

Brett Lashua
Sara Cohen
John Schofield

Popular music, mapping, and the characterization of Liverpool

Brett Lashua is a Lecturer in the Carnegie Faculty of Sport, Leisure and Education at Leeds Metropolitan University. From 2007–2009 he was a Research Associate at the University of Liverpool's Institute of Popular Music (IPM). His research interests are in ethnographic studies at the intersections of popular music, urban spaces, and youth cultures.

Sara Cohen is Professor of Music and Director of the Institute of Popular Music at the University of Liverpool, a member of the Editorial Board of Ethnomusicology Forum, and a former editor of Popular Music. She specializes in ethnographic research on popular music and in research on music and urban geography.

John Schofield is an archaeologist specializing in contemporary archaeology, the archaeology of recent conflict and landscape. After 21 years with English Heritage, he recently took up the post of Director of Studies in Cultural Heritage Management at the University of York.

Carnegie Faculty of Sport, Leisure, &
Education
Leeds Metropolitan University
221 Cavendish Hall
Headingley Campus
Leeds LS6 3QS
B.Lashua@leedsmet.ac.uk

Institute of Popular Music
School of Music
University of Liverpool
80-82 Bedford Street South
Liverpool L69 7WW
sara@liv.ac.uk

University of York
Department of Archaeology
King's Manor
Exhibition Square
York YO1 7EP
john.schofield@york.ac.uk

Abstract

Liverpool is widely recognized for its iconic 'Three Graces'—a trio of grand buildings that stand along the city's River Mersey waterfront. In this article we argue that there are a similar kind of iconic 'three graces' in Liverpool's popular music and heritage landscapes: the Cavern Club, Eric's Club, and Cream. These three venues have taken on broader symbolic meanings as representative of entire musical styles and eras. As such they dominate the histories of the city's music-making cultures, producing (and reproduced through) a variety of representations, texts and mappings of the city's musical past. This paper draws from ethnographic materials gathered through a two-year research project to decentre this 'master page' or 'master map' of the three

graces with a series of mappings of Liverpool's popular music heritage that calls attention to hidden or alternative histories of the city that are less often mapped.

Keywords: culture; regeneration; representation; space

Liverpool both imagines and projects itself as a creative city. Within this imagining there is an underlying assumption that there is something special about Liverpool as a place which gives rise to this creativity and has an immutable effect upon the shape it takes (Leonard and Strachan 2010: 1).

Introduction: Liverpool's 'Three Graces'

Liverpool is frequently characterized as a 'creative city' (Grunenberg and Knifton 2007), often exceptionally so (Du Noyer 2007). Du Noyer (2007: 1) asked, 'What is it about Liverpool? Is it something in the water? Why does so much music come from here?' The epigraph above from Leonard and Strachan (2010) expands upon similar questions posed earlier by Cohen (2007: 3) who asked, in part, what 'popular music can tell us about cities' but also, in turn, what 'cities tell us about popular music'? Like Cohen, Leonard and Strachan questioned not only how the city shapes music-making practices, but also how music-making helps to produce and shape the city. This paper explores how various musicians, scholars, heritage organizations, museums, and other civic agencies have attempted to address these questions about the relations between music and the city in terms of the production of the character of Liverpool as a 'musical city'. We discuss representations of the city that circulated widely, or alternately were suppressed and remained hidden, during Liverpool's 2008 Capital of Culture events, using specific examples and counter-examples drawn from our research project entitled 'Popular Musicscapes and the Characterization of the Urban Environment' (2007–2009).¹

Now part of the Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City UNESCO World Heritage Site (2004), the Liverpool Pier Head is a focal point of the city's waterfront which is noted for its 'Three Graces'—the Liver Building, the Cunard Building and the Port of Liverpool Building. These stand along the River Mersey as part of the iconic signifying architecture, landscape, and urban culture of Liverpool. Highly recognizable, images of the Three Graces are widely used to signify Liverpool and the wider Merseyside region. The Three Graces are thus readily identified and identifiable as having something to do with 'Liverpool-ness'. The cover of Brocken's (2010) book, for example, while devoted in content to 'other voices' and 'hidden

1. The project was funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC, Landscape and Environment programme) in partnership with English Heritage and National Museums Liverpool. We would like to thank the AHRC and our project partners for their contribution to and support for the project.

histories' of Liverpool musicians nonetheless features these Three Graces splashed prominently upon its cover. In this paper we argue that there are a similar kind of iconic 'three graces' in Liverpool's popular music landscapes and heritage: the Cavern Club, Eric's Club, and Cream. These three sites have taken on broader symbolic meanings as representative of entire musical genres and eras. These venues provide landmarks that have come to represent significant moments in Liverpool's musical heritage, linked closely to the city's social, cultural and economic landscapes during the 1960s, 1970s and 1990s. In a sense these three venues, or 'three graces', represent points of magnetic density (Connell and Gibson 2003) that pull heavily upon the social and physical fabric of the city's landscape and character. For example, perhaps most notably, there is a so-called 'cultural quarter' around Mathew Street and the Cavern Club—the Cavern Quarter. The story of one venue (the Cavern), one band (the Beatles) and one moment (Mersey Beat) have come to represent an entire district of the city (indeed, at times, the entire city), and this district of the city has been reconstructed to characterize this venue. In other words, a select set of stories dominate histories of Liverpool's popular music. These dominant stories create a kind of 'master narrative' or 'master map' of popular music heritage in the city.

Such 'master maps' of the city were much in evidence during Liverpool's 2008 European Capital of Culture celebrations, when these three graces figured prominently in key representations of the city's popular musical heritage. Furthermore, even as they have slipped into and concretized in popular memory, these venues (and their associated styles, audiences, etc.) continue to exert an enormous influence on characterizations of Liverpool, its musicians and music-making cultures.

Mapping popular music

The Popular Musicscapes project involved mapping the changing cityscape of Liverpool using a variety of archival and ethnographic approaches. In addition to exploring archival materials, particularly historical maps and photos, we conducted extensive interviews with musicians and participated in and observed their music-making activities. We 'toured' the city alongside musicians, going to gigs, cafes, pubs, music shops, rehearsal rooms, studios, parties and everyday hangouts. We also participated in making and recording music with musicians in the School of Music recording studios at the University of Liverpool, and one of us (Brett) performed with local musicians on stage, in clubs and at festivals. This wealth of ethnographic data was used initially to construct qualitative GIS (Geographic Information Systems) maps (Dennis 2006; Gregory 2005; Gregory and Healey 2007) that served as a basis for an interactive installation displayed as part of an exhibition on Liverpool's popular music at National Museums Liverpool (NML)

called *The Beat Goes On*. We also asked musicians to create hand-drawn maps for us of the city and their routes and routines within it. In sum, the research produced multi-layered, multi-voiced and many-themed stories (Lincoln and Denzin 2003) that in part chronicled the 'popular musicscapes' of Liverpool through popular music, maps and memories.

The research was conducted, significantly, in and around Liverpool's 2008 year as European Capital of Culture (ECOC)—an award competition to promote European cities as places of culture, creativity and regeneration. The ECOC celebrations included a schedule of over 7,000 music, arts and cultural events (Liverpool Culture Company 2009) and occurred during a substantial make-over for the city centre, including a massive city centre retail redevelopment called 'Liverpool One', the opening of a new Beatles-themed hotel, a new performance arena on the city's docklands, and numerous projects aimed at refashioning the city by improving its arts and cultural spaces. According to the European Commission, being a Capital of Culture is a 'golden opportunity to show off Europe's cultural richness and diversity, and all the ties which link us together as Europeans' (European Commission 2010: para. 3). Yet the competition has also been commonly and realistically viewed as an opportunity for cities to market themselves as cultural destinations and boost their economy by bringing money to the area through tourism. With regard to Liverpool, the award provided a mechanism for the staging of the city's transformation from a symbol of urban decline in the British media into a symbol of rebirth and revival.

Liverpool's transformation was signalled not only through the reconstruction of parts of the city centre, but also through reconstructions of the city's past (Jones 2010). In regard to these reconstructions, we focus on three examples of the more public mappings of Liverpool's popular music histories during its Capital of Culture year: (1) Paul Du Noyer's re-packaged book *Liverpool—Wondrous Place*; (2) the first major exhibition of Liverpool's popular music heritage at National Museums Liverpool (*The Beat Goes On*); and (3) official tourist maps produced for the Capital of Culture year, in particular one titled 'Sound City: A Guide to Liverpool's Music Heritage'. In juxtaposition with these examples, we draw attention to several lower-profile mappings from the ethnographic materials produced through our research. These alternative mappings of Liverpool's popular music heritage decentre the master page/master map of the three graces (The Cavern, Eric's and Cream) by calling attention to 'hidden' or 'forgotten' histories (Brocken 2010) and memories of the city that are less often mapped.

'The look of the city': place and popular memory

An emphasis on Liverpool's distinctive musical heritage and urban character was evident during the ECOC year and can be illustrated by the 'Look of the City' initia-

tive. This sought to 'brand' the ECoC year across Liverpool's material fabric, and to cover up derelict and disused buildings languishing in un-regenerated areas of the city. According to the Liverpool Culture Company:

Look of the City was a dressing programme designed to engender a festival feeling in the City throughout the year. It focused on dressing, cleaning and greening. The dressing programme included building wraps, street banners and temporary flagpoles... The master artwork told *the story* of Liverpool through 8 key themes: art, music, heritage, maritime, sport, creativity, people and the beat of a different drum. This artwork was used on all collateral for 2008 and was also made available to partners to ensure a cohesive, joined up approach (2009: 11; emphasis added).

In other words, the artwork focused on musical and cultural heritage and sought to cover up the less attractive material environments of the city with a kind of clean, smooth surface (see Figure 1). In many ways, the 'building wraps' with 'master artwork' acted as a master page that was written, and a master fabric draped, over large swathes of the city, smoothing over and covering up eyesores, sites of dereliction, and—the antithesis of Liverpool's ECoC year—un-regenerated spaces. Yet, as Brocken (2010: 3) argued, 'Liverpool continues to be a city of enormous social and economic contrasts that Capital of Culture cannot (and should not) smooth away'.



Figure 1: A building wrapped in the 'Look of the City' along the city's waterfront, 2008. Source: Brett Lashua

Figure 1 shows a vacant building wrapped, rebranded and concealed with the 'Look of the City', including images of Sir Paul McCartney and the city's neo-classical St. George's Hall. These images emphasize the city's Beatles connections and iconic architecture, telling the story of Liverpool through a dominant master narrative. In Liverpool, there are clearly contested and competing heritages of the city. Yet the overarching 'Look of the City' during its ECoC year represented attempts by the Liverpool Culture Company to promote certain aspects of the character of Liverpool while concealing other parts of the city and other stories and memories. Waxer (2002) argued that during times of change or uncertainty, popular memories are often recalled by civic and cultural agencies to attempt to fix meanings to particular power-laden symbols of unified local cultural identities. In this sense popular memories are often mobilized as a means of 'smoothing out' differences and problematic histories (Jones 2010).

In what follows, we describe alternative mappings of 'hidden histories' or 'counterstories' (Richardson 1997) in order to provide broader accounts of the city's musical heritage and deepen the characterization of urban space. Doreen Massey (2005: 117) argued for the importance of such counterstories in the social production of cities and celebrated those who have 'tried to puncture that smooth surface' of dominant mappings of social spaces. We begin each section with a brief overview of a 'master map' that highlights the 'three graces' of Liverpool's popular music heritage and then provide three counterstories (or counter mappings, since, according to Turchi [2004: 11], 'to ask for a map is to say "tell me a story"').

Mapping 1—Liverpool: wondrous place?

Our first example of how heavily concretized and canonical the narratives of the three graces of Liverpool music have become is Paul Du Noyer's history of Liverpool and its popular music, *Liverpool—Wondrous Place*. Re-published to mark the city's Capital of Culture celebrations, Du Noyer's book was originally titled *Liverpool—Wondrous Place: Music from the Cavern to Cream* (2002),² but in 2007 an updated version of the book was published and rebranded with the subtitle *Music from the Cavern to the Capital of Culture*. Launched at an event at the Cavern in November 2007, Du Noyer's book attempts to claim the 2008 ECoC year as a definitive fourth moment, or fourth 'grace', that could be bolted on the city's popular music history. The narrative remains, however, solidly ordered on the other three graces of Liverpool popular music: the Beatles at the Cavern Club and the 1960s Merseybeat

2. An intermediate edition also included the subtitle *Music from the Cavern to the Coral* (2004).

scene; Liverpool's post-punk scene of the late 1970s and early 1980s associated with bands such as Echo and the Bunnymen and Eric's Club; and the 1990s house music scene of Cream at the Nation nightclub.

Counter-mapping: the pubs in the precinct

Du Noyer thus has little to say about the 'pub rock' scene in the city during the 1970s, or about the 1970s more generally, epitomized by Liverpool bands such as Nutz, Supercharge, Skyfall, Thunderboots, and Ulysses, and pub venues such as the Sportsman, located in the basement of the then-newly built St. John's Precinct (which was also covered up in 2008 with the 'Look of the City' building wrap). Indeed, the only 1970s pub rock band to get a mention is Supercharge, but they are described as 'the tail-end of a previous generation and not the start of a new one' (Du Noyer 2007: 103).

St. John's Precinct was the centrepiece of the 1965 City Centre Redevelopment (CCR) plan, and it replaced the old St. John's market, originally built in 1833. The CCR plan represented a modernist, highly planned, managed and integrated response to leisure and retail provision with St. John's Precinct at its centre. The plan also included utopian visions of a grand civic centre of new government buildings which were never built, as well as a series of major arterial and ring roads—only some of which were built—that would have opened up the city centre to automobiles and eviscerated entire neighbourhoods, including part of the city's Chinatown along Berry Street, which is one of the oldest Chinese communities in the UK.

Intended to be a 'glittering and sophisticated environment for shopping' (*Liverpool Echo*, September 20, 1962), when it was finally opened by the Queen in 1971, the precinct was much maligned and unloved. Four years after opening, 75 per cent of its retail space remained unoccupied and the precinct was being described in the local media as a planning disaster and as 'bleak', 'gloomy', 'depressing' and 'claustrophobic' (*Liverpool Daily Post*, August 8, 1975). Some historians have described it as a 'dead urban heartland', along with similar shopping precincts in Manchester and Birmingham (Carls and Schmiechen 1999: 213). Yet, for the musicians we interviewed, the precinct basement was, for a time, very much alive, a unique musical and creative space that provided an opportunity for public performance at a time when such opportunities were disappearing from the city centre. The Cavern Club, for example, closed in 1973 and subsequently was demolished.³

3. The Cavern Club that is open today is a replica that was reconstructed further down Mathew Street from the site of the original club and opened in 1984.

Cohen and Lashua (2010) provided a brief potted history of the pub venues in St. Johns Precinct—the Moonstone, the Sportsman, and the Star & Garter, and argued that these venues, and the scenes they helped to support, were indicative of the pub rock bands active in the city at the time. The stories of the 'pubs in the precinct' could be described as a hidden history—hidden between Liverpool's 'Merseybeat' and post-punk scenes. The 1970s emerge as a fallow period in constructions of Liverpool popular music, a period when there was 'nothing going on' and 'nothing much happened', while Bennett (2007) described the 1970s as 'the forgotten decade' in terms of popular music history more generally. By the end of the 1980s, the precinct pubs had closed and had been converted to retail storage space; no trace of their physical presence remains in the precinct. Nevertheless, one musician who performed frequently in these pub venues described the precinct to us as 'a great place to be, and so exciting—"the forgotten years"—such an exciting time and yet no-one ever talks about it'.

The precinct pubs of the 1970s raise particular points about cities and music history. First, they provide a different narrative, a 'counterstory', to the dominant periodization and attention to Mersey Beat, post-punk, and dance music in Liverpool. Second, they highlight the relations between musicians and the changing city, spotlighting not only how musicians make spaces (transforming basement pubs in a shopping precinct into various thriving scenes), but also, and in turn, illustrating how space produces and characterizes music-making (i.e., *pub* rock). Finally they present more complex and complicated views of the 'character' of Liverpool. Musicians' recollections of these pubs are not like those dreamily filled and fuelled by the 'blue suburban skies' of Penny Lane or cramped sweaty nights in the fug of the Cavern which circulate more widely in popular memory (Daniels 2006). These pubs are remembered more paradoxically, perhaps because most of the musicians in the era did not achieve much mainstream success, but also because the 'brutalist' architectural design of St. Johns Precinct was disdained generally. During the 2008 ECoC celebrations, with emphases on the city's iconic waterfront architecture and more grand buildings, such as St George's Hall, it was evident that St. Johns Precinct did not fit the clean, smooth and joined-up 'look of the city'. Nor did its histories fit within more public accounts of the city's popular music heritage. Indeed, in 2008 the precinct was wrapped up as part of the 'Look of the City' initiative (see Figure 2) and, as of the time of writing—not unlike the memories of the musicians who once played there and remember it fondly—it remains largely under wraps.



Figure 2: St. Johns Precinct, under wraps, 2008. Source: Brett Lashua

Mapping 2—the beat goes on

Our second 'grace' in the dominant story of Liverpool—and what Leonard and Strachan (2010: 5) critiqued more broadly as the 'canonizing tendency in popular music studies'—shifts the focus away from the 1970s but keeps an eye on heritage and the idea of a 'master page' or 'master map' of Liverpool's popular music landscape. One of the project partners in our research was National Museums Liverpool (NML). From July 2008 to November 2009 the museum staged a major exhibition of Liverpool's popular music heritage called *The Beat Goes On*. The exhibition floor map (see Figure 3) clearly shows that three main areas of the exhibition were designed around the three graces of Liverpool's popular music heritage—The Cavern and Mersey Beat during the 1960s, Eric's and post-punk in the 1970s, and Cream and 'house' music in the 1990s.

Counter-mapping—music up the hill

Through the Popular Musicscapes project we contributed to *The Beat Goes On* exhibition by producing interactive digital touch-screen maps that sought to fill in some of the gaps between the three major moments in the city's

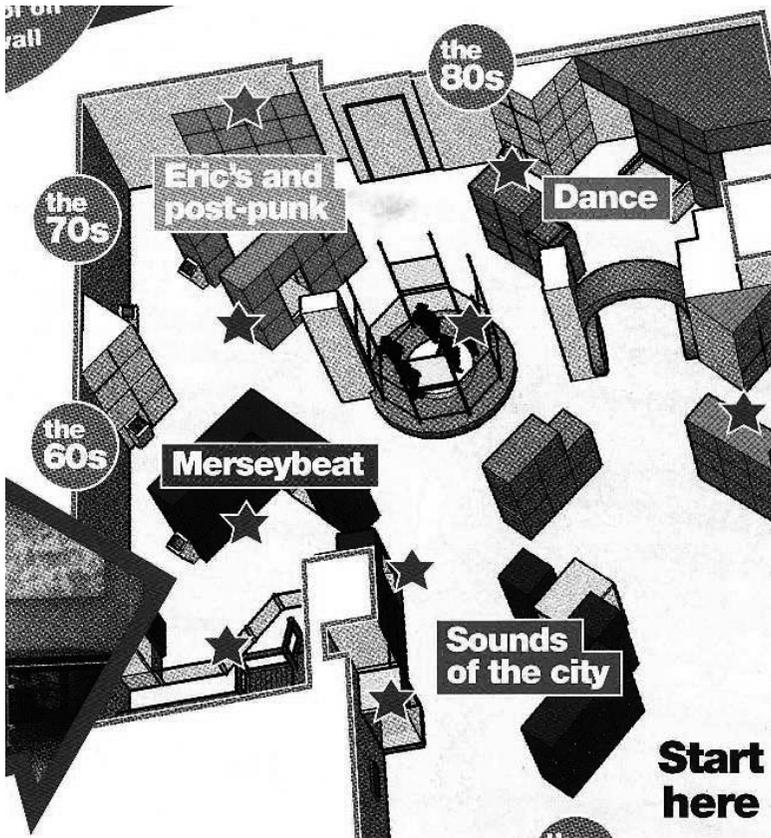


Figure 3: Map showing a section of the layout of *The Beat Goes On* exhibition at National Museums Liverpool. Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool

popular music heritage by highlighting diverse music scenes and areas of the city in finer ethnographic and historical detail. Visitors to the exhibition could navigate the maps by selecting from a variety of multimedia content, including audio recordings, videos, images, and narrative text. Six maps were produced, each loosely themed around particular paired themes and different geographical areas and venues: the area 'up' the hill from the city centre by the University; and music venues 'down' underground, including the aforementioned precinct pubs and other basement venues; music venues that had burned down; venues and performance sites along the waterfront; music festivals; and terrace songs associated with the city's football teams. In this section, we limit our discussion to just one of these themes, the mapping of music 'Up the Hill' (see Figure 4).

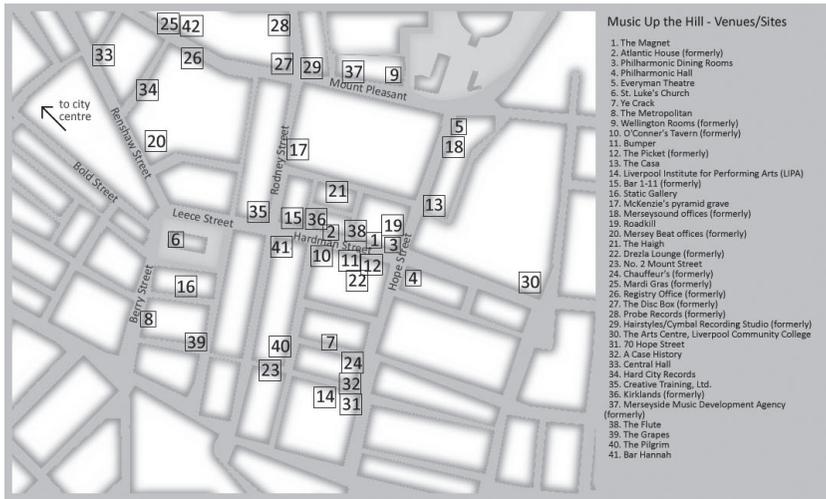


Figure 4: Music 'Up the Hill' map. Courtesy of the IPM

We were drawn to this particular area of Liverpool because of its patterns of music venues and music-related sites in dense proximity. Du Noyer (2007: 202) noted that Probe Records—a record shop that acted as an influential tastemaker in the post-punk years when it was located just around the corner from Eric's on Button Street (near Mathew Street)—was first located in the early 1970s 'half way up the hill from town to the university'. This area, roughly centred on Hardman Street, featured a mix of student-centred nightlife and bordered on the city's 'cosmopolitan ghetto' (Cornelius 2001 [1982]) of Toxteth (also known as Liverpool 8). The area is the site of many historic venues (e.g., Wellington Rooms, built in 1815) and theatres (Hope Hall/The Everyman), jazz clubs (the Mardi Gras, demolished in 1973), and countless other sites of musical significance, and it remains a thriving locus for diverse music styles and venues. Our map (Figure 4) shows further examples, including Atlantic House, which opened in 1947 as a hostel for seamen and featured a large ballroom that has since seen numerous reincarnations: in the 1980s it was a live music venue called Hardman House, and it was later the dance clubs Hardy's (the 1990s) and Jaxx (the mid-2000s) and, as of the time of writing, Studio nightclub. Just a few doors down from Hardman House was Kirklands (formerly a bakery, now a pub called Fly in the Loaf), a wine bar that opened in 1975 and became a popular hangout for 'musos'. The Everyman Theatre and the Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts (LIPA—formerly the Liverpool Institute High School for Boys) anchor opposite ends of nearby Hope Street; at the lower end of Hardman Street the ruins of St Luke's Church, destroyed during World War

It bombing, hosts concerts and festivals in its small grounds; and the Philharmonic Dining Rooms (referred to locally as simply 'the Phil') sits across from the Philharmonic Hall at the top of Hardman Street.

Just a few doors down from the Phil is the Magnet. From 1963 to 1971 this site was a soul, jazz and R'n'B venue called the Sink Club, located in the basement of the Rumblin' Tum Coffee Bar. The Rumblin' Tum was one of several beat-era coffee bars in the area (such as Streates Coffee Bar on Mount Pleasant, which opened in 1960). In 1965 a young R'n'B group called the Hideaways was resident on Wednesday nights at the Sink. Part of the story of the Hideaways and the Sink is covered by Brocken (2010: 146–7). However, the Sink/Magnet doesn't sit in geographical or historical isolation. Across the road from the Magnet is Bumper (formerly Plummer's), currently a popular rock venue that is well-known as a late-night, after-hours hangout. Adjacent to Bumper is a costume-hire shop that was once the site of O'Connor's Tavern. In the late 1960s O'Connor's was the home of the 'Liverpool Scene' poets and musicians such as Adrian Henri, Andy Roberts and Mike Hart. Later, according to Brocken (2010: 224), O'Connor's was 'perhaps the first rock pub in Liverpool'. Just a few doors up the street from O'Connor's is the former site of the Picket, a venue that, in the 1980s, supported the early careers of groups such as the La's and Rain, and featured a recording studio with equipment donated by Pete Townshend of The Who. The Picket was forced to relocate to the nascent 'Independent's District' following the sale of its premises and a highly publicized 'Save the Picket' campaign in 2005.

We have written about the Picket more extensively elsewhere (Cohen and Lashua 2010), but the points we wish to emphasize here are that 'Up the Hill' is an area of dense musical activity that represents a rapidly changing landscape of venues and associated sites, yet many of these sites rarely receive any notice or recognition in more official accounts of Liverpool's popular music histories. Such histories, as Turner (in Homan 2003: viii) noted, are 'partly a story of the venues and their communities' as well as the stories of musicians and music-making:

[I]n most views of popular music history, it is usually a narrative of musical development that is outlined. And yet, in conversations and in popular memory, it is so often *the location* of the experience or the succession of experiences that is the crucial element. The *places* where live music is played have their own histories, their own devotees, their own cultural significance (in Homan 2003: vii; our emphasis).

It is important to attend to changing physical spaces—locations and places—in areas such as the area 'Up the Hill' in Liverpool. While these venues and histories are significant in their own right, they are also part of the broader contexts and changes that shaped the musical histories of the city. As Krims noted, 'the transformations of physical space, flows and pace of life in the city cannot but help

inflect expressive culture as well' (2007: xix). That is to say, we should be able to understand something of the character of cities by understanding something of the histories of venues in those cities, and vice versa, as certainly this is a two-way relationship in which the city influences music-making spaces and music-making spaces influence the city. Accounts of these relationships allow us 'to connect music history to broader urban narratives' (Homan 2003: 1) of heritage, character and change (e.g., regeneration, or collapse—see Keeffe in this issue).

Mapping 3—Liverpool culture company 'sound city' map

The third and final example illustrating the production and circulation of the three graces in the characterization of Liverpool's popular music heritage is a map entitled 'Sound City: A Guide to Liverpool's Music Heritage'. The map and accompanying written narrative can be downloaded as a 'music tour' from the official 'Liverpool '08' website.⁴ The site was designed to promote Liverpool as European Capital of Culture 2008 and it was launched by the Culture Company, the public/private sector organization established by Liverpool City Council to deliver the city's Capital of Culture programme.

Most of the 62 sites featured on the map are located in Liverpool city centre and have some sort of Beatles connection. They include sites of music shops, performance venues, pubs and cafes, and Beatles tourist sites, particularly those connected to the so-called Cavern Quarter, along Mathew Street. Other foci of the map are Eric's Club and the Cream 'superclub'. Emphasizing the point of the dominance of the three graces, an accompanying 'audio walking tour' of the city is available for download and listening, with Pete Wylie from the Mighty Wah as the tour guide around the city. The tour is limited in attending primarily to the three graces without offering much finer historical grain or texture to the diverse character of the city. For example, while part of the map and its audio/walking tour traverses Hardman Street and the area 'Up the Hill' described in the previous section, only the Philharmonic Hall, the Sink/Magnet and the Picket are mentioned. Otherwise, Wylie's audio tour and accompanying narratives slip down the hill and back into the city centre with no attention to any other sites that were not associated with the Beatles, and without giving attention to alternative music scenes and genres such as the beat poets at O'Connor's Tavern. Interestingly, even Wylie's own connections to the post-punk moment and Kirklands escape mention.

Therefore, it can be argued that the Sound City map, and its near-exclusive mapping and retelling of the stories of Mersey Beat, punk and dance, ignores

4. The Sound City map can be accessed at http://www.liverpool08.com/Images/sound_tcm79-82276_tcm146-122163.pdf.

and erases the histories of musicians involved in other genres of music. For example, the Liverpool 8 (Toxteth) district of the city was central to black musicians who performed soul, R'n'B, and reggae music in this dense area of venues and clubs, especially from the 1960s through the 1980s, as documented by Lashua (2010). However, these venues and this particular area do not figure on the Sound City map which focuses exclusively on the city centre. The next section shares counter-stories and alternative mappings that locate the experiences of black musicians—in this case those involved in the city's urban hip-hop scene.

Counter-mapping—'Pyro's bubble': mapping urban music

The Sound City map featured venues that have provided a focus for Liverpool rock mythology and the promotion of a Liverpool rock canon and heritage. Hip-hop, on the other hand, has not been so closely associated with Liverpool, and local hip-hop musicians have commonly emphasized through speech and song about how they and their music have been marginalized within the city. Here (Figure 5) is a contrasting map drawn by a local hip-hop singer named Pyro. The map is of his Liverpool neighbourhood of Wavertree, which he has renamed, as a pun, 'Shake-a-bush'. The map identifies many of the local places where Pyro makes and records his music—specifically the 'cribs' or houses of his friends, where they work together to record music on their home computers. There are no live music performance venues in the neighbourhood, except for outside the corner shop, or on the football pitch.

One site that Pyro has identified is the Pivvy ('Bingo') along the border of his neighbourhood. The 'Pivvy' is otherwise known as the Pavilion, which opened in 1908 as the last of several new music halls built outside the city centre in Liverpool's fast-expanding suburbs. It later became a variety theatre and the Beatles performed there once, in 1962. Following a fire, part of the building was reconstructed and the Pavilion is now a bingo hall. Just beyond it lies Toxteth, or Liverpool 8 (L8), a different post code from his turf in Wavertree (L15). In UK hip-hop and 'grime' music scenes, post codes and home territories matter; gang wars are fought over these boundaries. Pyro told us of the palpable web of invisible borders that criss-cross the city whereby 'you just know' when you've crossed a line. Thus, to some, the Pivvy represents one small part of the Beatles story in Liverpool; to others it represents an older, bygone era of music hall. To young musicians like Pyro, it marks a dangerous edge.

According to Pyro's map, Wavertree is a 'bubble' encompassing his everyday social worlds. The city centre is a world apart, as is college. He describes this place and world thus:

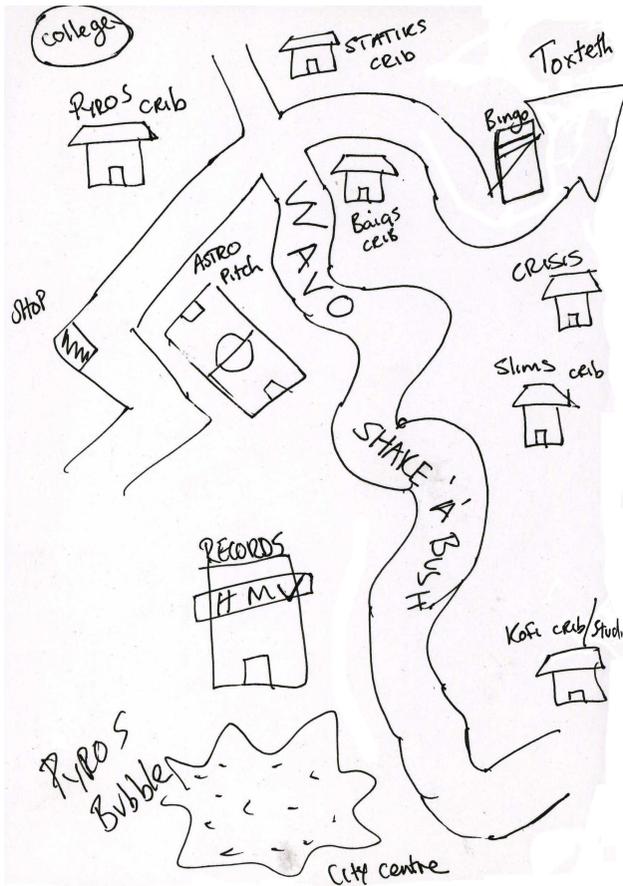


Figure 5: 'Pyro's bubble': a hip-hop musician's hand-drawn map of Liverpool

down here, there is not, there is not a lot of light. So when people are down, like, if you fall off track from when you are young, you're pretty much, ain't no help, that you're pretty much done. Do you know what I'm saying? That's probably universal to a lot of slums and to a lot of places, but it's just, for me, growing up in Liverpool, it's just, it's just fucked.

Liverpool has always been a deeply territorialized city (with strong neighbourhood identities connected to particular ethnic and religious groups), and a city that has experienced economic crises more severe than those faced by any other UK city. While a succession of regeneration programmes has transformed parts of the city, some neighbourhoods continue to be classified as the most deprived in Europe, and in the UK more generally the gap between rich and poor has widened

over the past few decades.⁵ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a young black hip-hop musician like Pyro from the run-down district of Wavertree would represent his life and music in terms of a 'bubble' of social and cultural marginalization. Similarly, one of Pyro's songs, 'The Streets', is promoted as an attempt to expose what lies behind the Capital of Culture, and describes Liverpool instead as a capital of drugs and crime with strong divisions between rich and poor.

Hip-hop cultures have provided a foremost context for interrogating relations between popular music and urban places (Forman 2004; Rose 1994; Neate 2003). As Forman pointed out (2004: 155), local character and sense of place are 'profoundly important in hip-hop' and 'the definition of one's environment and the urban spaces of home terrain is a conventional aspect of the form'. Following Forman (2004), the Sound City map and Capital of Culture competition more generally may be read as reflecting both neo-liberal and neo-racist discourses (Giroux 2005) in urban regeneration that reproduce (and often exacerbate) socio-geographic exclusion for some people from certain areas of the city (Silk and Andrews 2008). As Harvey argued, the result of neo-liberal policies on cities is a sharpening of lines of division: 'we now have divided cities; gated communities here, impoverished communities there' (2007: 12). In Liverpool, neo-liberal regeneration policies become visible as neo-racist divisions when mapped (as well as audible when rapped). That is, the city centre barely figures in young urban musicians' maps—it is a space that is present by its absence—except as spaces of consumption (e.g., Pyro has mapped only a HMV record shop). Arguably, the rebranding of Liverpool city centre as a locus of glittering new shopping areas and proudly marketed heritage tourism centred on iconic music venues suggests spaces that have not been designed for use by young people—especially black young people interested in urban music (Coleman 2004; Loftman and Nevin 2003; MacLeod 2002). Pyro's metaphor of his musical world as a 'bubble' is all too fitting, as his map defines urban spaces that encircle, but have little to do with, the city centre.

Conclusion: characterizing popular musicscapes

By way of a conclusion, we want to draw on the comparisons between dominant and alternative mappings to make two general points about characterization, music and mapping urban space.

5. This is suggested by various reports, including a UK Government report entitled 'An Anatomy of Inequality in the UK' published by the National Equality Panel in January 2010, which provided evidence to show that the gap between rich and poor in the UK had increased substantially since the 1970s and was greater than at any time since the Second World War.

The examples highlighted in this essay illustrate dominant representations of Liverpool's popular music history and heritage and their focus on three iconic music venues. These representations circulate in popular accounts of Liverpool popular music and produce limited mappings of Liverpool as a musical city, mappings that mirror and promote dominant social relations (as indicated by Pyro's map and story of racial and stylistic exclusion). Such constructions of both the 'character' and 'sound' of a city are most successful when they remain largely invisible, acting to shape common knowledge by focusing attention on some histories, places and musical styles while overlooking others. In contrast, we have offered musicians' mappings and narratives of alternative and often hidden, overlooked or forgotten venues such as the Moonstone, the Pivvy and the Sink.

The comparison between hidden histories and alternative characterizations of cities and the more public and official characterizations highlights a related second point, which is that popular music heritage has become increasingly co-opted and managed for the purposes of urban regeneration (Cohen 2007; Silk and Andrews 2008). In the mid-1980s, when Cohen first began to conduct research on rock culture in Liverpool, the city authorities had little interest in the promotion of art and culture for the purposes of social or economic development, or in the promotion of the Beatles and popular music as local heritage, and there was no cultural policy or tourist industry. As Cohen (1997: 80–1) noted, city councillors famously rejected a statue of the Beatles in 1977, commenting that the group hadn't contributed much to the city and were not worthy of a place in its history. Thirty years later the celebration of Liverpool as European Capital of Culture was spear-headed by rock stars, especially the two living Beatles, Paul McCartney and Ringo Starr, and live music performance events provided a platform for promoting the city and its renaissance on a public stage. Thus, while it is evident that popular music-making and musical venues play specific roles in the characterization of cities, old and familiar questions remain: To whom does 'character' and 'heritage' belong—whose city is it? Whose culture counts? Whose music?

We end with these questions, not least because others (including the papers in this special issue) are sure to provide different responses to them through varying accounts of different historical and geographical contexts. Furthermore, while we have focused on Liverpool, we hope that our accounts and mappings of that city's popular music history and heritage will open up further critical dialogues around popular music histories, urban spaces and the character of cities.

References

- Bennett, Andy. 2007. 'The Forgotten Decade: Rethinking the Popular Music of the 1970s'. *Popular Music History* 2, no. 1: 5–24. doi:10.1558/pomh.v2i1.5
- Brocken, Michael. 2010. *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s–1970s*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Carls, Kenneth, and James Schmiechen. 1999. *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Cohen, Sara. 1997. 'More than the Beatles: Popular Music, Tourism and Urban Regeneration'. In *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places*, ed. Simone Abram, Jacqueline Waldren and Donald V. L. Macleod, 71–90. Oxford: Berg.
- 2007. *Decline, Renewal and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Cohen, Sara, and Brett D. Lashua. 2010. 'Pubs in the Precinct: Music Making, Retail Developments and the Characterization of Urban Space'. In *The Beat Goes On: Liverpool, Popular Music and the Changing City*, ed. Marion Leonard and Rob Strachan, 65–83. Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press.
- Coleman, Roy. 2004. 'Watching the Degenerate: Street Camera Surveillance and Urban Regeneration'. *Local Economy* 19, no. 3: 199–211. doi:10.1080/0269094042000230559
- Connell, John, and Chris Gibson. 2003. *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203448397
- Cornelius, John. 2001 [1982]. *Liverpool 8*. Midsomer Norton: John Murray Publishers.
- Daniels, Stephen. 2006. 'Suburban Pastoral: Strawberry Fields Forever and Sixties Memory'. *Cultural Geographies* 13: 28–54. doi:10.1191/1474474005eu349oa
- Dennis, Samuel F. 2006. 'Prospects for Qualitative GIS at the Intersection of Youth Development and Participatory Urban Planning'. *Environment and Planning A*, 38: 2039–2054. doi:10.1068/a3861
- Du Noyer, Paul. 2007. *Liverpool—Wondrous Place from the Cavern to the Capital of Culture*. London: Virgin Books.
- European Commission. 2010. 'European Capital of Culture'. http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc413_en.htm (accessed June 21, 2010).
- Forman, Murray. 2004. 'No Love in the Heart of the City: Hip-hop, Space, and Place'. In *That's the Joint! The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, ed. Murray Forman and Mark A. Neal, 155–7. New York: Routledge.
- Giroux, Henry A. 2005. 'The Terror of Neoliberalism: Rethinking the Significance of Cultural Politics'. *College Literature* 32, no. 1: 1–19. doi:10.1353/lit.2005.0006
- Gregory, Ian. 2005. *A Place in History: A Guide to Using GIS in Historical Research*. 2nd edn. Belfast: Queens University.
- Gregory, Ian, and Richard Healey. 2007. 'Historical GIS: Structuring, Mapping and Analysing Geographies of the Past'. *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 5: 638–53. doi:10.1177/0309132507081495
- Grunenberg, Cristoph, and Robert Knifton, eds. 2007. *Centre of the Creative Universe: Liverpool and the Avant-Garde*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Harvey, David. 2007. 'Neoliberalism and the City'. *Studies in Social Justice* 1, no. 1: 2–13.
- Homan, Shane. 2003. *The Mayor's a Square: Live Music and Law and Order in Sydney*. Sydney: Local Consumption.
- Jones, Paul. 2010. *The Sociology of Architecture*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Krims, Adam P. 2007. *Music and Urban Geography*. New York: Routledge.

- Lashua, Brett D. 2010. 'Oral Histories of the Vanishing Social Clubs of Liverpool 8: Mapping Black Musical Experience in Liverpool through Collaborative Intergenerational Documentary Filmmaking'. *Proceedings from the Annual Leisure Studies Association (UK) Conference*. Leeds Metropolitan University.
- Leonard, Marion, and Rob Strachan, eds. 2010. *The Beat Goes On: Liverpool, Popular Music and the Changing City*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Lincoln, Yvonne S., and Norman K. Denzin. 2003. *Turning Points in Qualitative Research: Tying Knots in a Handkerchief*. London: Sage.
- Liverpool Culture Company. 2009. *Liverpool Culture Company Final Report 2003–2008*. Liverpool: Liverpool Culture Company/Liverpool City Council.
- Loftman, Patrick, and Brendan Nevin. 2003. 'Prestige Projects, City Centre Restructuring, and Social Exclusion: Taking the Long-term View'. In *Urban Futures: Critical Commentaries on Shaping the City*, ed. Malcolm Miles and Tim Hall, 76–92. London: Routledge.
- MacLeod, Gordon. 2002. 'From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City"? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance'. *Antipode* 34, no. 3: 602–24. doi:10.1111/1467-8330.00256
- Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage.
- Neate, Patrick. 2003. *Where You're At: Notes from the Frontline of a Hip-hop Planet*. London: Penguin Books.
- Richardson, Laurel. 1997. *Fields of Play: Constructing an Academic Life*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Rose, Tricia. 1994. *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Silk, Michael L., and David Andrews. 2008. 'Managing Memphis: Governance and Regulation in Sterile Spaces of Play'. *Social Identities* 14, no. 3: 395–414. doi:10.1080/13504630802102820
- Turchi, Peter. 2004. *Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press.
- Waxer, Lise. 2002. *City of Musical Memory: Salsa, Record Grooves, and Popular Culture in Cali, Columbia*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.