritage affected by the segmentation of audiences into distinct groups that cluster around specific genres and cultural products (Janssen, 2005)? For example, Van Dijck (2007) has analyzed the role of the Dutch Top 2000 events in building a national heritage. However, this event is also often criticized for its 'middle-of-the-road' approach to popular music history. This led a group of bloggers to come up with an alternative list: the Snob 2000.[48] Their respective number ones (Queen and Queens of the Stone Age) reflect the different cultural sensibilities of these two lists. My work demonstrates that popular music can constitute a shared heritage. However, equally important are questions about those who do not identify with, or are excluded from, particular narratives of popular music heritage. Indeed, this also relates to processes of canonization (Schmutz & Faupel, 2010).

I have argued that cultural and heritage industries mediate how people engage with popular music memories. Future research could examine the role of history writing in narrating popular music's past. History and heritage are often conceived as antithetic. According to this line of reasoning, history implies the critical detachment that memory lacks. Further studies are needed to explore the ways in which popular music is historicized. This could, for example, focus on the tensions between histories produced by the cultural industries, such as those constructed in documentaries (Huber, 2011) and more traditional forms of historiography. The transnational turn in historiography (Klimke, 2010) could

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[48] http://ondergewaardeerdeliedjes.nl/2013/12/23/snob-2000-2013/ (accessed April 2014).

further facilitate the study of popular music's role in the historical connections between different cultures and countries.

The focus in this dissertation has been on a European context and the Netherlands in particular. More comparative research is needed to study popular music memories in other countries. In Chapter 6, I discussed the diversity of popular music cultures and memory practices in Europe. Whereas the UK, for example, has a more dominant place in the global music industry than the Netherlands, Austria has a much stronger heritage of classical music (Reitsamer, 2014). Future research could further explore how local and national cultural policies and institutional settings shape the ways in which popular music is remembered. Furthermore, the role of language in different musical cultures and traditions deserves further attention.

Finally, a rich and important field of research that falls outside the scope of this dissertation explores how music's strong relation to memory can be used in therapeutic interventions that help people who suffer from, for example, dementia. A possible area of future research would be to explore the role of popular music memories in coping with the 'broken narratives' caused by illness or trauma (Hydén & Brockmeier, 2011).

8.3 Recommendations and practical implications

This dissertation has been concerned with the emerging field of popular music heritage. In this final section, I highlight some opportunities and challenges in its further development. Furthermore, I formulate recommendations for policy makers, curators, archivists and others involved in the field of popular music heritage.

Throughout this dissertation, I have documented a wide range of practices of popular music heritage. I concluded that professionals, as well as amateur archivists and fans, contribute to the preservation of popular music's past. As this material is dispersed in many different institutions and private collections, it is a challenge to keep it accessible to future generations. In 2013, the World Music Forum NL held an expert meeting on the future of Dutch music archives and collections. This meeting followed on from concerns about the sustainability of various collections. A report produced following the meeting (Van Hamersveld, 2013) mentions several examples of valuable music archives and collections that ended up on flea markets or in charity shops. As a consequence, it calls for a central place, such as an institute, knowledge center or online portal, to where collectors and archivists can

turn if they want to store or donate their collections. This could also prevent the dispersion of collections, which was another risk mentioned during the meeting.

An up to date overview of all public and private practices of music preservation is missing. In 2010, in a project commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the Music Center the Netherlands (MCN) and the Netherlands Music Institute (NMI) explored the possibilities for an online portal to music archives in the Netherlands (MCN & NMI, 2010). At the moment, this project (www.muzikaalerfgoed.nl) is largely on hold due to a lack of funding.[49] However, I want to emphasize the importance of such a central portal that gives access to the rich musical heritage of the Netherlands. Moore and Pell (2010: 264) contend that: "As cultural repositories become further decentralised, the task of heritage communities remains to ensure their coherence through the development of new forms of structures and networks, the majority of which will occur in cyberspace."

In this dissertation, I found that many heritage practitioners struggle with copyright regulations. Therefore, the possible online portal mentioned above could also collate advice on copyright issues and preservation practices and function as an access point to existing knowledge and resources. The Netherlands Coalition for Digital Preservation already shares a great deal of information on enhancing the sustainability of digital resources, while the DEN foundation, a Dutch knowledge center for digital heritage, supports archives, museums and other heritage institutions to improve their digital strategies and services.[50] In order to connect music archives in the context of a digital portal, they will need compatible cataloguing systems. The cataloguing guidelines for community archives produced by the UK Community Archives and Heritage Group can help DIY preservationists to develop systematic archiving practices.[51] This could enhance further collaborations between amateur and professional archivists, even if their conceptions of what constitutes heritage might sometimes be in tension (Flinn, 2007). These collaborations might even be necessary when funding cuts threaten the preservation of popular music culture. For established heritage institutions, collaborations could entail greater access to relevant material. Moreover, it allows DIY preservationists to find a larger audience and develop their practices in a more institutional setting.

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[49] As of 2013, the MCN had ended its activities, because the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science stopped subsidizing the organization. The NMI also lost its national funding and will merge with The Hague Municipal Archives.
[50] www.ncdd.nl and www.den.nl (accessed March 3014).
[51] http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/ (accessed March 2014).

In the previous chapter, I found that narratives of popular music memories are always selective, because remembering is inextricably interrelated with forgetting (Brockmeier, 2002). Inevitably, every heritage organization has to make decisions about what should be preserved and what should not. This is a difficult task, as we often cannot predict the future value of objects. In this dissertation, I have argued that how we think of popular music's past is subject to change, as are the ways in which we evaluate and classify genres, artists and popular music ephemera. To help people working in the field of heritage with the process of valuing, the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (2014) has developed a useful tool that can be downloaded from its website.[52] For amateur and professional collectors and archivists alike, this tool can facilitate the process of making informed decisions on what should be preserved, as stated in the agency's report:

> Knowledge is indispensable for arriving at a meaningful valuation. The new method accepts that professionals – such as curators, collection managers, educational and PR staff and restorers – are not the only ones who possess knowledge about museum objects and collections. This knowledge is also held by others, by non-professionals such as members of the public, patrons, lenders, enthusiasts, tourists and 'ordinary people'. (Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, 2014: 5)

This tool can be used by DIY preservationists to professionalize their practices and to enable them to better communicate the sociocultural value of these collections to external stakeholders (e.g. funding agencies or donors).

My dissertation has documented the increasing attention paid to popular music in heritage discourses. It should be clear by now that popular music memories provide rich opportunities for the cultural and heritage industries to connect to local identities and the biographical experiences of their audiences. At the same time, there is a fear that popular music loses its provocativeness and creativity when the rebellious musicians of yesteryear become part of cultural heritage discourses (Reynolds, 2011; Roberts, 2014). Nostalgia can be a meaningful way of engaging with the past, but I have argued that music's relation to experiences of time and place can also involve regressive notions of musical identity. Furthermore, it might compromise more inquisitive studies of popular music culture. When narratives become bland or clichéd, they no longer surprise or offer new insights into music's sociocultural meanings. Cultural and heritage institutions have to critically analyze the

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[52] http://www.cultureelerfgoed.nl/waarderen (accessed March 2014).

broader social context of popular music objects and sometimes dare to challenge the expectations of audiences (Moore, 1997). It is possible to preserve popular music culture without doing harm to its urgency and falling prey to 'retromania' (Reynolds, 2011), for example by exploring popular music culture from different vantage points, like its connections to art, fashion, the public space and politics. To this end, adequate resources in terms of time, funding and expertise are desirable. Well-researched narratives can move beyond a mere appeal to audience's memories by challenging received notions about popular music's past. In that case, music narratives connect the past and the present as a source of inspiration for the future.

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Appendices

Appendix A: List of interviewees

The following list provides an overview of the respondents included in this dissertation. In most cases, I give the age of respondents at the time of the interview between brackets. I also indicate the date of the interview and where the organization is based, or, in the case of audience members, where they live. Various interviews were conducted by telephone (indicated with an asterisk), and some were carried out either with Amanda Brandellero (**) or by Amanda Brandellero alone (***).

Interview	Gender (age)	Background	Date
1	Male (47)	Internet radio station (Dutch language music), broadcasting from 's-Hertogenbosch.	4-3-11
2	Male (30)	Former pirate (Baarn).	10-3-11
3	Male (43)	Former pirate, DJ internet radio station (Dutch language music), broadcasting from Waddinxveen.	16-3-11
4	Male (33) & male (45)	Owners of an internet radio station and pirates (occasional illegal broadcasts), broadcasting from the Limburg region.	24-3-11
5	Male (63)	Former employee Radio Veronica, now archivist (Norderney Foundation, Hilversum).	30-3-11
6	Male (53)	Fan of Radio Veronica, punk collector and founder Offshore Radio Club (Amsterdam). Known as 'Stempel' (see introduction).	3-4-11
7	Female (44), male (51), male (38), male (54) & male	DJs Internet radio station (heritage stream), broadcasting from Zoetermeer. Two of them are directors of a record label.	3-4-11
8	Male (45) & female	Former pirates and owner of an internet radio station (Barendrecht).	4-9-11
9	Male (50)	Former pirate and DJ of an internet radio station (heritage stream), broadcasting from Dordrecht.	27-4-11
10	Male (49)	Former pirate and editor of a website about pirate radio (Klazienaveen).	11-5-11
11**	Male (48)	Employee Boekman Stichting / Listener offshore radio (Amsterdam).	13-5-11
12**	Male	Archivist Music Center the Netherlands (Amsterdam).	13-5-11
13*	Female	Representative of the Radio Communications	31-5-11

		Agency (Groningen).	
14**	Male (49)	Director Museum RockArt (Hoek van Holland).	13-7-11
15*	Male (59)	Fan of pirate radio (Gieten).	9-8-11
16	Male (42) & male (42)	Former pirates and organizers Italo parties (Hoek van Holland).	24-8-11
17*	Male	Music producer, audio engineer and documentary maker.	17-10-11
18	Male (32)	Party organizer based in Utrecht.	25-8-11
19	Male (31)	Party organizer based in Alkmaar.	29-9-11
20	Male (43)	DJ and independent mental health care professional (The Hague).	2-9-11
21*	Male (20)	Member fan community ('Gabbers in Trainingspak') and amateur DJ (Alkmaar).	25-10-11
22*	Male (34)	Accountant (Ravenstein).	22-12-11
23	Male (39)	Security Officer (Zwijndrecht).	28-10-11
24	Male (21)	Factory worker (Dordrecht).	29-10-11
25	Female (23)	Student (Bennebroek).	24-11-11
26	Female (24)	Student (Lisse).	2-12-11
27	Male (21)	Warehouse employee (Maarheeze).	9-12-11
28	Female (31)	Bank employee (Nijmegen).	16-12-11
29	Female (33)	Art teacher (Hoofddorp).	6-1-12
30	Male (47) & female (43)	Shopkeepers (Breda).	24-1-12
31	Male (42)	Communication advisor, blogger and organizer dance parties for older music fans (Amsterdam).	22-2-12
32	Male (34)	Unemployed (Schiedam).	27-2-12
33***	Female	Curator 'geef mij maar Amsterdam' (Amsterdam Museum).	17-8-11
34**	Female	Curator 'God Save the Queen - Kunst, kraak, punk: 1977-1984' (Centraal Museum Utrecht).	3-4-12
35***	Male	Editor-in-chief and head of research Media Experience at The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (Hilversum).	6-6-11
36*	Male (69)	Editor streektaalzang.nl (Vlissingen).	2-5-12
37**	Male	Curator 'Golden Earring – Back Home' (Historical Museum of The Hague).	9-5-12
38***	Male	Editor Zaanse Pophistorie (http://www.zaansepophistorie.nl/).	8-5-12
39*	Male	Deputy director and curator Contemporary Art (Drents Museum).	3-7-12
40	Male (43)	Editor Europopmusic.eu (based in the Netherlands).	8-11-12

41*	Female & female	Former conservator and coordinator 'De Sixties' (Domein Bokrijk, Belgium).	5-12-12
42	Female	Curator 'Flower Power' (Limburgs Museum Venlo).	13-12-12
43	Male	Business Developer GLAM Relations (Europeana, The Hague).	19-2-13
44	Male (45)	Editor Ready Steady Girls (based in the United Kingdom).	22-3-13
45	Male (58)	Coordinator `Het geluid van Rotterdam' (i.e. 'The Sound of Rotterdam').	8-3-12
46	Male, male (57)	Drummer Normaal and Archivist Pop archive Achterhoek/Liemers.	25-4-12
47**	Male	Curator 'Special Request' and art handler Centraal Museum Utrecht.	3-4-12
48	Male (53)	Punk collector (Beverwijk), known as 'Broodje' (see introduction).	1-10-13

Appendix B: Topic guides

In the POPID project, topic guides were shared between all of the researchers. The list below provides an overview of the themes and type of questions that these topic guides contained. For my own interviews, I constructed topic guides based on these sets of questions and other subjects related to the specific phenomena under study (e.g. pirate radio and dance music).

Organizational perspective
- Rationale for establishment of the organization
- Aims and objectives of the organization
    o Have these changed since the date of establishment and if so in what way?
    o How are these stated aims and objectives translated in the daily work of the organization?
    o Are there other aims and objectives, beyond the officially stated ones, that form the practice of the organization? How did these come about?
- What is the geographical remit of the organization?
    o Explore national, regional and local remit.
- If the organization has a wider remit than popular music, what is its principal focus?
    o How does popular music fit in?
    o How is this structured?
- Aims and objectives of interviewee's position
    o Have these changed since the date of establishment and if so in what way?
    o Are there other aims and objectives, beyond the officially stated ones, that form the practice of the organization? How did these come about?
- How is the organization funded? Explore public and private funding.

Content of collection
- What material does your collection cover relating to popular music?
    o Type of material
      Catalogue sections: by genre, by period, by place?
    o Are there sections that are more comprehensive than others? Are there any gaps in the material? Please explain why this may be the case.

- How does the organization collect its material?
    - Sources; donations; acquisitions
    - In house research
- How is the collection catalogued and stored?
    - Digital collection; record storage…
    - Public access
- How is your catalogue used?
    - Internally/externally?
    - Please provide some examples.

Heritage and identity

- What is your understanding of the term 'cultural heritage'? [Do you regard it as a meaningful/useful term in relation to your organization?]
- In what ways does the work of your organization inform ideas of local or national heritage in (country)?
- In what ways does the work of your organization inform ideas of local/regional or national identity in (country)?
- What is the organization's relationship to other heritage institutions?
- To what extent does your organization consider popular music as integral to the cultural heritage of (country)?
    - Specific activities in place to support this?
    - Relation to other cultural heritage institutions?
- How does you organization address issues of inclusivity [or inclusiveness] and diversity in popular music history in [your country]?

External links

- Does the organization collaborate with other organizations?
    - If yes, in what fields of activity?
    - Explore links with other cultural organizations or with the music industry
    - Explore links across space, including international links.

Audiences

- What are the organization's audiences?

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- How do audiences approach the organization and for what reasons?
    - Are there generational differences in how audiences relate to your organization?
- In what ways does your organization promote its visibility to external audiences?
    - Activities?
    - Own communication strategy?
    - Does your organization target different audiences differently?

Policy

- Have there been specific policies that have impacted positively or negatively on your organization's work?
    - European, national, regional, local
    - Active role in policy development and framing?

Personal perspective

- What was your first record?
- What are your musical preferences and tastes?
- How would you describe your own personal connection to Dutch popular music?
    - Explore specific memories of events, bands, venues
    - Explore personal practices connected to popular music (amateur/professional musical practice; listening; attendance to musical performances; participation in discussions on popular music; policy engagement)
- What are your views on the visibility and coverage of Dutch popular music in
    - Publications; Documentaries and TV series; Radio; Photography; other?
    - Other cultural heritage institutions (historical museums, heritage sites)
    - Are there sub-genres/periods/localities that get more/less attention? Should that be different in your view?
- What are your views on the way Dutch popular music is represented in the abovementioned outlets?
    - Is there a dominant account of its history and development?
    - How is this shaped and by whom?
    - Has there been a change in time?

- What are your views on Dutch popular music since the late 1950s?
    - Explore views on its history and development
    - Views on its position in relation to other genres/popular music from other countries
- How does the development of popular music in the (country) compare to other countries you are familiar with?
- In your view, does popular music heritage contribute to shaping a sense of identity in the (country)?
    - National, regional and local level
    - If yes, in what way does this occur?
- What are your views on the relevance to the study of popular music in the (country) of the localities we have selected for POPID? Do you have other suggestions?

Appendix C: Websites

The following websites were consulted for background information during the research for this dissertation:[53]

www.3voor12.nl	Multimedia platform for alternative popular music
www.50jaarnederpop.nl	Dutch popular music canon (no longer online)
www.90snow.nl	90s Now: 1990s parties
www.agentschaptelecom.nl	Dutch Radiocommunications Agency
www.amsterdammuseum.nl	Amsterdam Museum
www.arte.tv	Arte: Franco-German TV network
www.azanorak.com	Archive of recordings of offshore radio stations
www.beeldengeluid.nl	The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision
www.birminghammusicarchive.com	Birmingham Music Archive
www.beatlesmuseum.nl	Beatles Museum Alkmaar
www.boekman.nl	Study Center for arts, culture and related policy
www.bokrijk.be	Bokrijk Open Air Museum
www.britishmusicexperience.com	British Music Experience
www.centraalmuseum.nl	Centraal Museum Utrecht
www.communityarchives.org.uk	Community Archives and Heritage Group UK
www.cubymuseumgrolloo.nl	C+B Museum Grolloo
www.cultureelerfgoed.nl	Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands
www.dance2eden.nl	Dance 2 Eden: dance party
www.den.nl	DEN Foundation: Digital Heritage Netherlands
www.dismarc.org	DISMARC: Discovering Music Archives
www.drentsmuseum.nl	Drents Museum Assen
www.emo.org	European Music Office
www.etherpiraten.nl	Website about Dutch pirate radio
www.europeana.nl	Europeana
www.europopmusic.eu	Online magazine and encylopedia about European pop and rock music
www.exclusive90s.nl	Exclusive 90s: 1990s parties
www.freeradiorotterdam.nl	Free Radio Rotterdam: former pirate radio station
www.haagshistorischmuseum.nl	Historical Museum of The Hague

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[53] The websites were last accessed in September 2014.

www.hansknot.com	Hans Knot: A kaleidoscope of offshore radio
www.hetgeluidvanrotterdam.nl	The Sound of Rotterdam
www.homeofmetal.com	Home of Metal
www.italopartycrew.nl	Italo Party Crew
www.jeugdsentimenten.net	Jeugdsentimenten: Memory sharing website
www.limburgsmuseum.nl	Limburgs Museum Venlo
www.museumrockart.nl	Museum RockArt
www.mcn.nl	Music Center the Netherlands (this website is no longer online)
www.muziekencyclopedie.nl	Dutch Music Encyclopedia
www.nederlandsmuziekinstituut.nl	The Netherlands Music Institute
www.ncdd.nl	The Netherlands Coalition for Digital Preservation
www.norderney.nl	Norderney Foundation: cultural heritage of Radio Veronica
www.offshoreechos.com	Offshore Echos: Offshore radio news
www.offshoreradio.org	Offshore Radio Archive
www.ondergewaardeerdeliedjes.nl	Ondergewaardeerde Liedjes: music blog
www.partyflock.nl	Dutch virtual community for people interested in house music and other electronic dance music
www.poparchief.nl	Pop archive Achterhoek and Liemers
www.poparchief-arnhem.nl	Pop archive Arnhem
www.poparchiefgroningen.nl	Pop archive Groningen
www.radiostaddenhaag.com	Radio Stad Den Haag: former pirate radio station
www.readysteadygirls.eu	Ready Steady Girls: European female singers of the 1960s
www.smitbokkum.nl/palingsoundmuseum	Palingsoundmuseum, Volendam
www.soundscapes.info	Soundscapes: journal on media culture
www.storyofindorock.nl	Story of Indorock
www.streektaalzang.nl	Streektaalzang: dialect music in the Netherlands
www.welovethe90s.com	We love the 90s: 1990s parties
www.yorkcastlemuseum.org.uk	York Castle Museum
www.zaansepophistorie.nl	Zaanse Pophistorie

Appendix D: Exhibitions

The following exhibitions were visited as part of the research for this dissertation:

Museum	Exhibition	Date
Museum RockArt, Hoek van Holland	Permanent exhibition	13-7-2011
Haags Historisch Museum, the Hague	Golden Earring - Back Home	25-2-2012
Centraal Museum Utrecht	God Save the Queen - Art, squatting, punk: 1977-1984	10-3-2012
Centraal Museum Utrecht	Special Request - Cuby and the Blizzards in the sixties	10-3-2012
Melkweg, Amsterdam	Ultra 2012 / Photos for Vinyl 1981-1988	7-4-2012
Mini Mall, Rotterdam	Design as politics	5-5-2012
Limburgs Museum, Venlo	Flower Power	13-12-2012
York Castle Museum	The Sixties	3-3-2013
Victoria and Albert Museum, London	David Bowie is	17-6-2013
British Music Experience, London	Permanent exhibition	22-6-2013

Samenvatting [Dutch summary]

Popmuziekherinneringen: Plaatsen en praktijken van popmuziekerfgoed, cultureel geheugen en identiteit.

In 2010 worden twee Amsterdamse punkers benaderd door Eric de Chassey, een Franse kunstprofessor en directeur van het prestigieuze instituut Académie de France in Rome (Goossens, 2011). Hij wil singles en posters die in het bezit zijn van de twee fans tentoonstellen in een expositie over de visuele aspecten van de Europese punkcultuur. De punkers kunnen het niet geloven. Pas als de Franse professor naar Amsterdam komt en op de hoogte blijkt van obscure Nederpunkbands, gaan ze overstag en lenen hun dierbare punkobjecten uit. Uiteindelijk lopen de twee punkers tussen de culturele elite van Rome bij de opening van de expositie. Dit betekent voor hen erkenning voor een muziekstroming die een rode draad vormt in hun levens.

Deze ervaringen van de Amsterdamse punkverzamelaars illustreren verschillende thema's die centraal staan in dit proefschrift over popmuziekerfgoed, culturele identiteit en cultureel geheugen. Het laat zien dat popmuziek sterk verbonden is met identiteit. Voor de twee punkers is het bijvoorbeeld een nadrukkelijk onderdeel van hun levensverhaal. Muziek draagt bij aan het uitdrukken van passies, persoonlijke waarden en emoties. Op collectief niveau geeft muziek vorm aan de identiteit van generaties en (lokale) gemeenschappen. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan de beatmuziek van de babyboomers, de palingpop uit Volendam en subculturen zoals gabber en punk.

Dit soort identiteiten ontwikkelen zich door de tijd en zijn geworteld in het verleden. Herinneringen zijn dus belangrijk voor individuen en gemeenschappen. Vroegere ervaringen geven vorm aan hoe we onszelf zien en presenteren aan anderen. Muziek is verbonden met herinnering doordat liedjes het verleden kunnen oproepen. Het brengt ons terug naar ervaringen en emoties uit bijvoorbeeld onze jeugd. Maar ook de muziek zelf wordt herinnerd in bijvoorbeeld tentoonstellingen en archieven. Deze relatie tussen muziek, identiteit en herinnering maakt dat popmuziek kan worden gezien als een vorm van cultureel erfgoed. Omdat mensen zich sterk identificeren met popmuziek, worden hieraan gerelateerde objecten en herinneringen bewaard en vastgelegd voor volgende generaties.

In dit proefschrift bestudeer ik popmuziekherinneringen als een sociaal-geconstrueerd fenomeen. Dat wil zeggen dat hoe wij het verleden zien niet vaststaat, maar afhankelijk is van

de wijze waarop de cultuur- en erfgoedinstellingen in het heden vorm geven aan dit soort herinneringen. De toenemende aandacht voor alledaagse cultuur en immaterieel erfgoed in erfgoedpraktijken, en de vervagende grenzen tussen hoge en lage cultuur, zorgen voor de opkomst van popmuziek als een vorm van cultureel erfgoed (Bennett, 2009; Lowenthal, 1998). Tegen deze achtergrond analyseer ik in dit proefschrift de plaats van popmuziekherinneringen in identiteitsvorming. De volgende onderzoeksvraag staat hierbij centraal:

> *Hoe zijn praktijken van popmuziekerfgoed en popmuziekherinnering – zoals die vorm krijgen in de cultuur- en erfgoedsector – verbonden met culturele identiteiten op persoonlijk, lokaal, nationaal en Europees niveau?*

Deze onderzoeksvraag beantwoord ik aan de hand van een serie deelstudies. Hiervoor zijn meer dan veertig interviews afgenomen met onder andere erfgoedprofessionals, fans, verzamelaars, Dj's en amateurarchivarissen (zie appendices).

In de eerste deelstudie bestudeer ik de relatie tussen lokale identiteit, media en cultureel geheugen aan de hand van de ontwikkeling van etherpiraterij in Nederland. In 1960 begon Nederlands eerste popzender, Radio Veronica, met uitzenden. Omdat commerciële omroepen bij wet verboden waren, zond Radio Veronica uit vanaf een schip dat net buiten de territoriale wateren voor anker lag (Bakker & Scholten, 2003). De muziek van de popzender sloot aan bij de toen opkomende jeugdcultuur (Erné, 2001). De mobiele transistor radio's stelden jongeren in staat om in hun eigen kamers, buiten het bereik van het ouderlijk gezag, naar de zeezenders te luisteren (Rudin, 2007; Van Dijck 2007). In 1974 werd Radio Veronica gedwongen te stoppen met uitzenden, doordat de ratificering van het Verdrag van Straatsburg uitzendingen vanaf internationale wateren strafbaar maakte. De rol van de zeezenders werd gedeeltelijk overgenomen door commercieel opgezette illegale radiostations in de steden, die voorzagen in de behoefte aan popmuziek (Lelieveldt & Van Leeuwen, 2008; WRR, 1982). In de landelijkere gebieden van Nederland is etherpiraterij al decennia verbonden met de zogenaamde piratenmuziek. De strengere aanpak van het Agentschap Telecom, belast met het toezicht op de ether, heeft er echter voor gezorgd dat steeds meer piraten het illegale zenden opgeven en verder gaan met internetradio. Daarnaast wordt internetradio gebruikt voor het uitzenden van oude opnames van de voormalige zeezenders en stedelijke etherpiraten. Ik laat in dit hoofdstuk zien dat technologieën voor het beluisteren en verspreiden van muziek, zoals transistor radio's, onderdeel zijn van het cultureel geheugen van generaties die ermee opgroeiden. Tevens bespreek ik de verschillende wijzen waarop het erfgoed van de zeezenders wordt bewaard en gepresenteerd aan het publiek.

In het volgende hoofdstuk ga ik dieper in op de rol van herinneringspraktijken in het overdragen van cultureel geheugen. Tegen de achtergrond van verschillende theorieën over nostalgie bestudeer ik de wijze waarop de cultuurindustrie de omgang met het verleden medieert. Ik focus hierbij op nostalgische dancefeesten die bezoekers terugbrengen naar het gevoel en de muziek van de jaren '90. Op basis van interviews met Dj's, organisatoren van dancefeesten en het publiek dat de feesten bezoekt, maak ik een onderscheid tussen *early-* en *decade*-feesten. Early-feesten gaan terug naar het oorspronkelijke geluid van dancegenres zoals gabber. De DJ's focussen op de gabbermuziek uit een periode die in hun visie voorafging aan de commercialisering van dit genre. Op deze feesten worden subculturele identiteiten in stand gehouden en een gedeeld cultureel geheugen overgedragen op jongere generaties. Ik beschrijf in dit hoofdstuk hoe het reconstrueren van het verleden tijdens *early-feesten* aansluit bij wat Boym (2001) definieert als 'restauratieve nostalgie'. De 'reflectieve nostalgie' van de *decade-feesten* daarentegen heeft minder strikte opvattingen over de muziek van de jaren '90. Hier probeert men de sfeer van deze tijd op te roepen door middel van muziek en beelden die verwijzen naar de verschillende modestijlen en populaire muziekgenres uit deze periode.

In hoofdstuk 5 wordt verkend hoe popmuziekerfgoed in musea en archieven zich verhoudt tot lokale identiteiten. Hierbij is er aandacht voor zowel de rol van gevestigde culturele instellingen als initiatieven van popmuziekerfgoed die zijn opgezet door fans en niet-professionele archivarissen. In diverse Nederlandse plaatsen en regio's zijn er projecten geïnitieerd om de lokale muziekcultuur vast te leggen in bijvoorbeeld boeken, archieven of door middel van websites. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft de opkomst van deze initiatieven tegen de achtergrond van ontwikkelingen die zorgen voor een toenemende diversiteit in erfgoedpraktijken. Lokale gemeenschappen en 'fangroepen' leggen hun erfgoed vast door middel van nieuwe media, erfgoedprofessionals betrekken het publiek in erfgoedpraktijken en erfgoedmusea zijn zich de afgelopen decennia meer gaan richten op hedendaagse cultuur en het alledaagse leven van lokale gemeenschappen (Lowenthal, 1998; Reijnders, 2010). De projecten die in dit hoofdstuk centraal staan, geven aan de hand van popmuziek een tijdsbeeld van plaatsen en regio's. Vaak is dit verbonden met trots op de lokale omgeving en de muzikale iconen die deze heeft voortgebracht. Deze deelstudie laat zien dat de mondiale cultuur van popmuziek sterk verbonden blijft met lokale identiteit. Popmuziek wordt beleefd in specifieke plaatsen zoals concertzalen en festivals en door middel van lokale en nationale media zoals radio- en televisieprogramma's. Musea en archieven presenteren de mondiale cultuur van popmuziek dan ook vaak vanuit een lokaal perspectief.

Het spanningsveld tussen lokale erfgoedpraktijken en popmuziek als een grensoverschrijdende cultuurvorm wordt verder verkend in het volgende hoofdstuk. De Europese Unie gebruikt cultureel erfgoed voor het bevorderen van een gedeelde Europese identiteit (Lähdesmäki, 2012; Tsaliki, 2007). In dit hoofdstuk bestudeer ik hoe het popmuziekerfgoed van de jaren '60 wordt herinnerd in Europa en hoe zich dat verhoudt tot de doelstellingen van het Europees cultuurbeleid. Het vorige hoofdstuk liet zien dat cultuur- en erfgoedinstellingen doorgaans een lokale focus hebben, maar er zijn ook Europese benaderingen van popmuziekerfgoed. Europeana, een online portaal van de gedigitaliseerde collecties van Europese culturele en wetenschappelijke instellingen, bevat objecten gerelateerd aan de muziekcultuur van de jaren 60. Daarnaast zijn er diverse online initiatieven van fans die zich toespitsen op het vastleggen van specifieke aspecten van de Europese muziekcultuur. Maar doordat herinneringspraktijken voornamelijk vorm krijgen op lokaal en nationaal niveau, is er geen sprake van een coherente Europese muzikale identiteit. De veelvoud aan muziekculturen en herinneringspraktijken sluit aan bij het motto van de Europese Unie: "In verscheidenheid verenigd."

Hoofdstuk 7 vormt een synthese van de deelstudies van het proefschrift. Ik bespreek hoe cultuur- en erfgoedinstellingen op narratieve wijze verhalen over het muzikale verleden construeren en delen. Deze narratieve benadering van cultureel geheugen en identiteit (Brockmeier, 2002; Van Dijck, 2007; Wertsch, 2002), leidt tot drie inzichten die ik verder uitwerk in relatie tot popmuziek. Popmuziekherinneringen zijn noodzakelijk selectief (omdat simpelweg niet alles herinnerd kan worden), ze krijgen vorm in gedeelde herinneringspraktijken en die beïnvloeden hoe we denken over het verleden. Verhalen over het muzikale verleden leggen connecties tussen gebeurtenissen en drukken uit welke zaken we belangrijk vinden om te herinneren. Popmuziekherinneringen liggen dus niet vast, want hedendaagse herinneringspraktijken hebben invloed op de inhoud en vorm van herinneringen. Nieuwe media zorgen bijvoorbeeld voor nieuwe wijzen van herinneren.

De verhalen over het muzikale verleden, zoals deze geconstrueerd en gedeeld worden door cultuur- en erfgoedinstellingen, dragen bij aan identiteitsconstructie doordat ze verbonden zijn met persoonlijke levensverhalen en de beleving van tijd en plaats. Voor veel mensen vormt muziek een rode draad in hun leven. Mijn studie laat zien dat popmuziek niet langer alleen van de jeugd is, maar juist generaties verbindt. De herinneringspraktijken van de cultuur- en erfgoedsector zorgen ervoor dat het popmuziekerfgoed wordt overgedragen op volgende generaties. De wijze waarop deze sectoren te werk gaan, heeft invloed op de vorm van popmuziekherinneringen. Auteursrecht staat bijvoorbeeld centraal in de verdienmodellen

van de cultuurindustrie, maar leidt in sommige gevallen ook tot begrenzingen van welk materiaal gedeeld kan worden met het publiek. Daarnaast is het mogelijk dat herinneringen vertekend zijn of onvoldoende recht doen aan de muzikale diversiteit van plaatsen.

Juist doordat muziek sterk verbonden is met de identiteit van gemeenschappen, kan popmuziekerfgoed een vorm van erkenning voor hen zijn. Popmuziekerfgoed zet gemeenschappen dus op de kaart. Daarbij zorgt het vastleggen van het muzikale verleden voor een toenemend zelfbewustzijn. Dat wil niet zeggen dat daarmee deze identiteiten niet kunnen veranderen. Nostalgie zorgt voor connecties tussen het heden en verleden, maar kan ook afleiden van de wijze waarop samenlevingen en culturen zich aanpassen. Muziek is een levende cultuurvorm die zich voortdurend ontwikkeld. Hetzelfde geldt voor de wijze waarop we luisteren naar het muzikale verleden.

Curriculum Vitae

Arno van der Hoeven is a lecturer in the Department of Media & Communication at Erasmus University Rotterdam. He has studied in Nijmegen, Leuven and Antwerp. In 2009, he graduated cum laude in Communication Science (Radboud University Nijmegen) and in 2010 obtained his Master's degree in Sociology from the University of Antwerp (graduating with great distinction). In September 2010, Arno started working as a PhD candidate and lecturer in the Department of Media & Communication at Erasmus University. In the spring of 2013, he was a visiting researcher at the Institute of Communication Studies in Leeds. Arno is a member of the editorial board of *Sociologie Magazine* and a board member of the Rotterdam based heritage organization DIG it UP. His main research interests include media studies, cultural identity and cultural memory.