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Towards A Spatial Reconsideration of 'West Coast' and 'East Coast' in Jazz: Hip Hop Paralells and Notions of the Local

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> ...historians and analysts have concentrated on showing how musicians have drawn forth music from the imagination or from other forms of music. But musicians also live in the real world and in various discernible ways the sounds and rhythms of different epochs and cultures have affected their work, both consciously and unconsciously.[1]

The discussion surrounding jazz expression on the American West Coast following the emergence of bebop has often been contentious. Commonly seen as diametrically opposed to jazz practices in New York and other Eastern cities, the "West-Coast sound" has routinely been dismissed as being too laid back, too informed by Western art music, too un-swinging and, more often than not, too white. Though critical acceptance of numerous players associated with the West Coast scene has become more common,[2] there has been little wider move to re-examine the critical reception of regional jazz expression in California. Beyond Ted Gioia's landmark work West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz In California 1945-1955, and Scott DeVeaux's very useful examination of the mid-1940s jazz scene in Los Angeles as part of The Birth of BeBop: A Social and Musical History, there is very little else on the West Coast scene besides the as yet unpublished doctoral work of Michael Spencer,[3] and such information as can be gleaned from

[1] Murray R. Schafer, The Tuning of the World (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 103.
[2] Wardell Grary, Chet Baker, , Shorty Rodgers, Art Pepper, Hampton Hawes, Harold Land, Howard McGhee, Warne Marsh,etc., along with the likes of Gerry Mulligan, Charles Mingus, Ornette Coleman, Don Cherry, Scott LaFaro, Paul Bley and others who, while not native to California, spent considerable time there, and in many cases enjoyed important early career performances and recording opportunities while on the West Coast.
[3] Ted Gioia, West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz in California, 1945-1960 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998); Scott DeVeaux, The Birth of bebop: A Social and Musical History (Berkeley and Los

work which engages with jazz on the West Coast as a means to a larger end, as in examining the careers of musicians such as Coleman or Bley, or in my own study of co-operative jazz clubs in Canada which required some engagement with the ways in which jazz toured up the American West Coast and into Canada.[4]

In the absence of a broader critical re-examination, assessments of West Coast jazz players are still often linked to considerations of race and authenticity—to notions of aesthetics and swing; whiteness and blackness—that stand in for West Coast and East Coast respectively, often despite evidence to the contrary.[5] Yet it seems rather obvious that socio-cultural and environmental factors unique to California would have had an affective impact upon musicians and musical expression in the region and might account for at least a significant portion of the region's distinct style. The existence of localized forms of sound and expression is now largely taken for granted in popular music studies and is readily expressed in reference to a Southern Soul/Stax-Volt sound in contrast to a Northern Motown sound; to a Nashville sound in country music; and, in a particularly parallel example, with regard to an oppositional East Coast/West Coast sound in hip hop during the late 1980s–1990s. When it comes to jazz however, considerations of the ways in which geography, environment, and social conditions contribute to the regionally specific nature of musical expression are often subsumed by issues of race in a

Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Michael Spencer, "Pacific Standard Time: Modernism and the Making of West Coast Jazz" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2011).

[4] See Marian Jago, Jazz in the Cellar: Vancouver*'s* Iconic Jazz Club and the Emergence of Canadian Jazz Co-operatives 1955–1964. Forthcoming University of British Columbia Press, 2018; Jago, Making the Scene: *Vancouver's* Cellar Club and other Co-operative Jazz Clubs in Canada 1955-1964 (Ph.D. diss., York University, 2014).

There is as well the work of jazz critics active during the 1940s-1950s in periodicals such as Metronome and Down Beat, the majority of whom where based in the east; along with musician biographies and autobiographies.

[5] Wardell Grey, Charles Mingus, Ornette Coleman, Don Cherry, Eric Dolphy and Elmo Hope for example all spent significant time on the West Coast (or were raised there), whereas players such as Lennie Tristano and Lee Konitz, though long term New Yorkers have often been included under the West Coast jazz banner (see Mark Gridley, Jazz Styles: History and Analysis (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 2003). 8th edition.

way that is not nearly as evident in discussions of difference amongst geographically disparate soul, country, and hip hop scenes, scenes which are, by-and-large, racially homogenous.[6]

While research involving musical practices as disparate as the traditional practices of the Kaluli,[7] rock music in working-class Liverpool,[8] country music as social discourse,[9] Southern American Soul,[10] the punk scene in Texas,[11] and regional hip hop expression in America,[12] have all brought considerations of geography, environment, social conditions, and the realities of local infrastructure for recording and performance into their examination of musical expression,[13] little consideration has been paid to the ways in which jazz practices on the American East and West coasts may have been informed by the specific and unique realities of their local urban environments. Such an examination would seem to offer an alternate lens for examining the different sonic textures evident in West Coast and East Coast jazz of the 1950s.

I do not offer hip hop as a direct comparison to jazz, nor am I about to attempt a parallel chronological discussion of the emergence and development of the two styles. Rather, in drawing attention to the ways in which authenticity of sound and expression in hip hop was framed during

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[6] See Murray Forman, "Represent: Race, Space and Place in Rap Music" Popular Music 19, no. 1 (2000): 65-90; Aaron Fox, Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). I am of course, speaking in a rather grossly general way here (soul is particularly problematic due to the rather wide participation of whites in the production of soul in the south (Stax/Muscle Shoals), yet it is safe to say that the vast majority of soul artists were black). I also am gesturing toward performance and production only, not reception/audience.

[7] Steven Feld, "Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style, or 'Lift-up-over Sounding': Getting into the Kaluli Groove," Yearbook for Traditional Music 20 (1988):74-113.

[8] Sara Cohen, Rock Culture in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[9] Fox, Real Country.

[10] Rob Bowman, "The Stax Sound: A Musicological Analysis," Popular Music 14, no 3 (1995): 285-320; "Regionality, Class, Political Economy and the Transformation of the Memphis Sound," paper presented at Society for Ethnomusicology conference at the Hotel Intercontinental, Miami, 2003.

[11] Barry Shank, Dissonant Identities: The *Rock'n'Roll* Scene in Austin Texas. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1994).

[12] Forman, "Represent."

[13] See also John Connell and Chris Gibson, Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place (New York: Routledge, 2003); Tim Brennan, "Off the Gangsta Tip: A Rap Appreciation, or Forgetting about Los Angeles," Critical Inquiry 20, no. 4 (1994): 663-693.

the 1980s-1990s, I hope to highlight a notable similarity to discussions of West Coast and East Coast jazz some forty years earlier. Perhaps the issue is not one of adherence by degree to some sort of universally accepted, "authentic" sound or performative style, but of local and regional preferences shaped by distinct social and geographic experiences.

The histories and mythologies of 20th-century American cities exist well before and endure long after the various (popular) cultural practices and associated scenes they give rise to. New York and Los Angeles in particular, Murray Forman asserts, "exist as urban icons, resonant signs of the modern (New York) and postmodern (LA) city. They are already well defined, the products of a deluge of representational images, narrative constructions and social interactions."[14] Social and historical phenomena in these iconic urban environments "participate in a particular configuration of capitalism, in which place acquires something of a branding value … offering relative surplus value for cultural products."[15] The histories and mythologies of these places then signify, impacting the cultural products that emerge from them before those products have been engaged with directly. New York's position as the historically and culturally dominant site for jazz production has been both fostered and maintained through the dissemination of jazz texts (recordings, famous live performances, legend and anecdote) and associated print media (criticism, fan magazines, liner notes) issuing from the jazz industry centered there. Likewise, New York City's centrality to the origins of hip hop has made the city an indelible part of the historical and cultural discourse of rap. Though the debate is often couched purely in regional terms, East Coast versus West Coast issues for both jazz and hip hop were deeply "related to power and authority that crossed and merged the physical space of neighborhoods and

[14] Forman, "Represent," 83.
[15] Adam Krims, Music and Urban Geography (New York: Routledge, 2007), 37-38.

geographic regions, the space of the commercial market, and the representational spaces of the international mediascape."[16] For those participating in jazz performance in the wake of bebop's emergence in the 1940s, and for those attempting to articulate the language of hip hop outside the South Bronx in the 1980s/1990s, New York stood in cultural opposition to Los Angeles without even having to try.

Yet even in a city with as large a commercial culture industry as New York, music located outside the commercial mainstream such as bebop and early hip hop, had to "achieve success on the home front first, where the flow, subject matter, style and image must resonate meaningfully among those who share common bonds to place" and who come together to create and sustain the scene.[17] In this coming together which constructs the local and regional scenes that provide the initial support networks and performance opportunities for commercially marginal forms of musical expression, the realities of local geography and social issues can have a profound effect on the shaping of musical ideas. This local, geographically bounded culture of musical participants[18] both creates and holds a shared understanding of how music means within the context of that particular scene,[19] though at the same time there is often also an acknowledgement of how the scene's particular form(s) of musical expression abuts the dominant commercial discourse. Scenes therefore both require and provide a means for shared discourse on meaning, taste, style, identity, and community construction[20] and accommodate

[16] Murray Forman, The Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip Hop (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 319.
[17] Forman, "Represent," 73.
[18] This includes not just participating musicians, but fans and support workers of all types (bar staff, venue staff, record store employees, etc.)
[19] David Grazian, "The Symbolic Economy of Authenticity in the Chicago Blues Scene," in Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual, edited by Andy Bennett (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 67.
[20] Paul Hodkinson, "Translocal Connections in the Goth Scene" in Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual, edited by Andy Bennett (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 131-148.

multiple interpretations of musical authenticity. In ordering and positioning these various interpretations of authenticity and style via methods of production (musicians, producers, venues, etc.) and reception (listeners, critics, commercial media, etc.), the question "of which identity is dominant will be the result of social negotiation and conflict". Traditions – in this case musical gesture and convention – are invented and discarded, accepted and resisted, not by places in and of themselves, but by the reactionary and/or progressive social actions (and interactions) of the people that reside in, pass through, and define themselves by or in opposition to place[21].

Artists emerging in smaller, less commercially active scenes, though perhaps isolated from more lucrative performance and recording opportunities of larger centers, are then free to develop musical approaches which resonate locally and which are rooted in an intertextuality bound up by the neighborhood, the city, and the region rather than by a need to conform to suit dominant marketplace demands and expectations. In Los Angeles, for example, with its lack of distinct a urban core and no significant public transportation infrastructure, the jazz scene in large part avoided the kind of centrality that New York's 52nd Street scene offered, and relied in much larger part on non-traditional venues for jazz performance to augment the fractured, often far flung club scene. The fragmentation, segregation, and widely dispersed resources of Los Angeles (in contrast to the compact centrality of Manhattan) moved jazz into the colleges and Universities, concert halls,[22] and art galleries of the region where it bumped up against,

[21] Doreen Massey, Space, Place, and Gender (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 141.

[22] Brubeck most famously and comprehensively pursued a strategy of staging concerts at various colleges and Universities, first in California and later nationwide, and Stan Kenton and others had been performing on campuses in the 1940s. Norman Granz' Jazz at the Philharmonic brought jazz to the Philharmonic Auditorium (from mid-1940s) and the Hollywood Bowl (1956).
It is worth noting that Brubeck's wife initially advocated for his college-tour strategy as she felt that Brubeck's core jazz audience, which was college-aged, would have a difficult time travelling from their campuses to a major city in order to attend a jazz club. See Michael Spencer, "'Jazz-mad Collegiennes': Dave Brubeck. Cultural Convergence, and the College Jazz Renaissance in California," Jazz Perspectives 6, no.3 (2012): 345. Geographic distance and the corresponding reliance on car travel has long been a significant factor in the development of jazz (and hip hop) in

accommodated, and was accommodated by other developments in the West Coast art and cultural milieu of the period—the confluence of musical experimentation, painting, modernist architecture, literature, poetry, and film which constituted and gave rise to the aesthetic of California "cool."[23]

Later on in its development, in the world of hip hop distance from both Los Angeles and New York was often seen by those in emerging smaller regional scenes to be advantageous as it allowed for the development of unique sounds and approaches that might not have been possible under more direct pressure from the dominant sites of production.[24] In discussing the late arrival of Seattle as a player in the commercial hip hop scene in the 1990s, Murray Forman observes that,

> In general terms, details that might be overlooked speak volumes about space and place, presenting additional information about the ways that an individual's daily life is influenced by their local environments and conditions. For instance, the standard group photo in the inner sleeve of Mack Daddy depicts Mix-ALot's Rhyme Cartel posse wearing wet-weather gear consisting of name-brand Gore Tex hats and jackets. This is a totally pragmatic sartorial statement from the moist climate of the Pacific Northwest that remains true to hip hop's style-conscious trends. It displays a geographically particular system of codes conveying regionally significant information….[25]

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the American West; from the early days of vaudeville western tours were normally oriented North-South into Canada rather than West-East across the plains.

[23] Spencer, "Pacific," 81-83; Jago, "Jazz in the Cellar."

[24] The popularity and commercial success of gangster rap and the G-funk sound had firmly established Los Angeles as hip hop's second city by the mid-1990s.

[25] Forman, "Represent," 86.

The influence of locality exerted a discernible influence on regional sound and style in hip hop, leading to complex and multi-layered webs of meaning and affinity to which participants in hip hop culture aligned themselves. The particularities of specific urban environments led to, "the emergence of distinctive regional rap sounds and styles, as well as strong local allegiances and territorial rivalries"[26] as these particular local geographies [were] "inhabited and bestowed with value … understood as lived places and localised sites of significance, as well as being understood within the market logic that includes a product (the music in its various live or recorded forms) and a consumer base (various audience formations)".[27] Jazz too has historically been a music with close ties to neighborhoods and cities; first Storyville and its associated neighborhoods in New Orleans, then the South Side of Chicago, and then New York City, beginning in Harlem before drifting south across Manhattan to 52nd street and later to Greenwich Village and its southern Manhattan environs. At the same time, the pioneering efforts of the AACM,[28] Sun Ra, and the Art Ensemble of Chicago linked more eclectic forms of improvised expression with the American mid-west, and in the 1940s-1950s, the American West Coast became associated with a more laid back, melodically swinging jazz and a penchant for unorthodox ensembles and arrangements.

It's also well worth noting that West Coast jazz wasn't exclusively preoccupied with the incorporation of French horn and compositional aspects drawn from Western art music. The experimental projects of such artists as Gerry Mulligan, Stan Kenton, Jimmy Giuffre, Shorty Rogers, Bill Russo and others were not necessarily normative examples of West Coast jazz expression, even for the players featured on the recordings, any more than Miles Davis' work

[26] Ibid., 66
[27] Ibid., 67.
[28] Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians

with Gil Evans; Gunther Schuller's third stream experimentation; the work of Lee Konitz and Lennie Tristano; or the sound of the Modern Jazz Quartet was necessarily normative of New York jazz practices.[29]

> Most of the experimental works were never played outside the recording studios. There seems to have been a picture in the minds of jazz writers at the time of attentive audiences sitting in Hollywood clubs listening to twenty-piece orchestras play the latest atonal scores from the pens of the West Coast musicians. In reality, a typical jazz-club patron would be listening to a quartet or quintet working out on "Donna Lee" or "Now's the Time". The flute and oboe duets, it is true, were originally played before live audiences at the Lighthouse, but they would typically represent only a small portion of an evening's program.[30]

That said, it is undeniable that a close association between jazz and western art music practices was formed on the West Coast, the chief result of which may well have been a focus on the ensemble over the primacy of the soloist (in terms of compositional approach, arranging, and performance practice) which stood apart from the head-solos-head approach of many New York-based styles (bebop, hard bop, soul jazz, etc.).

In many ways the natural outgrowth of a self-conscious socio-musical progressivism in California during the late 1800's which sought to cultivate, promote, and advocate for music as an essential aspect of people's lives,[31] jazz "went to college" with great frequency on the West

[29] Quite a lot of jazz emanating from the West Coast was also bebop derived or otherwise hard swinging in a way that belied the region's reputation: Wardell Gray (with or without Dexter Gordon), Elmo Hope following the loss of his New York cabaret card in the mid-1950s, Harold Land, much of Art Pepper's work, and of course the important early Los Angeles bebop groups led by Howard McGhee.
[30] Robert Gordon, Jazz West Coast: The Los Angeles Jazz Scene of the 1950s (New York: Quartet Books, 1986), 96.
[31] See Catherine Parsons Smith, Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

Coast, becoming a credit-bearing aspect of degree programs in three major Los Angeles colleges in the mid-1940s.[32] This early incorporation of jazz within the academy, along with the activities of other well-regarded music programs in California during the period (UCLA,[33] San Francisco State College, Mills College, etc.) resulted in a considerable number of well-known Californian jazz musicians acquiring a formal musical education. [34] As jazz and jazz musicians encountered other forms of academically sponsored forms of music there was "a profusion of experimentation among [these] students and the evolution of hybrid musical forms."[35] As Charles Mingus recalled,

> In California it was different. People I knew, their main thing wasn't solos, it was the ensemble, and maybe give one guy a solo. In New York there's five men, all five men take a solo before you end the piece. We used to write elaborate arrangements in California—Buddy Collette, Britt Woodman, John Anderson, Oscar Bradley, Spaulding Givens on piano … that band today would be avant garde – it was then.[36]

The spread out, disparate nature of Los Angeles' neighborhoods and the large geographical distances separating urban areas in the West (relative to the density of the Northeast) fostered both an interesting scenic interdependence and a unique sense of artistic license. Without the pressure of a regionally dominant meta-scene or performance idiom (i.e., bebop derived styles in Manhattan) participation in which controlled access to gigs and other

[32] West Lake College of Music (1945), Los Angeles City College (1946), California State Polytechnic (1948) (Spencer 2011, 118).
[33] Mantle Hood established the first ethnomusicology program at an American University at UCLA in 1960, where his concept of 'bi-musicality' became a resonant teaching methodology.
[34] Eric Dolphy, Herb Geller, Les McCann, Charlie Mingus, and Lennie Niehaus (California State Polytechnic), Paul Desmond, Vince Guaraldi, Cal Tjader, John Handy (San Francisco State College), Dave Brubeck (Mills College were he studied with Milhaud), Chet Baker (El Camino) (Spencer, Pacific, 119).
[35] Michael Spencer, "Pacific," 108.
[36] Charles Mingus in Howard Mandel, "Charlie Haden's Search for Freedom," Down Beat, September 1987, 21. Quoted in DeVeaux, Birth, 337.

elements of the commercial jazz industry (recording contracts, press coverage, radio play), West Coast artists were free to experiment. Such attitudes were not confined simply to the melding of jazz with gestures and styles borrowed from aspects of classical music, but extended to the painters, architects, writers, and poets of the West Coast as well, artists who often mingled and shared space with jazz musicians given the frequent use of galleries, museums, and colleges as performance venues.[37] Though speaking of visual art, the following statement by influential West Coast painter Lorser Feielson (a progenitor of the California Hard Edge style) echoes the situation for jazz on the West Coast:

> …they did their best work because there was no competition. They didn't walk along Fifty-Seventh Street or the equivalent, or rue Botie in Paris or rue de Seine, to 'see what is going on,' or look in the art columns to see what is fashionable now, or who's getting the works, who's being lauded. It just didn't exist. You really had to love art. Therefore, you did the things for your own satisfaction, you worked on the same damn thing year in and year out until you got something to your own satisfaction.[38]

In this environment artists such as Paul Bley, Eric Dolphy, Scott LaFaro, Charles Mingus, Don Cherry, and Ornette Coleman were able to hone and evolve their musical conceptions away from the performative and critical pressures exerted by the jazz mainstream centered in New York. As Ted Gioia asserts, "no place else in the jazz world was as open to experimentation, to challenges to the conventional wisdom of improvised music, as was California during the late 1940s and

[37] In Vancouver, Canada, the artist co-operative Cellar club presented a mix of jazz (including many American West coast artists), poetry, avant garde theatre, and acted as a de facto clubhouse for the burgeoning Vancouver modern art scene. See Jago, Jazz in the Cellar). See also Spencer, "Pacific," and Elizabeth Armstrong, Birth of the Cool: California, Design, and Culture at Midcentury (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2007).
[38] Quoted in Spencer, "Pacific," 48-49.

1950s.[39] All of these artists (and others) enjoyed seminally important live engagements and/or recording sessions while based on the West Coast, and made significant strides toward developing the mature styles with which they would be most associated.[40] Interestingly, during the 1980s–1990s the most fractious regional split in hip hop was also between East coast and West Coast forms of expression, and the arguments for and against allegiance with one style over the other parallel discussions of jazz with marked similarity. Though most popularly represented by the on-going rivalry in the 1990s between New York based Bad Boy Records and its Los Angeles counterpart Death Row Records, this regional division was deeply rooted in the distinct urban experiences of the cities in question:

> Indeed, the significance of the east-west split within US rap cannot be overstated since it has led to several intense confrontations between artists representing each region and is arguably the single most divisive factor within US hip hop to date. Until the mid-1990s, artists associated with cities in the Midwest or southern states often felt obligated to align themselves with either East or West, or else they attempted to sidestep the issue deftly without alienating audiences and deriding either coast.[41]

Despite the commercial growth of hip hop from the late-1970s, as late as the mid-1990s hip hop was still considered by the majority of its fans and industry insiders to be a distinctly regional style centered in the American Northeast.[42] For those brought up in the hip hop culture which emerged in New York during the 1970s, Californian hip hop expression was therefore taken as

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[39] Gioia, West Coast Jazz, 331; David Neil Lee, The Battle of the Five Spot: Ornette Coleman and the New York Jazz Field (Hamilton: Wolsak and Wynn, 2014).

[40] Indeed Cherry and Coleman took this one step further, travelling to Vancouver, Canada to play the not-for-profit artist's co-op The Cellar. It was here that Coleman apparently played his first gig as a leader playing his own compositions in November 1957 (Down Beat, July 21, 1960, pg. 32)(Jago 2018).

[41] Forman, "Represent," 68.

[42] Murray Forman, The Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip Hop (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 114.

inauthentic—a foreign sounding attempt to co-opt what another city or neighborhood had originated. For those in Los Angeles, stylistic differences were experienced as a means by which to express the unique realities of life in Los Angeles, and were therefore seen as authentic and original, rather than derivative. As Murray Forman has remarked, "in going national, the music went regional."[43]

Sound and style in developing regional expressions of hip hop were inexorably tied to the realities of living in the urban spaces which were home to the music. As Carlton Ridenhour, better known as rapper Chuck D with Public Enemy describes;

> Rap has different feels and different vibes in different parts of the country. For example, people in New York City don't drive very often, so New York used to be about walking around with your radio. But that doesn't really exist anymore. It became unfashionable because some people were losing their lives over them, and also people don't want to carry them, so now it's more like 'Hey, I've got my Walkman'. For that reason, there's a treble type of thing going on; they're not getting much of the bass. So rap music in New York City is headphone type of thing, whereas in Long Island or Philadelphia, where in order to get anywhere you gotta drive so people have cars by the time they're 16 or 17 years old, rap is more like "Well, I got my speakers in my car and I'm turning my sound all the way up." It's more of a bass type of thing [...] In L.A., they're into low riders-big cars you can put a four-way system in, with speakers in the front doors and in back, that it becomes more of a wraparound sound….[44]

[43] Ibid., 68.
[44] Quoted in Mark Dery, "Public Enemy: Confrontation," Keyboard, September 1990, 90.

In rap and hip hop culture then there seems to be an acceptance and understanding, albeit not always a harmonious one, that different cities and regions necessarily give rise to different musical experiences and expressions.

Within US rap culture, artists and fans alike reflect an acute awareness that people in different parts of the country produce and enjoy regional variations on the genre; they experience rap differently, structuring it into their social patterns according to the norms that prevail in a given urban environment.[45] Taste and style are therefore developed around the functional use and normative experience of music. Lyrical and musical content likewise express the realities specific to a particular region or city, an obvious example being a foregrounding of car culture and urban mobility (including the drive-by shooting) in the lyrics of Los Angeles based rap and hip hop which is not usual for New York with its relative lack of car culture.

Many of the regional differences in hip hop are discursive, rather than purely sonic, and in discussing the stylistic differences between west-coast and east-coast jazz, it is telling to compare the ways in which west-coast hip hop has been described musically.

> … critics and rappers alike acknowledge the unique qualities of the West Coast G-funk sound, which defined a production style that emerged with Dr. Dre's work on the Deep Cover sound track and the release of his 1992 classic The Chronic (Death Row/Interscope) …[G-funk was] recognized for its "laid-back" sensibilities and sonic sparsity, featuring slow beats and extended sample loops. Although it was regarded as a regionally distinct style, it was also often related specifically to Dr. Dre's production aesthetic and was categorized by its difference from the more cacophonous East Coast

[45] Forman, "Represent," 74.

> jams (recognizable in the early work of Public Enemy's production crew the Bomb Squad).[46]

Parallels to criticisms of west coast jazz as being cool, laid-back, and not aggressive enough in comparison with the bop and hard-bop sounds emerging from New York in the 1950s is striking, as is the critical assertion that New York-based forms of expression are automatically more hard-core, grittier, serious, and authentic.

Part of the argument here addresses the distinctive feel and (to me, superiority) of the East Coast groups:

> it is hard for me not to think that the L.A. gangsta style of, say, Dr. Dre is to the East Coast gangsta style of Kool G. Rap what Baywatch is to Law and Order, or what Venice Beach is to the East Village: a shallow and mercenary version, the Hollywood sensationalist image replacing a grittier soul-searching.[47]

Michael Spencer suggests that similar aesthetic judgements were at work in considerations of West Coast jazz by the Eastern-based jazz press which, perhaps encouraged by the 'palm-fronds-surf-boards-and-babes-in-bikinis' visual style of many West Coast album covers,[48] seemed to suggest that;

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[46] Ibid., 73-4.
[47] Brennan, "Off," 666-67.
[48] Spencer speaks convincingly and at length about the stark difference in album cover design between the releases of Pacific Jazz and other West Coast labels which tended toward abstract images, Californian landscapes, modern art, or beautiful women and the Eastern Blue Note aesthetic which favoured a more aggressive, minimalist approach often featuring typography, and images of musicians 'hard at work' often with the sweat to prove it (Spencer 2011, 350-370). Certainly contemporary musical fads for calypso, surf music, mambo, exotica, space age pop, and lounge, much of which emanated from California and contributed to the notion of 'California Cool,' didn't help the standing of West Coast jazz in the eyes of hard bop-centric New York.

> [West Coast] jazz was a part of a Hollywood-engineered campaign to pitch music as a cheap commodity to the emerging 1950s commodity culture which baited criticism from culture critics and other intellectuals along the East Coast like those at Down Beat. To them, West Coast jazz represented a vapid, conformist bourgeois lifestyle … whereas more nationalistic or openly defiant strains of jazz like bebop were considered to be a liberating force "free from the polluting effects of commercialization and straight society.[49]

Criticism of west coast jazz and the players that produced it or became associated with it has echoed through the decades and left lasting negative connotations with are still keenly felt. Ted Gioia, in researching his landmark work West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz in California 1945–1960, discovered that,

> The "West Coast" label would soon become a pet peeve among a whole generation of players, even those who sold records because of the tat…Wherever their birthplace, modern jazz musicians in the postwar years are wary of any regional label that cut them off from the New York-centred jazz scene. The stigma still holds today, perhaps more than ever before: In interviews for this book, any inquiry about "West Coast jazz" inevitably resulted in a perceptible rise in tension in the interviewee …almost to the point of pulling out birth certificates to show out-of-state origins. The responses became so predictable that I eventually stopped asking. After decades of lambasting from the critics, the term inspires a Pavlovian reaction of aversion even among those who initially benefitted from it, or when even defined it with their playing.[50]

[49] Spencer, Pacific, 299.
[50] Gioia, West Coast, 14-15.

Yet if one allows that rap and hip hop expression is closely tied to the unique nature of geography and the urban experience in different American cities, it perhaps becomes easier to suggest a link between the sound of jazz in California in the mid 1940 and1950s with the environment in which it was created, rather than with the notion that its progenitors were somehow incapable of playing in the dominant New York style. These distinct urban environments then would each possess a distinct soundscape; a pervasive though usually subconsciously experienced sonic background capable of deep cultural affect.[51]

While the geography of a place may be traced through maps, and the aesthetic and cultural history of a place may be gleaned from photographs, film, and print material, the soundscape of a locale is ephemeral. Soundscapes rise up, change, fade away and are replaced, leaving little trace of their having been. As a result, they are rarely considered. Soundscapes are constructed of what Murray Schafer termed keynote sounds, signal sounds, and soundmarks,[52] and taken together, soundscapes form a ubiquitous presence which can exert a pervasive (and often unconscious) influence upon the behavior and mood of those residing within them.[53] For those in

[51] See Feld, "Aesthetics."

[52] A keynote sound is the anchor or fundamental tone that defines the soundscape in question. It is in reference to this fundamental tone or sound that other sounds find relief and take meaning. Keynote sounds do not have to be listened to consciously; they are ever present and become listening habits whether they are consciously perceived or not. A signal sound on the other hand is a sound which is listened to consciously. Though any sound may be listened to consciously and may therefore become a signal sound for a specific duration of time, when considering community-oriented soundscapes such as cities, signal sounds are those which are listened to because they constitute acoustic warning devices of some kind. Finally, soundmarks are those sounds which are unique to the community or environment which possesses them, and which are especially regarded or noticed by the people in those communities. See Schafer, Tuning, 10. I would also suggest that a soundmark may be a feature which is particularly salient to visitors to a soundscape, as such notice would suggest the presence of an element which, though commonplace to those that experience it daily, is beyond the experience of other soundscapes. Soundmarks then serve to make the acoustic life of the community in question unique, whether they are consciously perceived or not.

[53] Soundscape study was first pioneered in the 1970s by Canadian composer, musicologist, and acoustic ecologist R. Murray Schafer. According to Schafer, a soundscape is simply any acoustic field of study, and may be defined as narrowly (a street, a yard, a building) or broadly as is appropriate (a city, a country, global trends. See Schafer, Tuning, 7. Therefore, while it may be most productive to look at the respective soundscapes of New York and Los Angeles, it might also be appropriate to consider jazz itself as a soundscape, the conditions of which are alterable over time and which vary from location to location.

Southern Californian cities in the 1940s-1950s, the soundscape would have been radically different than for those in New York City. Low-density, low-rise housing was common, and the Pacific Ocean and its corresponding system of beaches was an accessible and iconic feature of the urban landscape. Orchards and farmland were close by, the foothills rose on the unobscured horizon and the empty distance of the desert was only a short drive in most directions.[54] In contrast, New York was a landscape of high-density, high-rise apartments, was public transit based, and had limited immediate access to the natural landscape other than Manhattan's Central Park, Brooklyn's Prospect Park, or Fort Tyron Park at the northernmost tip of Manhattan Island.[55]

In addition to the specific geographies and soundscapes that differentiated the urban experienced in Los Angeles and New York, any examination of regional jazz expression in Southern California during 1940s-1950s should be sure to consider the ways and extent to which the local jazz scene was or was not in dialogue with the sounds emerging from New York. Prior to the boom in interstate highway construction surrounding World War Two and an increase in commercial air travel during the post-war period, the American landscape presented a vast expanse to be traveled by bus, car or train. The difficult nature of travel combined with the wide intervals between major population centers in the American West had the effect of prompting most musicians on the American west coast to tour along a North-South axis rather than an East-West one. Indeed, many well-known jazz artists from California played engagements in Seattle

[54] Gioia, West Coast, 3.
[55] Though Bear Mountain and other such wilder environments were within reach of the city, most residents did not own vehicles, and recreational driving was not a focal element of social culture.

and Vancouver (Canada) long before they made their debuts in any major American cities to the East of California.[56]

There were also considerable barriers to the widespread dissemination of modern jazz recordings across the country. A confluence of the A.F.M recording ban (1942–1944), bebop's marginal profile on national radio broadcasts, and wartime restrictions on the use of shellac used in the production of records ensured that there were essentially no commercially available recordings of bebop in its early stages.[57] Indeed, the first major bebop recordings of Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie were not made until 1945.[58] Even then, these recordings were not widely distributed, and their entry into California was often haphazard, often facilitated by African American railroad employees from the East and sold on the street and in small Central Avenue shops to a limited market. According to Ted Gioia, the drug dealer known as "Moose the Mooche" (best known as Charlie Parker's west coast drug connection), dealt bebop records along with narcotics from his Central Avenue shoe-shine stand.[59] Despite this, California did

[56] Research and interviews conducted by the author with several Vancouver based musicians involved in the establishment of 'The Cellar," an artist collective and jazz performance space attest to this. Bootleg recordings made at The Cellar corroborate these recollections. Artists such as Don Cherry, Scott LaFaro, Paul Bley, Charles Mingus, Wes Montgomery, Ornette Coleman, and Art Pepper were among those named.

[57] DeVeaux, Birth, 296-98.

[58] Gillespie recorded with a sextet on Jan 9 (Manor) and Feb 9 (Guild) of 1945, recording such tunes as "Salt Peanuts" and "Groovin' High" On Feb 28, 1945 (Guild) Gillespie recorded a sextet that included Charlie Parker and featured both players on "Groovin' High" and "Dizzy Atmosphere." A session (Guild) on May 11, 1945, also under Gillespie's name and featuring Parker, saw the recording of "Salt Peanuts" and "Hot House." On Nov 26, 1945 (Savoy), Charlie Parker and his Reboppers (which included Dizzy Gillespie) recorded "Warming Up A Riff," "Billie's Bounce," "Now's the Time," and "Ko-Ko." (sourced from Tom Lord, The Jazz Discography, www.jazzdisco.org/dizzy-gillespie/discography/).

[59] Gioia, West Coast, 10. As bebop lacked a significant profile on the large national radio broadcasts, recordings were one of the few ways for developments in modern jazz expression to be heard beyond the insular circle of musicians, industry insiders and cognoscenti that experienced the music live in New York, enabling the music to be heard, understood, learned and incorporated into musical communities beyond the scenes in which they originated. On the American east coast, with cities closely spaced together and travel between them a regular occurrence, this happened fairly quickly and easily. In the far west of California however, the musical developments of the east were still somewhat foreign and unfamiliar (at least to the listening audience), as evidenced by the now infamous reception of Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie in December of 1945, new of which did not warm the New York jazz scene to that of the West Coast.

support its own regional jazz scene and contemporary small group jazz existed in Los Angeles as an expression of the times, geography, daily life, and musical information available to regionally based musicians.

In a striking musical parallel, it has been suggested that the distinctive West Coast sound in hip hop came about, at least in part:

> [as a] consequence of limited access to independently produced and distributed rap product in the early 1980s, [which delayed] rap's geographic expansion from New York to the Los Angeles area.[60]

Despite the fact that numerous hip hop releases in the 1980s were achieving gold status for record sales, there was sufficiently limited evidence of a mainstream commercial expansion of hip hop beyond the American East Coast that Billboard could report as late as the mid-1980s that rap had not yet had any appreciable impact in the state of California, and that the music's long term viability was not assured.[61] Mirroring in many ways the movement of bebop and jazz recordings into California in the 1940s, a great deal of hip hop entered California in these early years with indviduals moving between New York and the West Coast, carrying with them hard to find independent record releases and aspects of accopanying hip hop culture—fashion, language, attitude, dance, visual art and style.[62])

Place—and identity bound up with place—is constructed through changing interpretations of present and past by both inhabitants and outsiders. More often than not this

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[60] Forman, "Represent," 74.
[61] Murray Forman, The Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip Hop (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 114-115; Anthony Kwambe Harrison, and Craig E. Arthur, "Reading Billboard 1979-1989: Exploring Rap Music's Emergence through the Music Industry's Most Influential Trade Publication," Popular Music and Society 34, no.3.(2011): 309-327.
[62] Murray Forman, The Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip Hop (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 114-115

conceptualization of place becomes deeply essentialist, defined as much by what things are not as by what they are. Establishing conceptions of place and identity involve the naming of things, and the adoption of personal referents for those things. Naming then becomes both an inclusive and exclusive action–it is there, it covers that area, this is excluded.[63] Influences, invasions, and unsanctioned developments to this concept of space/place are to be resisted, as their acceptance or inclusion presents an affront to the construction of identity:

> the practices of exchange, pilgrimage, and the production of meaning that constitute the scene … how appreciation and reception create surprising geographical affinities, and how [this] … highlights the complexity of the relations between space, power, and musical cultures.[64]

It follows then that we can, at least in certain instances, come to see jazz as a contested area of space with its own history, traditions, and expressive codes acting as delineations of that space Identity is formed and evoked by shared ideas of a continuous and singular history through which the modes of the present are seen as an uninterrupted process, and a continuation from an inherited past.[65] As such, those connections, influences, and participants which fall outside the scope of a unified and continuous history are defined by negative counter-position rather than positive interrelation.[66] Thus, as is often illustrated in considerations of West Coast jazz practices, there is a tendency to dwell more upon what something is not, rather than what its intrinsic and unique strengths may make it to be. Los Angeles, at least in the minds of many jazz players, listeners, and critics, became "saddled with a square reputation it didn't entirely

[63] Doreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," History Workshop Journal 39 (1995): 188.
[64] Krims, Music, 33.
[65] Massey, "Places," 188.
[66] Ibid., 189.

deserve."[67]As Eastern forms of jazz expression became seen as dominant through the discourse of bebop, regional jazz practices that ran contrary to that form of expression had to be countered. New York, for instance, does not get to keep its position of cultural primacy for jazz (and hip hop) if Los Angeles and its players are allowed legitimized participation in, and therefore shared ownership of, the national scene. To allow regional expressions such authenticity and authority presents problems for those artists, critics, and others in positions of power within relevant aspects of the music industry who have based their own musical identities (and cultural authority) on a relationship to the New York scene, and to the New York scene's cultural primacy.

In many ways, West Coast jazz can be seen to have suffered from the cultural legitimization of jazz; that process in the mid-20th Century by which jazz became elevated to the status of 'high art', worthy of academic and cultural consideration as well as many of the economic protections such rarefied status conferred.[68] The process of canon formation which necessarily accompanied this process (perhaps best typified by the Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz (1973) and Ken Burns' Jazz (2000) series) served to isolate and delineate that which was/is 'real' jazz and therefore proper to include under the 'high art' umbrella, and that which was/is not 'real' jazz, but something else; something somehow lesser, something somehow

[67] Gordon, Jazz West Coast , 23. White guitarist Jim Hall, for example, who had played with both Chico Hamilton and Jimmy Giuffre in Los Angeles, was, upon moving to New York in 1960, initially "patronized as a mere white west-coast player when that style was denigrated in New York as effete," and it was not until black tenor saxophonist Sonny Rollins hired Hall for his 1961 album The Bridge that Hall became accepted into the New York scene.While some of this may simply have been part of the general process of "paying ones dues," Rollins' has been outspoken about the fact that following 1958's The Freedom Suite, there was pressure placed upon him not to work with white musicians; certainly his choice of Hall was questioned on political grounds. See also Gene Lees, Cats of Any Color: Jazz, Black and White (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 187.

[68] Jazz became an increasing part of academic studies both as area of instrumental studies (from the mid-1940s) and as part of the developing field of African American studies (from the c. mid-1960s). The establishment of the NEA in 1965 and its first jazz award (to George Russell) in 1969 further entrenched jazz within the echelons of respectable, fundable arts in America. See Iain Anderson, "Jazz Outside the Marketplace: Free Improvisation and Nonprofit Sponsorship of the Arts 1965-1970," American Music 20, no. 2 (2002): 131-167; Spencer, Pacific.

tainted by commercialism or mass culture (consider the changing opinion on Dave Brubeck following his appearance on the cover of Time in 1954), and something therefore to leave out of the concert halls, Universities, museums, and arts funding bids.[69]

For hip hop as well, the emergence and overwhelming popularity of West Coast artists created something of a crisis for an industry centered in New York and used to primacy of place in the public ear and on the sales charts. Much as with West Coast jazz artists' use of innovative ensembles, instrumentation, arrangements, and sonic approach to create an alternate, and alternatively popular sound to the dominant East Coast discourse:

> The Compton and South Central Los Angeles crews were not only serving notice to the neighbouring communities that they were in charge, they were also serving notice to New York and the entire hip-hop nation that the new sound had arrived and that the balance of power (based on innovation and inventiveness) had tipped toward the West.[70]

Just about any discussion of West Coast jazz and of the ways in which West Coast styles were discussed by jazz critics and received by jazz audiences very quickly settles on issues of race, and on expressions of race and racial authority in musical form. In jazz, this discussion tends to centre around expressions of rhythm and rhythmic intensity; linking concepts of 'blackness' to emotive, aggressive, hard swinging forms as typified by the bebop and hard bop of New York. Forms of rhythmic expression linked with these expressions of blackness then come

[69] It is also worth considering that this period of critical consolidation, canonization, and move toward the institutionalization of jazz paralleled in many ways the emergence and dominance of rock and roll over jazz and jazz-based music on the national charts and in the public consciousness. Electric blues, jump blues, and r&b had been a regular feature on the variously titled charts that considered 'race records' from at least the mid-1940s with Louis Jordan's first appearance on the chart in 1944 and the appearance in 1948/1949 of Memphis Slim, the Orioles, and John Lee Hooker's 'Boogie Chillen', along with Big Joe Turner (1953), Ruth Brown (1954), and Ray Charles, Etta James, Little Walter, Bo Diddley and Chuck Berry (1955). Rock and roll, the white counterpart to these black sounds on the other hand is generally held to have appeared in 1955 with Bill Haley and the Comets, and Elvis Presley in 1956 and became an increasingly dominant aspect of American popular culture.

[70] Forman, "Represent," 81.

to stand for 'authentic' jazz expression, deviations from which are then 'inauthentic', inferior, perhaps even not-jazz. As Gilroy, Floyd, Radano, Ramsey[71] and others have detailed, this association of 'authentic' African American-ness with 'hot rhythm' has been around since (at least) the 1800s, though its application to jazz music might best be illustrated by the tendency to differentiate big bands of the 1930s and 1940s as being either 'hot' (authentic) or 'sweet' (tainted by classical music, white, inferior, commercial). In dismissing West Coast jazz expression as being 'effete', 'bloodless', 'inauthentic', 'devoid of swing', 'vegetarian',[72] and 'intellectual', the Eastern jazz establishment was engaged in the process of defending their cultural turf by declaring West Coast jazz a 'white' form of jazz, and therefore illegitimate. To do otherwise would seem to suggest that a historically black art form with its normative aesthetic representation rooted in expressive styles deemed to be African American in nature was now being successfully (and popularly) represented (in large part) by white musicians on the opposite side of the country from the music's undisputed capital, playing in alternative styles to the New York mainstream.

> Both professional critics and lay listeners alike believed they shared an interest in preserving the integrity and authenticity of jazz alongside blacks because of their professional/intellectual positions (respectively), their participation in and understanding of the culture—their black cultural citizenship—and out of a need to safeguard their own

[71] Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., The Power of Black Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Ronald Radano, Lying Up A Nation: Race and Black Music (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Guthrie Ramsey, Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[72] This is perhaps my favourite West Coast put down, from the same Nat Hentoff review of a Gerry Mulligan/Chet Baker release that somewhat famously referred to the West Coast style as "pipe-and-slipper jazz". Down Beat, June 16th 1954, pg. 110. For a comprehensive look at the ways in which the Eastern critics spoke about West Coast jazz, see both Gioia 1992 and Spencer 2011, pgs. 287-350.

identities from fringe cultural movements (ie: West Coast jazz), contradicting jazz analyses, or alternate answers to their own questions of authenticity in jazz that they desired not to consider.[73]

The heated discourse over developments in both jazz (1940s/1950s) and hip hop practices (1980s/1990s) which emerged on the West Coast of America and presented aesthetic alternatives to the dominant scenes centered in New York might as well be seen as a sort of large scale, cultural engagement in battles over musical superiority and relevance usually encountered at the local level—a 'cutting-contest' at the national level—waged not by individual artists on stage one particular evening, but carried out via an intensive, long-term, highly public discourse on record, radio, and through various forms of print media. Jazz, with its entry into the academy and its widespread acknowledgement as a cultural commodity worthy of high regard, study, and protection under the auspices of various government programs, has in the past and continues to argue over issues of legitimacy and authenticity; issues which grant access to the canon, and therefore to enshrinement and posterity (and funding support). Hip hop has yet to undergo such a process of canonization and institutionalization,[74] and therefore the discourse has, for the most part, centered around issues of aesthetic preference and market dominance,[75] albeit via the use of decidedly similar language and points of focus as the East Coast/West Coast jazz division. Drawing much early influence from jazz, perhaps likewise

[73] Spencer, Pacific, 295.
[74] Though some level of canonization is inevitable whenever 'best of', 'essential tracks', and various other lists and awards come into play, it is still some level removed from that which sets curriculum and dispenses government funding.
[75] Indeed, in what is something of an inversion of the state of affairs in the jazz scene, market dominance in hip hop has historically been seen as a sign of legitimacy, artistic worth, and stylistic dominance. See Patrick Neate, Where *You're* At: Notes from the Frontline of a Hip Hop Planet (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), 1-48.

> The roots of the battle for national supremacy within the hip-hop nation lie in the history of rap itself. The contestatory traditions that once characterized the local MC and DJ battles in the boroughs of New York have, like rap, grown and expanded.[76]

The existence of unique, viable forms of regional expression is commonly held in other forms of popular music, and with limited exception, discussions of regional expression in these musical forms centers around the ways in which regional tastes are expressed musically and socio-culturally, and the underlying role that difference in human ecology, economics, climate, culture and technology play in the development of distinct regional sounds.[77] These forms of music are also more-or-less racially homogenous, with performance practice and audience consumption dominated by one racial group or another. Jazz however, has long been music which has been engaged in and consumed by both blacks and whites and as such has been the site of much heated rhetoric. As a consequence, when it comes to regional differences in jazz expression, the discussion has tended to centre upon race almost to the exclusion of all other factors. Though the use of instrumentation, dynamics, orchestration, and the rhythm section by many West Coast jazz ensembles ran contrary to the dominant aesthetic associated with New York bop (1940s) and hard-bop (1950s), it was not an accidental product of an essentially un-hip "white-ness" or inherent inability to perform in the then dominant performance idiom emanating from New York, but was rather rooted in a unique regional expression of jazz practices.

Though one can likely not escape entirely a discussion of racial politics when attempting to examine regionally different styles of jazz expression, it is becoming increasingly evident that the cause of such differences is much more nuanced than a simple matter of black versus white.

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[76] Murray Forman, The Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip Hop (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 320

[77] Bowman, "Stax" and Bowman, "Regionality."

Research into the nature of soundscapes and sonic geography along with developments in the field of human ecology suggest that musical conception and expression may be deeply wedded to the ways in which humans interact with and experience their environments, both natural and built, human and spatial. Taking the largely racially homogenous world of hip hop in the 1980s and 1990s as something of a parallel case study, it perhaps becomes possible to remove the discussion of West Coast and East Coast jazz sounds from a discussion which has historically centered on racially linked notions of authenticity to one that prioritizes instead notions of community, local practice, scenes, and environmental and social conditions.