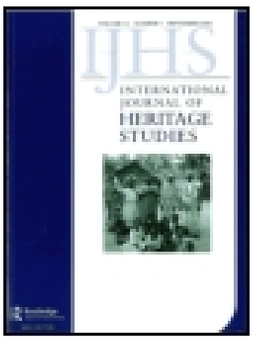

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Aesthetic cosmopolitan, national and local popular music heritage in Melbourne's music laneways

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ABSTRACT

There are currently few examples of popular music being officially celebrated as heritage in Australia. Interest in this area is growing, however, and this paper examines how Melbourne, the capital of the state of Victoria, has recently named three laneways after rock artists, namely, AC/DC Lane, Amphlett Lane and Rowland S. Howard Lane. Using interview and observational data collected at the laneways, we demonstrate that these spaces respectively reflect *aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage* (AC/DC Lane), national heritage (Amphlett Lane), and sub-national heritage (Rowland S. Howard Lane). The number of visitors to these laneways varies greatly across the sites, and reflects the national and international success of the artist commemorated. The laneways' success as commemorative sites is also related to intersections of globally circulating ideas about what constitutes 'rock', what urban spaces should look or feel like, and how heritage is expected to be enacted (especially for tourists). Within this field, there are specifics relating to the Australian music industry that appear to find clear reflection in the sites chosen and their level of success as memorial spaces.

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Introduction

The issue of how popular music becomes heritage has been attracting significant scholarly attention in the last decade. Academics have documented and analysed the ways in which governments and communities worldwide have been adopting popular music as an important part of their identities and histories (for example, see Brandellero et al. 2014; Baker 2016; Cohen et al. 2015). Heritage-making is related to how the past comes to play a role in creating a sense of identity for people in the present, and as such has long been connected with nation-building and the maintenance of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). It has also become increasingly 'democratised' (Foote and Azaryahu 2007; Van der Hoven and Brandellero 2015). The diminishing distinction between high and low culture is contributing to a broadening of what can constitute heritage, with a growing proportion of society (and not only those in official or high-status positions) participating in heritage-making activities. As a consequence of this democratisation of heritage, popular music has transcended the limits of its past preservation and celebration mainly by fans and musicians themselves and become an object of wider heritage discourses (Cohen and Roberts 2014, 37). Popular music heritage has been most apparent in cities, such as Liverpool (Brocken 2015), Manchester (Botta 2009) and Austin, Texas (Grodach 2011),

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but can also be seen on a national level, for example with the inclusion of popular music as a key part of the 2012 London Summer Olympics opening ceremony (Roberts 2014).

As noted by Cohen and Roberts (2014, 37), the growth of marketing of popular music history and nostalgia by music industries, and the use of creative industries as a tool for remodelling cities have promoted a 'turn to popular music heritage'. The inclusion of popular music as an aspect of national heritage has influenced heritage discourse and official practices. For example, the government-funded national tourism agency, Visit Britain, has produced pocket-sized maps and plaques at landmarks that were 'conducive to sightseeing, tourist consumption practices, and the exploitation of established tourism and heritage resources' (Cohen and Roberts 2014, 39). As Kay (2006, 211) notes, the connection of popular media iconography with geographical locations has been utilised to produce tourist attractions and may be conceptualised as 'product placement'. The tension between the authenticity of heritage sites and their use as tourist attractions raises issues about the representativeness and authenticity of official popular music heritage (Cohen and Roberts 2014, 39).

However, popular music heritage cannot be divorced from its relationship to consumerism, in much the same way that popular music itself cannot. As McCarron argues (2006, 173), 'popular music is now the aural backdrop to global capitalism', as tourist attractions such as London's Rock Circus utilise popular music heritage discourse to perpetuate a 'culture industry'. Consequently, questions have emerged as to what kind of experiences and meaning may occur around such sites (Margry 2008; McCarron 1995, 2006) and whose idea of heritage is represented (Cohen and Roberts 2014, 39; Roberts and Cohen 2015, 223). Specifically, can 'official' popular music heritage sites, selected and constructed for the likelihood that they will attract tourists and contribute to the branding of a region, also produce a sense of belonging?[1] This sense of meaning-making is central to international instruments aimed at the protection of cultural heritage such as UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which claims that cultural heritage

> is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (UNESCO 2003, Art. 2.1)

Popular music heritage circulates on a number of different levels. While scholars such as Roberts and Cohen (2014) and Reitsamer (2014) have identified different ways in which popular music heritage gains legitimacy, and others have analysed it in terms of its relationship to commercial processes (Homan 2014) and music tourism (Cohen and Roberts 2014), in this paper we will concentrate on how streets named after popular musicians (which is a form of authorised, or official, heritage) map onto different ways of thinking about heritage formation. Heritage can be formed in a way that connects more strongly to global/cosmopolitan flows, to national identity, or to sub-national, or local, identity. For example, Brandellero and Janssen (2014, 226) have noted that:

> the practices of popular music heritage denote the interplay between the global and the local, where the former provides an aesthetic frame of reference of remembered transnational stars and music styles; whereas the latter provides the nurturing environment for home-grown talent, as well as the context in which personal and collective sonic memories are shaped and fixed in time and place.

Similarly, the notion of heritage speaks to what is unique to an area or group, while on the other hand 'heritage development was, and still is, itself an international phenomenon and part of the very globalisation which is it now being called upon to counter' (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2004, 213).

We argue that Australia is a compelling case study in which to explore how expressions of heritage that reflect global flows (in this case, AC/DC Lane) might be thought of as what we term *aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage*, and how these might contrast to other forms of heritage that are more connected to local and national identities (Rowland S. Howard Lane and Amphlett Lane respectively). In using the term aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage, we take up the work of Regev (2013, 3), who describes aesthetic cosmopolitanism in the following way:

> It is a process of intensified aesthetic proximity, overlap, and connectivity between nations and ethnicities or, at the very least, between prominent large sectors within them. It is a process in which the expressive forms and cultural practices used by nations at large, and by groupings within them, to signify and perform their sense

> of uniqueness, growingly comes to share large proportions of aesthetic common ground, to a point where the cultural uniqueness of each nation or ethnicity cannot but be understood as a unit within one complex entity, one variant in a set of quite similar – but never identical – cases.

As heritage practices become intertwined with tourism, heritage can begin to take very similar forms in different places. This tendency is amplified with popular music heritage because popular music is already a highly globalised cultural form. Regev (2013, 3–4) argues that popular music is exemplary of the development of aesthetic cosmopolitanism. As a country whose popular music traditions have always been strongly based in articulations of imported ideas (Turner 1992), and which has experienced a long 'cultural cringe' (Stratton 2007) in relation to local music expression and other forms of culture, Australia and its music heritage may not only celebrate music that is best understood as 'a unit within one complex entity' (Regev 2013, 3), but do it in a way that draws on aesthetics that are based in globalised heritage practices.

In order to examine these ideas, this paper will concentrate on the creation of what may be described as 'official authorised' (Roberts and Cohen 2015, 225) popular music heritage in Melbourne, Australia, through the naming of laneways after rock musicians. The Melbournian laneways dedications, unlike English Heritage's Blue Plaques scheme in the UK (see Roberts and Cohen 2015), have not met with competition from non-government organisations. The laneways in question are mostly small, often cobbled, service streets that are increasingly becoming a feature of the city as they are reworked into sites for cafes, bars and (mostly officially authorised) street art. To date, there have been three such laneways dedicated: AC/DC Lane, Amphlett Lane (named after singer Chrissy Amphlett) and Rowland S. Howard Lane.[2] We will consider how successful these lanes have been in acting as sites of aesthetic cosmopolitan (connected to global flows), national or sub-national (local) heritage. First, however, we will contextualise the laneways in terms of the development of popular music heritage in Australia.

Popular music heritage in Australia

The Melbourne music laneways are an example of attempts to establish popular music heritage, and to link it to physical locations, that are emerging in Australia. To date, these have tended to be sub-national in nature, usually focused on celebrating the connection between a particular city or an even more localised area and famous musicians. Brisbane, the state capital of Queensland, has been more active than other Australian cities in this regard, having established a 'Walk of Fame' with stars displaying Brisbane artists embedded in the footpath of an area of the city called Fortitude Valley and often associated with live music (Bennett and Rogers 2014). It also has a street named Bee Gees Way in the suburb of Redcliffe where the Gibb brothers from the Bee Gees lived as children, and a bridge named after The Go-Betweens. Other local commemorations of musicians can also be found in other parts of the country, such as a statue of deceased AC/DC lead singer Bon Scott in Fremantle and the eponymous Slim Dusty Centre museum in the country musician's hometown of Kempsey.[3]

However, more nationally-focused heritage activities have started to emerge. For example, the national capital of Canberra has recently established a new suburb, Moncrieff (named for early 20th-century singer Gladys Moncrieff), where the streets are named after Australian musicians, including popular music artists such as Chrissy Amphlett and Johnny O'Keefe. The Victorian state government has also earmarked $22 million for the establishment of a central site for the celebration of and support for Australian popular music (Victorian Labor 2014). This would include a proposed Rock and Roll Hall of Fame (or museum), which has the potential to provide a focus for activities relating to music's history, and to consolidate ideas about Australia's music heritage beyond the now-common emergence of limited-time exhibitions of single musicians or scenes (in a similar fashion to an institution like the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland (see Burgoyne 2003)). However, at the time of writing there is as yet no agreement on any of the specificities of this museum, including whether or not it should be situated in a physical space or constituted as an online venture. Concerns about the ongoing expense, especially of a physical museum, are central to the debates on this venture, in a country where funding for arts-related activities tends to be limited and sporadic, and private sponsors

(such as those that fund the Experience Music Project in Seattle) are very rare. This is also why such a museum has not been established in the past. Given the uncertainty over the proposal, further questions about how a narrative for the museum is constructed, and whose voices and histories will be represented, are yet to be tackled.

It is questions such as these, however, that scholars on popular music heritage have identified as being pivotal to the form that heritage takes. Given that heritage is concerned with the representation and construction of identities – rather than merely the representation of past events – it creates opportunities for the reassertion of normative narratives that reproduce dominant ideologies (Cohen and Roberts 2014, 39). As Bennett (2015, 20) notes:

> Popular music heritage then is at one significant level a self-servicing exercise, committed among other things to the uncritical reproduction of a heritage canon inextricably bound up with a white, middle-class, baby-boomer understanding of musical authenticity … that threaten[s] to expunge vast tracts of musical production, performance and reception from popular memory.

Furthermore, Bennett (2015, 20–21) notes that the baby-boomer's 'own representatives, in the fields of television, film, journalism and other culture industries, have drawn on their institutional power and status to engage in this process'. The influence of cultural brokers in positions of power in the Australian music industry has already been felt in the heritage area: Bennett and Rogers (2014, 307) have documented how the Walk of Fame in Brisbane shifted quickly from recognising artists chosen by the public, to enshrining acts associated with state funded advocacy bodies and royalty agencies. The naming of these laneways in Melbourne has similarly been driven by cultural brokers of various sorts (for example, music journalists and promoters; see Strong 2015), and although each naming has happened on an ad hoc basis, the councils are increasingly eager to get involved, to highlight music as part of the city's heritage. The institutionalisation of the production of popular music heritage is amenable to strategies to brand Melbourne as an international 'music city' (Homan 2014), although the question of 'whose' music will be celebrated remains politically charged.

The politicisation of popular music heritage in Australia can be seen as a by-product of the country's notoriously guarded and constrained commercial music sector (Australia Council for the Arts 2014). As noted, the Australian music market is primarily viewed as an export market by the international sector despite a comparatively strong history of cultural production (Homan 2010). Australia's lower population, the lower density of this population (which is spread across vast geographic spaces), its frequently weak currency, and Australia's global isolation, have all served to restrict the accumulation of capital within the domestic commercial sector. Typically, this has resulted in a domestic music market rife with oligarchic dominance, where a few powerful players control the central pillars of the business while the vast majority of Australian musicians toil on the hobbyist and professional-amateur tiers (Rogers 2013). Ultimately, these market dynamics extend into heritage making, whereby Australia's small coterie of prestigious artists – and the industry professionals/groups who represent them – dominate historical discourse (Bennett and Rogers 2014). As discussed below, the majority of Australian music artists do not neatly fit the tenets of aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage, yet many Australian heritage projects are directed at, and indeed succeed via, these international connections to globalised commercial music.

Methodology

This project was designed to gain greater understanding of the relationship between place, memory and popular culture, and in particular how heritage is configured through these. In studies on the use of popular music as an indicator of heritage, it has been argued that including the perspective of fans and audiences is pivotal to creating an inclusive and comprehensive version of the past (Leonard 2010), and it is this group that was targeted. This makes this an important contribution, as although popular music heritage studies has frequently looked at textual materials (for example, see Burgoyne 2003), curators (e.g. Baker, Istvandity, and Nowak 2016; Reitsamer 2015) and institutions (Leonard 2010), there is much less work looking at audiences' interactions with heritage, especially in outdoor public

spaces such as these. Previous work (Strong 2015) explored the establishment of Melbourne's music laneways in detail. In this paper, we draw on data collected for a report, commissioned by Creative Victoria (a Victorian state government department), on how the laneways were received by the public. This study draws on findings from participant interviews and laneway observations (see Flick 2007; Marvasti 2014 and Roulston 2014 for an overview of the utility of these approaches in social science research). Researchers spent time in each of the three key laneways (Chrissy Amphlett Lane, AC/DC Lane, Rowland S Howard Lane) during which they made a count of how many people visited the laneways, observed visitor interactions with the laneways, and conducted short interviews. Interview participants were asked why they came to the laneways and what they thought of the use of laneways as spaces of memorialisation and heritage. Potential interviewees were selected by the researchers based on three criteria: they were present in or around the laneway during the observation sessions; they demonstrated an interest in the laneway, because they had stopped to view the art or laneway road sign, or to take a photograph; and they were able and willing to consent to a recorded interview. The interviews proceeded through a structured, open-ended questionnaire in which participants were asked about their reasons for visiting the laneway, their thoughts about the laneways' value, their thoughts on future laneway dedications, and whether or not they intended to distribute information or images of the laneway online. In total, 61 interviews and 50 h of observations (over 12 sessions) were conducted across the three laneways. Observations and interviews were coded thematically at the end of the fieldwork.

AC/DC Lane: aesthetic cosmopolitan music heritage

AC/DC Lane is located in the Melbourne CBD and was established in 2005 following a campaign by music journalist (now Music Victoria CEO) Patrick Donovan and a fan-based petition directed to Melbourne City Council (Frost 2008). AC/DC are one of the most successful hard rock bands in music history, with album sales of over 200 million globally (Australian Associated Press 2010). The band's commercial strength comes from a consistent brand identity drawing on an essentialist reading of working class rebelliousness (see Walker 2007).

AC/DC Lane is in a part of Melbourne's CBD that is known more for its high-end restaurants and boutiques than its rock culture, but there are two elements of it that make it less incongruous than it otherwise might be in such a location. The first is the existence of a small live music venue called the Cherry Bar in the lane. The second is the use of graffiti to visually connect the space to the idea of rock music (through the inclusion of music- and AC/DC-themed artworks) and to the network of lanes throughout the CBD that use graffiti as defining feature to draw in visitors. AC/DC Lane is thus incorporated into the urban environment on a number of levels – commercially, culturally, and as a tourist attraction.

We argue that AC/DC Lane is an example of aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage, rather than national or local heritage, for a number of reasons. First, AC/DC represents a global version of rock rather than uniquely Australian culture (and certainly not Melbourne culture as the band is originally from Perth), and it is this global version of rock that is referenced in the laneway and recognised by visitors. Second, the laneway uses graffiti – originally an art form associated with hip hop culture, not rock – as a globally recognised signifier of urbanity, rather than as an appeal to the local. For visitors to the lane, the inclusion of rock and graffiti in the space works seamlessly to connote transgression and urban culture. Third, the lane is embedded in heritage and tourist practices that have been adopted globally, and are expected by visitors. These points will be developed further below.

To begin, the AC/DC brand is recognised by visitors as Australian, but also as a signifier of a broader global rock culture. The multiplicity of identities surrounding AC/DC are representative of Australia's participation in the 'singular world culture' made possible by aesthetic cosmopolitanism. The band has actively avoided reifying itself as an icon of Australia (although they are clearly still associated with the country). Indeed, Stratton (2007, 3) argues that 'AC/DC's achievement was not to sound Australian', and the band are known more for their success *outside* Australia. AC/DC's international fame is a key

element of their importance in Australia, as emphasised by the Melbourne City Council in documents relating to the naming of the laneway (Planning and Development Committee Report, agenda item 5.1, 8 July 2004). AC/DC's international status was also reflected in the make-up of the visitors to the lane. There were significantly more visitors to AC/DC Lane than the others in the study, and more of these visitors were from interstate or from overseas – 28% of those interviewed in AC/DC Lane said they were from overseas, as opposed to only 5% in Amphlett Lane.[4] This is partly because the laneway was visited by many AC/DC fans, including those who had travelled from overseas, during late 2015, when the band performed at Melbourne's Etihad Stadium as part of their Black Ice tour. The lane is thus drawn into the activities associated with fans attending the concert of an internationally touring band. Indeed, when visitors were asked who else it would be appropriate to name a laneway after, responses were divided between those who thought being Australian was necessary for the naming of an Australian space (with a smaller group saying a connection to Melbourne was required), and those who suggested other similarly successful global rock bands such as Pink Floyd or the Rolling Stones.

As regards the use of graffiti in the lane, representations of the AC/DC musicians elicited positive responses from our interview participants. Interviewees' comments indicated that commissioned graffiti works of Angus Young and Bon Scott were successful in creating a sense that the laneway was a site to engage with music heritage rather than just an artistic public space. Participants further claimed that the presence of depictions of members of AC/DC distinguished the laneway from similarly graffitied laneways around Melbourne, such as nearby Hosier Lane. One interviewee commented that, 'I like the fact that it's actually got something to do with AC/DC on it, instead of just random stuff' (INT10). However, the success of AC/DC Lane as a site commemorating the band was not solely evaluated on the presence of likenesses to the band members, but also of the power of the laneway to inspire a kind of feeling in interviewees that they saw as appropriate to the AC/DC 'spirit', or brand. As another participant claimed, the success of the laneway as a commemorative site emerged 'from like the grassroots sort of dirty, garage rock and roll, you know' (Man from Australia, INT55), emphasising the laneway's ability to represent and inspire a feeling and aesthetic associated with AC/DC. In short, the laneway's aesthetic particulars were well married to AC/DC's 'gritty' style of branding (Figure 1).

This 'grassroots' and 'dirty' feel is often connected to the presence of the graffiti, and this is another element that connects the laneway to global flows, while still embedding it in the local. Those participants who were unaware of AC/DC Lane before their encountered the laneway reported being attracted to both its name and to the visually appealing and vibrant graffiti:

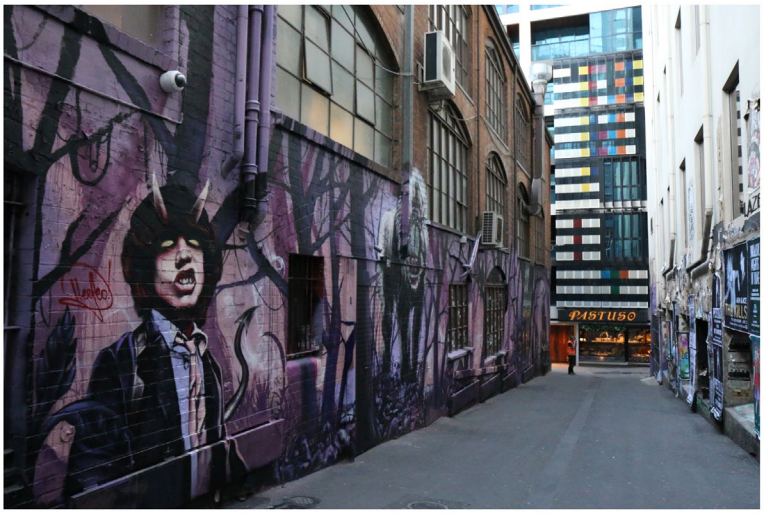

Figure 1. Graffiti in AC/DC Lane. Photo: Catherine Strong.

> I was just walking, wandering around and saw some graffiti on the wall and I was just attracted to the graffiti and the artwork and I decided to wander around and have a look. And then later when I went there I saw that this lane was called AC/DC Lane. (Man, INT16)

While this article does not have the scope for an extensive discussion of graffiti and street art, the graffiti featured in the Melbourne CBD fits into the global style of the art form that has been promulgated since its original development as an element of hip hop culture in New York in the 1970s. As Merrill (2015, 270) notes, 'graffiti subcultures are distinguishable with respect to their cultural and national settings, but collectively they contribute to an international graffiti subculture with a common aesthetic and practice'. The presence of the graffiti allowed respondents to create an understanding of the lane that was global in nature. For example, when asked if the laneway was what they expected it to be, one participant commented:

> The graffiti's amazing. Where I'm from, or near where I'm from, just outside of London, Shoreditch is very similar to this, in London and they have, like, it's very similar but this is better. Like, the artwork's better here than the graffiti in Shoreditch. But it is really good, what I've seen, and the other one's really good. So it's better actually because I was expecting it to be like Shoreditch in London, so it's better. (Woman, international, INT13)

While the quality of the laneway is assessed as higher, the overall nature of what the tourist is encountering fits into a pre-existing framework established by similar spaces in London. Tourists from Germany and Italy made comments similar to this. Moreover, 'graffiti becomes integral to urban character in places where it helps to construct [a] legitimation of transgression, yet it cannot do this without also, at the same time, becoming a form of symbolic capital and place branding' (Dovey, Wollan, and Woodcock 2012, 39). The graffiti in AC/DC Lane strengthens the ties between this space and global ideas about what constitutes the 'urban', with some respondents explicitly calling graffiti an 'urban' art form. Graffiti also continues to signify 'transgressiveness' even in situations such as this where the artwork is commissioned and officially sanctioned (Dovey, Wollan, and Woodcock 2012, 22). In the minds of visitors, the transgressive nature of graffiti resonates with rock, as another art form with transgressive roots. In none of the interviews was the apparent disconnect between rock music and graffiti, an art form born from hip hop culture, noted; on the contrary, the graffiti was often commented on as an element of the laneway that increased its 'grittiness' in a way that was seen as appropriate for a lane named after AC/DC. Furthermore, the way that Melbourne's laneways have been constructed as important parts of Melbourne's heritage (as a form of 'place branding'), while also becoming closely associated with legitimised street art (Merrill 2015, 382), means the graffiti in AC/DC Lane can connote both transgression and heritage, and can represent the local (for example, through portraits of Australian musicians) while being strongly connected to global urban cultural forms (rock and the graffiti culture). Only a small number of visitors commented on the disjunction between this 'transgression' signified in the laneway and its official nature. As one interviewee commented, 'if you have a laneway and you see some AC/DC stuff somewhere, just in the wild kind of thing, it's like, oh, great! But once you dedicate something, then it becomes, I guess, *official and clean*' (Man from Melbourne, INT12).

The final way in which AC/DC Lane can be connected to the global is through its participation in internationally recognised practices relating to heritage. These are often closely related to tourism strategies. When asked what brought them to AC/DC Lane, many respondents said they had heard of the existence of the laneway from a range of sources including friends and family, online media sources such as fan sites, and, often, official tourist materials. A number of participants who had travelled to Melbourne reported having heard not only of AC/DC, but also of the laneway while seeking out attractions in Melbourne. As one woman commented, 'I am on holiday in Australia and I read in a tourist book to come visit it, so it was one of the lanes I came to see' (Woman, international, INT06). Other visitors came on walking tours (these were regularly seen in the lane during fieldwork) or with tour guides. The Melbourne City Council promotes a tourist-friendly image of the laneway through a pamphlet, which claims that 'exploring Melbourne's laneways is the best way to discover the true heart of our city' (City of Melbourne 2015). All of these modes of tourism reflect a degree of international standardisation. They are what the respondents we spoke to *expect* when they tour a city for leisure.

In other instances however, dissatisfaction with the lane was connected to a perceived failure to include some elements that respondents expected to see at a heritage related site.

> I thought there would be … I don't know … more of a memorial or something here. […] (Man from Australia, INT50)

> And if there was a sign saying that, like the blue heritage discs that you see around the place. Something like that would be nice, I think (Woman, INT10)

> There should be a plaque for AC/DC because they did Long Way to the Top video clip there on the back of the flatbed. So there probably should be some sort of plaque and they probably should, like when the band are in town, as this may very well be the last time, they should have had like some sort of ceremony or something and unveiled the plaque. Something like that. (Man, interstate, INT35)

Plaques and statues are standardised indicators of heritage, a call to visitors to pay particular attention to the area they are in, or to a figure from the past. They also act as a way of fixing information to a geographic context: the plaque is an attempt to preface a spatial context, to provide an official explanation or description. The blue plaques mentioned by respondents are drawn from the British tourism industry (see Roberts and Cohen 2015), further suggesting the internationalisation and standardisation of heritage and tourism.

As shown, the creation of a successful heritage site within the Australian public memory requires the careful negotiation of meaning and affect engendered in not only the aesthetics of public spaces, but also the meaning attributed to modes of commemoration. When attempting to commemorate a lively culture such as that surrounding rock and roll music, the perceived anti-corporatist, spirited attitude associated with music and bands informs a public imagination about the suitability of commemorative sites and events. The widespread influence of AC/DC internationally can be said to have contributed to the production of a global music memory – an expectation that affects individuals from across global regions. The intersections of globally circulating ideas about what constitutes 'rock', what urban spaces should look or feel like, and how heritage should be enacted in AC/DC Lane create an example of aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage.

Amphlett Lane: national music heritage

Amphlett Lane was named after Chrissy Amphlett, singer in Australian rock band The Divinyls. Also located in the Melbourne CBD, this lane was established on February 17 2015, almost two years after the singer's death from breast cancer, following a campaign by friends (most notably journalist Jessica Adams) and the family of Amphlett, and a petition with over 7000 signatures filled to Melbourne City Council (see Strong 2015). Despite having had one global hit with 'I Touch Myself' in 1990, The Divinyls spent most of their career in Australia, and had most of their success there (particularly during the 1980s). Neither Amphlett nor her band have anything like the international profile of AC/DC, but are generally considered to be a part of the Australian rock canon (see Strong 2015). We argue that Amphlett Lane can best be described as a reflection of national music heritage.

The presentation of Amphlett Lane is noticeably different to AC/DC Lane. The narrow laneway operates as a service lane for nearby businesses to access their bins and parking, with no businesses housed in the laneway itself. It also does not allow for through traffic, so there is very little transit through the space. There were far fewer daily visitors to this lane, and most of the interviews done here were on a night when a special event was held (as discussed below). In contrast to the emphasis on graffiti in AC/DC Lane, Amphlett Lane is decorated with only a mural depicting Amphlett's famous school-girl outfit and her dogs, along with a smaller portrait of her face, on a gate that sits in front of bins. The decorative aspects of the lane connect the space unambiguously to Amphlett; unlike AC/DC Lane, it would be difficult to see the space as another expression of graffiti culture. This is reinforced by the style of the main mural, which does not draw on graffiti styles. As in AC/DC Lane, the presence of commissioned laneway art drew as much (and in this instance perhaps even more) attention from passing pedestrians as the presence of the laneway signage and dedication (Figure 2).

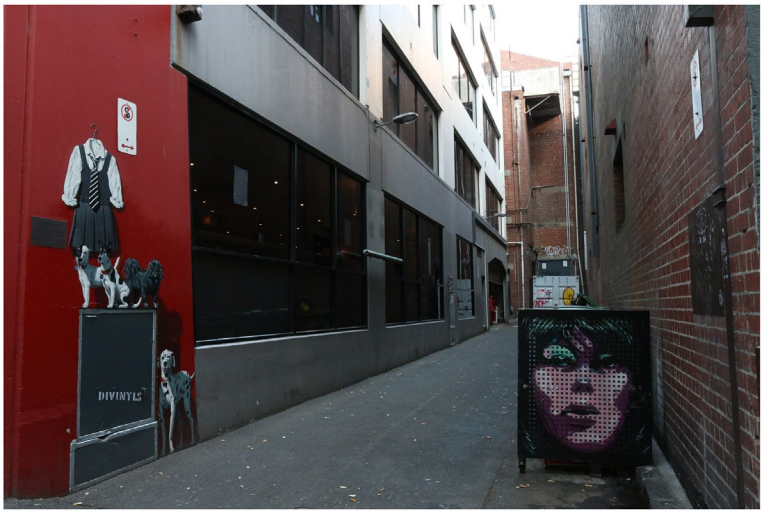

Figure 2. Artworks in Amphlett Lane. Photo: Catherine Strong.

For the few international tourists who were interviewed in Amphlett Lane, all commented that they were unaware of both Chrissy Amphlett and the Divinyls. However, all Australian visitors knew who the band were. Respondents' awareness of the lane came not from tourist information (as with AC/DC Lane), but from being embedded in certain local and national flows of information. For example, some talked about social and traditional media in this regard:

> Um … I can't remember when it first came … it was a social media thing. I think. Or it might have just been in the news, when I first heard about it, maybe. (Man, Melbourne based, INT15)

> I know of the band and the reason I heard of it was actually on the news. When it first got launched. They'd been petitioning for quite some time and it eventually got launched. (Man, Melbourne based, INT35)

Others heard about the laneway through friends or family. For locals and fans of Chrissy Amphlett and the Divinyls, there were mixed reactions about the laneway's success, with many participants complaining about the poor upkeep of the space. Other interviewees speculated that visitors to the laneway would not recognise the significance of the Divinyls and Chrissy Amphlett to Australia and its cultural history. To correct this dissonance between the laneway as a dedicated – yet suboptimal – urban space and Amphlett/The Divinyls as important culture, respondents returned again to standardised ideas about how to mark out heritage. Much like the visitors to AC/DC Lane, respondents described various ideas on how to address this:

> There's not even a council plaque here to explain to you why this person was so significant to Australia. So, if you're a tourist, I mean you go on the website and you go download all these maps about going around the lanes, *there's no history*. They just show you where all the graffiti is. They don't actually explain to you there's a *significance* to this. (Man from Melbourne, INT01)

> I expected it to be a bit more about her or the band or her life or something other than just the couple of things that you've got at the start of the laneway. […] So to maybe more in that streetscape style would make it more about Chrissy and the band for that matter, because that's why she's famous. Or anything else about her life for that matter. (Man from Melbourne, INT18)

Unlike AC/DC Lane, which enjoys the fame of a globally-recognised rock music group, some interview participants expressed an awareness that the Divinyls and Chrissy Amphlett required promotion to convey their importance to international and even local visitors. As it currently stands, a full appreciation of the laneway requires pre-existing knowledge, and it is best appreciated by those who are already fans of Amphlett. The articulation of concern over how casual visitors to Amphlett Lane might view the laneway (as opposed to Divinyls or Chrissy Amphlett fans) suggests that some Melbourne

residents see the value of Australian musicians as heritage icons. The above quotes frame Amphlett Lane as more than a site commemorating a memory for those with insider knowledge of the Divinyls. Rather, as the two men from Melbourne relate above, the fame and history of Chrissy Amphlett is being (or failing to be) communicated through the laneway dedication.

Activating a music heritage site

Participants' views of the efficacy of Amphlett Lane as a commemoration of Chrissy Amphlett improved during an event in which the laneway was utilised in a live music performance dedicated to the singer. Through a special observation session in Amphlett Lane during Melbourne Music Week,[5] the researchers were able to access possibilities to 'activate' the potential for the laneway space to draw in the collective energy of fans and event organisers, vitalising the laneway. During a performance by the Amphlett Lane Stirrers (on Friday 20 November 2015), interview participants responded to the space in a noticeably more positive way, with multiple participants commenting on the appropriateness of a laneway concert as a commemoration:

> Because [Chrissy] was pretty gritty in her time, I think, and she would have appreciated this sort of extension of … she was a pub chick, wasn't she? A pub rock type chick. So it's still that kind of industrial, really kind of amphitheatre, if you like, the laneway. (Woman from Australia, INT34)

> I'd like to see more artwork as well, but I do love the fact that it can be used as a performance venue. […] I think it's a very well chosen location to pay tribute to Chrissy and her history. (Man, INT42)

All participants interviewed at the Amphlett Lane Stirrers event responded enthusiastically to the possibility of future events in and around the laneway, commenting that the presence of live music in its vicinity is valuable as both a commemoration and a public event.

Participants at the event emphasised the importance of the relationship between the atmosphere generated by the event and the use of Melbourne's public space. Several participants commented directly on the potential for the hosting of live music events around Amphlett Lane:

> I think there should be more of it. Absolutely. Yeah. I think it's a great idea: it gets people into the city, it's great for businesses. We're going to go and have a drink afterwards, so we're going to spend some of our hard-earned in a bar somewhere and, yeah … I think it's a fantastic idea. The more people come into the city and are using the spaces, you know … There's so many interesting spaces, isn't there? (Woman from Melbourne, INT39)

Although the Amphlett Lane Stirrers' concert was described as a successful use of the Laneway as a space of commemoration, the 'activation' of this site is sustained by the effort of the event managers, and hence also constrained by the limits of their reach. Unlike AC/DC Lane, which is revitalised regularly by the presence of the Cherry Bar venue and AC/DC global brand recognition, Amphlett Lane has been largely inactive since the concert. While Amphlett Lane has the potential to be 'activated' through the strategic use of live music, promotional campaigns and the efforts of event organisers, it requires continued efforts by local councils and other governmental organisations to sustain it as a site of national music heritage, as will be addressed further in the conclusion.

Rowland S. Howard Lane: local heritage

Rowland S. Howard was a guitarist and songwriter, best known for his work with Nick Cave's early band The Boys Next Door (later becoming The Birthday Party), and for his solo work in later years. He died in 2009 from liver cancer. In 2011, his life was the subject of the acclaimed documentary *Autoluminescence* (Milburn and Lowenstein 2011). The push for the naming of the lane was mainly driven by Howard's friend and music promoter Nick Haines, and the dedication of the lane – located in St Kilda under the auspices of Port Phillip Council, and close to where Howard lived – was held in 2015. Unlike the other two lanes being considered here, Rowland S. Howard Lane is in a suburban area. It is not a site that large numbers of people seek out in the way they do with AC/DC Lane; Howard's fame is of a restricted nature, nationally and internationally.

This section of this paper is brief because it presents a negative result, but a negative result that nonetheless offers insight into the development of popular music heritage in Australia and how it sometimes fails. Researchers for this project attended Rowland S. Howard Lane for 12 h over 2 days, including 24 October, Howard's birthday. No visitors were observed attending the lane, and no formal interviews took place. During informal conversations with local residents, it was indicated that this was not unusual, and that the laneway saw little activity beyond some use as a thoroughfare for people living in the area. It was suggested that, at times, activities such as drug dealing and sex work took place in the lane. Unlike Amphlett Lane and AC/DC Lane, there is currently no artwork relating to Howard in the area (although there is talk of plans to incorporate some), and only a small amount of unauthorised graffiti.

On the one hand, this absence of activity in the lane could be read as a type of failure of commemoration. Rigney (2010, 345) has noted that 'while putting down a monument may seem like a way of ensuring long-term memory, it may in fact turn out to mark the beginning of amnesia unless the monument in question is continuously invested with new meaning'. A street name can easily become just another practical marker in a city if work is not done to give it greater significance. However, it is possible that the lane is successful in the way it functions on a very small-scale, local level. The opening for the lane was attended mainly by family and friends of Howard, many of whom live in the St Kilda area. For people in the local area who were connected to Howard, this commemoration may be very meaningful. The lane also provides space for the incorporation of popular music heritage that does not rely on either global or national accolades, but reflects something very specific to the local community. However, the lack of activity in the lane raises the question of how local heritage can be commemorated in a way that works more effectively when what is being commemorated is not linked into global or national information flows in the same way as a band like AC/DC is.

Conclusion

The Australian music industry is a difficult place to earn a living and the low capital investment it attracts often reflects this. There is no denying the cultural/aesthetic impact of the artists commemorated here: AC/DC remain globally present in terms of branding and visibility; the widespread media reportage on the death of Chrissie Amphlett speaks to her national importance (see Strong 2015); and Howard's work influenced a range of alternative, underground and professional musicians internationally (Milburn and Lowenstein 2011). All of these artists are undoubtedly worthy of commemoration. Yet, these three laneway case studies speak to the harsh realities of the Australian music business. AC/DC Lane's aesthetic cosmopolitan heritage trades on a global brand and succeeds in creating interest and drawing in visitors. Amphlett Lane's appeal to national heritage works, if activated by the state or invested community practice. Rowland S. Howard Lane remains outside broad public attention, despite the renaming project; the local heritage it represents at this point appears too niche to give the lane significance. At present, these sites do not alter or challenge the tiered nature of Australian music history in any significant way. Instead, their current status both as individual sites of commemoration and as an interlinked hub of broader commemoration reinforces the existing mode of public recognition where the key metric of importance remains commercial success internationally, and where what has succeeded internationally in terms of popular music heritage and tourism strategies is being strongly drawn on to shape Australian sites.

The question then arises of whether Melbourne/Australia can create popular music related heritage that reflects something unique, as opposed to recreating a 'globalised rhetoric' (Reitsamer 2014) of music as heritage. In answering this, it is first important to reiterate that our data reveals these spaces to be an opportunity to open up music heritage and tourism in the city. On the whole, these laneways *were* popular once respondents noticed or visited them. It is the execution of these sites *as* heritage that requires action. At present, artists are commemorated by a type of 'insider' advocacy – powerful or motivated parties act – and there is a sense in our data-set that the public would prefer consultation. It is entirely possible that more sites, better located and decorated, and routinely activated, with

a public dialogue around who is memorialised, could avoid some of the pitfalls discussed above. That may be enough in the short to medium term. But a continuation of scenarios where these spaces are effectively removed from the public gaze or where they fall into general disuse, appear to weaken the utility of memorials as a whole. Additionally, this type of commemoration eludes a vital component of Australia's music sector: its mobile social hierarchies and communal tactics. By singling out specific artists of international, national or underground notoriety without contextualising their social connection to the city and local music scene, prevents these sites from moving past a surface level presentation of what Australian music means, something our respondents seemed to sense. Tourists and local respondents alike wanted a representation of this connection. The ways in which these artists all circulated within a confined and constricted national music scene is the story of how these artists occupied spaces within the city and form a much needed synergy between the role of a music artist and presence of an urban space. At present, the laneways of Melbourne seldom tell these stories or make these connections. It is not enough to change the names of these sites. To do so is to effectively request emotional labour from an empty street.

Notes

1. Researchers including Margry (2008) and McCarron (2006) have drawn on Victor and Edith Turner's distinction between 'tourists' and 'pilgrims' to emphasise that not all visitors to cultural sites find a sense of identity and continuity there; while the tourist seeks out pleasant experiences, the pilgrim is described by both Margry (2008, 27) and McCarron (1995, 168) as engaging in a 'liminal' activity. While the activities described in this paper could be framed according to this distinction, and this may be the subject of a future piece of work, the current work is more focused on drawing out the global, national and local qualities of the spaces under consideration than classifying the nature of the relationship visitors have with the spaces.
2. The significance of the fact that Howard, Amphlett and AC/DC front man Bon Scott are all deceased is discussed at length in Strong (2015), and as such will not be addressed in this article.
3. It should be noted that country music in Australia has more commemorative activity associated with it at the current time than the rock and pop music focussed on in this article (see Brennan 2015).
4. Readers interested in the full data collected for this project are encouraged to contact the authors to obtain the original report.
5. A programme of events run by the City of Melbourne to promote the city as music centre.

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